

ARYAN BROTHER A PRISON GANG LEADER TALKS



Intelligence Report

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**THE NEO-NAZI
WHO SLAUGHTERED
SIKHS DEVELOPED
HIS VIEWS IN THE
ARMY AND ON
THE WHITE POWER
MUSIC SCENE**

MASSACRE IN WISCONSIN

PLUS

SHERIFF RICHARD MACK
Spreading 'Patriot' Propaganda

GEORGIA SOLDIERS
Accused in Major Plot

The Lessons of Wisconsin

BY MARK POTOK



HE WAS OUR ANDERS BREIVIK.

Like the Norwegian who last year massacred 77 of his countrymen — most of them teenagers associated with the Labor Party he blamed for enabling Muslim immigration — Wade Michael Page capped a life of seething rage with a grotesque and bloody act of terrorism.

On Aug. 5, the longtime neo-Nazi and habitué of the white power music scene murdered six Sikhs in a Wisconsin temple. He badly wounded four others, including a police officer who sought to aid the victims. In the end, after being shot in the stomach, Page killed himself with a bullet to the head.

The American body count was a fraction of that suffered by the Norwegians. But, for a time at least, the attack — commonly believed to be aimed at Muslims by a man who didn't understand that Sikhism is an entirely different religion — seemed to focus attention in this country squarely on anti-Muslim hate.

Sen. Dick Durbin (D-Ill.) held a congressional hearing on hate crimes the following month. Sikh, South Asian and Muslim rights organizations were widely cited in the media discussing the vilification their communities suffer daily. The entire country learned the details of Page and his terroristic attack.

But the introspection didn't last long.

The day after the Wisconsin massacre, suspected arsonists in Missouri burned the Islamic Society of Joplin's \$600,000 mosque to the ground. In the following weeks, pig legs, seen as unclean in the Islamic faith, were left at the site of a planned mosque in Ontario, Calif.; air rifle shots were fired at a mosque packed with worshippers in Morton Grove, Ill.; vandals shot paintballs at a mosque in Oklahoma City; an acid bomb was thrown at an Islamic school in Lombard, Ill.; the home of a Muslim family in Panama City, Fla., was fire-bombed; and arsonists badly damaged one of the country's largest mosques in Toledo, Ohio.

"We are clearly under attack," Dr. Mahjabeen Islam, whose Toledo mosque sustained more than \$1 million in damages, told the *Intelligence Report*.

Added Julia Shearson, Northern Ohio director for the Council on American-Islamic Relations: "We believe there's a climate that's been created in the political sphere and the far-right blogosphere that gives a green light to extremists to act out and commit hate crimes... I don't think we've seen this

kind of intolerance toward religious minorities since before the civil rights movement."

Shearson is right. The attacks on Muslims and perceived Muslims do not come out of thin air. And the vast majority had nothing to do with the murder of U.S. Ambassador to Libya Christopher Stevens on the 11th anniversary of 9/11 — only the Toledo arson came after the Libyan tragedy. It seems clear that the violence was mostly driven by the propaganda of fear-mongering Islamophobes.

That largely explains what happened in 2010, when FBI statistics indicate a 50% jump in anti-Muslim hate crimes. There was no major jihadist attack that year. And yet Islamophobia, on the decline since 2001, took off. What did happen in 2010 is that opportunistic politicians like former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, along with professional Muslim-bashers like Pam Geller, did their best to raise fear and hatred over an Islamic center planned for lower Manhattan. (Geller called it the "Ground Zero Mosque" and a "victory mosque" celebrating the 9/11 attacks.) The period also saw the start of sustained efforts to frighten Americans with the baseless idea that Muslims secretly plan to impose Shariah religious law on the nation.

Can we tamp down the current wave of religious intolerance? Is there anything that can be done to dial back the vitriol and political violence?

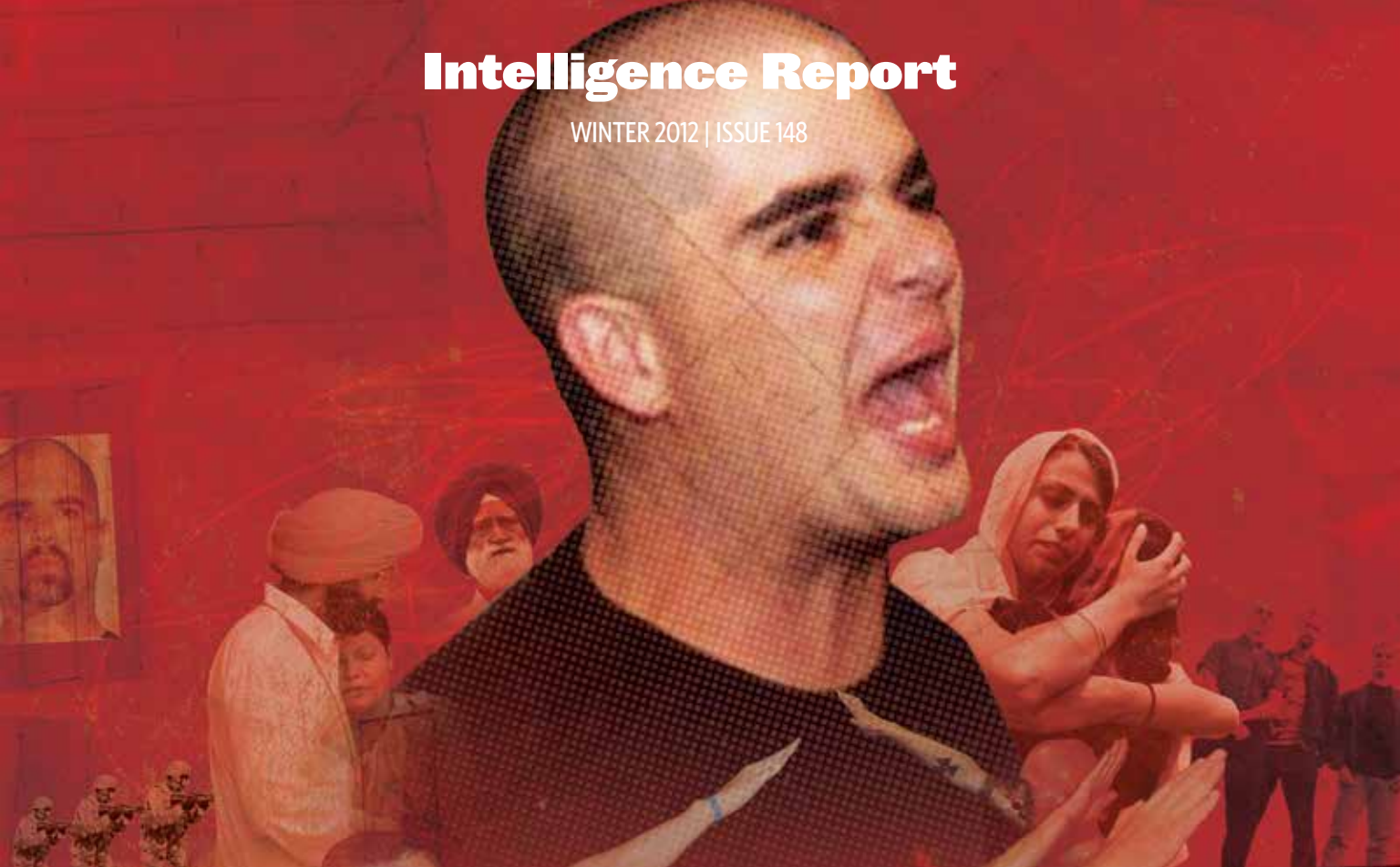
For starters, we can call out the propagandists — people like former Arkansas state representative Charlie Fuqua, a Republican who writes in a new book that there is "no solution to the Muslim problem short of expelling all followers of the religion in the United States," and Geller, who held a September conference at which a speaker warned that "Muslims will breed like rats" but "can be wiped out."

And we can also demand that the Department of Homeland Security, which gutted its non-Islamic domestic terrorism intelligence unit after receiving unjustified criticism from the political right in 2009, rebuild its capabilities. While the unit almost certainly could not have prevented the Sikh murders, better intelligence might well help law enforcement officials avoid similar future tragedies.

Durbin made that point clearly during his hearing, which received no national publicity at all outside of C-SPAN. "It was not the first tragedy based on hate and, sadly, it won't be the last," he said of Wisconsin. "But it should cause all of us to redouble our efforts to combat the threat of domestic terrorism." ▲

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12 Conspiracy in Georgia

The plot that authorities say developed on an Army base in Georgia this year might have been taken as a joke had not the conspirators allegedly murdered a young couple they feared might talk and acquired an \$87,000 cache of weapons. At least 10 people are implicated in a group that appears motivated by far-right ideology.

ON THE COVER

28 Massacre in Wisconsin

When Wade Michael Page strode into a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wis., and began to murder people, it was the culmination of more than a decade in the neo-Nazi movement. The best evidence suggests that Page initially came to his beliefs while serving at a North Carolina Army base that was then a hotbed of white supremacist activity, but they were honed by a dozen years on the white power music scene.



18 Resurrection

Former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack, who was an iconic hero of the 1990s militia movement, is back in the saddle. As head of the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association, Mack is spreading antigovernment “Patriot” ideology to the Tea Parties, enthusiasts of the Second Amendment and, above all, law enforcement officials.



22 Aryan Brother

John Greschner, who is serving a life sentence for murder, spent 24 years in the Aryan Brotherhood, many of them as one of three “commissioners” overseeing the deadly gang’s activities in federal prisons. Now, Greschner is going public about the racist group’s murders, its banking and collection system, and a whole lot more.

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15 The 'Fourth Position'

The American Front, a skinhead group whose leader was murdered last year, is now headed by a man who mixes racism with opposition to capitalism and globalism.

37 Walking it Back

Ian Jobling, an intellectual who once worked for the *American Renaissance* journal, says he now rejects white nationalism and what he sees as its genocidal program.



42 Aryan Nations Redux

A protégé of neo-Nazi Richard Butler is building a North Idaho compound to replace his late mentor's headquarters. But his project is already in trouble.



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Two officers are slain by apparent "sovereign citizens"; a neo-Confederate pleads to a major fraud; an animal rights hard-liner flees; and other glimpses of extremism.

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

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Facing the possibility that the president would be re-elected, the far right engaged in an orgy of fearful predictions of what a second Obama Administration might do.

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.





Mourning the dead: Saint John the Baptist Parish Sheriff Mike Tregre, accompanied by Louisiana State Police Superintendent Michael Edmondson, discusses the murder of deputies Brandon Neilsen and Jeremy Triche by apparent “sovereign citizens.”

‘SOVEREIGN CITIZENS’

Antigovernment Radicals in Louisiana Charged With the Murder of Two Deputies

It’s happened again. People believed to be connected to the so-called “sovereign citizens” movement — a radical antigovernment movement whose members think they do not have to follow most federal tax and criminal laws — have been charged in an August shootout that left two sheriff’s deputies near New Orleans dead. If the killers were indeed sovereigns, that means that movement activists have murdered four law enforcement officials since 2010.

The killings happened in St. John the Baptist Parish, after a gunman fired shots that wounded an off-duty sheriff’s deputy providing security at a parking lot used by refinery workers. Officers tracked a car seen speeding away from the site to a nearby trailer park. When they knocked on the door of one of the trailers, one person emerged to talk to the deputies, but seconds later gunfire erupted. Two deputies, Brandon Neilsen and Jeremy Triche, were killed by assault weapon fire.

Authorities initially leveled lesser charges against seven suspects: Brian Lyn Smith, 24, for attempted first-degree murder; Terry Smith, 44, Derrick Smith, 22, Kyle David Joekel, 28, and Teniecha Bright, 21, for being a principal to attempted first-degree murder; and Chanel Skains, 37, and Britney Keith, 23, for being accessories. Later, the charges against Brian Smith and Kyle Joekel were upgraded to two counts each of first-degree murder. They could face the death penalty.

It’s not clear how many of those accused were connected to the sovereign movement, which has grown explosively in the last three years. “The intelligence information we got is that Terry Lyn Smith is one of those sovereign citizens,” Lt. Robert Davidson of



Brian Lyn Smith



Terry Smith



Derrick Smith



Kyle David Joekel



Teniecha Bright



Chanel Skains



Britney Keith

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“[T]he union of two men doesn’t bring forth anything except disease and suffering, and the same thing with the union of two women.”

—Evangelical preacher **PAT ROBERTSON**, on the **May 15** episode of the Christian Broadcasting Network’s “The 700 Club”

“I don’t believe in calling him the first black president — I call him the first monkey president. I voted for the white guy myself.”

—Phoenix KFNX host **BARBARA ESPINOSA**, in comments on her “Hair on Fire” radio show first publicized on **June 16** that she later said couldn’t be racist because of her last name

“you are an idiot. ... Do you know you cant procreate right? Well thank goodness for that.”

—**NANETTE BILLINGS**, wife of Washington County (Utah) Republican Party Chairman Willie Billings, to openly gay GOP presidential candidate Fred Karger in a **June 16** E-mail she later added to by saying Karger was only running to “find more [sexual] partners”

“If putting illegal children in school is now the ticket illegals are depending on to continue their rape of America, then someone has to put a stop to it.”

—Blogger **RON REALE**, in a **June 20** commentary posted at the Center for Western Journalism, known for spawning the conspiracy-minded WorldNetDaily “news” site

“We are much like the Titanic as we inbreed millions of Mexico’s poor, the world’s poor and we watch our country sink.”

—Recalled Arizona state Senate President **RUSSELL PEARCE**, the author of the state’s punishing anti-immigrant S.B. 1070 law, in a 2007 E-mail publicized by the ACLU on **July 17**

“Liberals and ethnic activists boast about how America would be better if it were more Latino, but no one else is allowed to say, ‘We like the ethnic mix as it is.’”

—Right-wing author **ANN COULTER**, who in the same **July 18** blog post wrote that California had been “destroyed” by the loss of a white majority in 2000

“Put troops on the border and start shooting. I bet that solves our immigration problem real quick.”

—Ohio’s **SAMUEL WURZELBACHER**, better known as Obama critic “Joe the Plumber,” in **Aug. 11** comments at a rally in Prescott, Ariz.

“Islam is systematically violent and hateful. ... ‘Common humanity’ should reject the murderous, perverted teachings and actions of Mohammed.”

—A **Sept. 17** essay from the Christian Anti-Defamation Commission, whose founder and president is **GARY CASS**, seeming to contradict the group’s own name

the DeSoto (La.) Parish Sheriff’s Office told the *Intelligence Report* after the shooting. “But these people run together and think together, so it’s likely the others have those leanings, too.”

Other officials said it appeared that Joekel also had ties to the sovereign citizens movement. At the time of his arrest, he was being sought on state charges in both Nebraska and Kansas, officials in those states said.

The August slayings were the first fatalities linked to sovereign citizens since May 20, 2010, when Jerry and Joe Kane, a father-and-son team of sovereigns, murdered two police officers in West Memphis, Ark., before being shot to death themselves. But accounts of run-ins between law enforcement and sovereigns have been legion of late. Here are a few examples from just the last few months:

- James Timothy Turner, the self-proclaimed president of the Republic for the United States of America, a major sovereign organization, was indicted in September in Alabama for tax crimes. According to the federal indictment, Turner attempted to pay his own taxes with a fake \$300 million bond and assisted others who wanted to get out of paying taxes with similar bonds ranging from \$10 million to \$300 million. He was arrested in Ozark, Ala., where he is based.

- A federal grand jury indicted 44-year-old Devitoe Farmer of Memphis, Tenn., in March on charges that he forged documents in order to steal homes. U.S. Attorney Edward L. Stanton III told WMC-TV that Farmer knowingly used fraudulent “quit-claim” deeds to essentially steal foreclosed properties. Quit-claim deeds are legal instruments used in the transfer of property ownership.

- In Nevada, Shawn Rice, a leader in the sovereign citizen movement and a former fugitive, was convicted in July in a \$1.3 million money-laundering scheme involving the forgery of official bank checks. He was found guilty of one felony count of conspiracy to

commit money laundering and 13 felony counts of money laundering. Rice, 49, a self-proclaimed rabbi and lawyer, represented himself during the federal trial. Earlier, Rice's partner in the scheme, Samuel Davis, now 58, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 57 months in prison, three years of supervised release and \$95,782 in restitution.

ISLAMOPHOBIA

Man Behind Anti-Muslim Film Helped Train Christian Extremist Militias

One of the men behind the attack film "The Innocence of Muslims" — a crude piece of anti-Muslim propaganda blamed for provoking the September murder of the American ambassador to Libya and deadly riots across the Middle East — helped train a paramilitary militia at an extreme-right Christian church in California. He also heads an organization listed as an anti-Muslim hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC).

Steve Klein, a Hemet, Calif., consultant on the film that has been condemned around the world, believes that his state is riddled with Muslim

Brotherhood sleeper cells "who are awaiting the trigger date and will begin randomly killing as many as they can." He recently helped lead drills for the militia run by the extremist Church at Kaweah in central California — a militia whose leader has referred to the president as "Dictator Obongo" and recommended sending guns to drug cartels to "decrease the excess population in Mexico."

The trainings are described as a "unique system of learning how to survive the Muslim Brotherhood as we teach the Christian Morality of Biblical Warfare."

Klein also led drills with the Christian Guardians, a San Francisco-based group headed by Andrew Saqib James, an American-born Pakistani Christian who calls Islam "a giant crime syndicate" and hopes his group will become "the most feared militia in the world." Some drills have taken place at the Church at Kaweah.

Klein has a long history on the militant religious right. In 1977, he founded Courageous Christians United (CCU), a group that conducts "respectful confrontations" outside of abortion clinics, Mormon temples and mosques. (Klein, who no longer heads CCU, was thrown off the board in September as a result of his involvement in the film.) Today, he heads Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment, an anti-Muslim group that, like the Church at Kaweah, has been designated a hate group by the SPLC.

Klein, who brags about having led a "hunter killer" team as a Marine in Vietnam, has described Islam as a "penis-driven religion" whose adherents have "no choice but to hunt Jews and Christians down, torture us and murder us."

"We are a country at war and the enemy is among us," he wrote



Reaping the storm: Muslim protesters in Indonesia, enraged by the Islam-bashing propaganda film made by Steve Klein and others in the United States, burn an American flag before the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta.

on Facebook in 2011. "I don't care what [Homeland Security Secretary] Janet Napolitano says, it's a fight to the death and we should be prepared as possible. ... I know I'm getting prepared to shoot back."

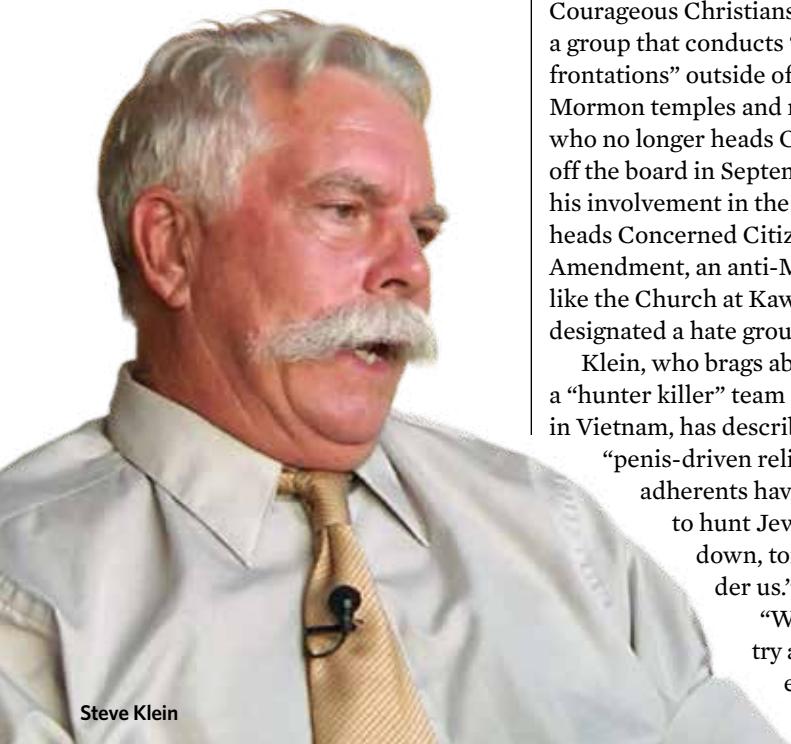
Klein's desire to engage in violence apparently isn't limited to the Middle East. He recently boasted on a radio show about how an anti-Muslim leafleting campaign he conducted led to fights at a California high school. "If the kids are willing to fight," he said, "that's because they realize how dangerous Islam is."

ECO-RADICALS

Animal Rights Extremist Flees to the Open Waters to Avoid Arrest

Paul Watson, the swashbuckling founder of the radical animal rights group Sea Shepherd Conservation Society who has become an international fugitive since Interpol issued a request for his arrest this summer, has no intention of giving up easily.

In an August commentary written for the British newspaper *The Guardian* — a sympathetic venue that in 2008 named him one of "50 people who could save the planet" — Watson said he would stay on the open seas as long as possible to



Steve Klein



On the run: Sea Shepherd Conservation Society founder Paul Watson, who regularly engages in “direct action” against whalers and others, is fleeing arrest in two countries. In this photo, he stands aboard a boat named in honor of actress and animal rights activist Brigitte Bardot, who incidentally has been repeatedly convicted in France of inciting racial hatred.

avoid being captured and sent to Costa Rica to face trial. Since then, Interpol has issued another arrest request for him based on a complaint from Japan.

Watson was arrested in Germany last spring at the request of Costa Rica, which sought to try him in connection with a 2002 altercation between a Sea Shepherd ship and a vessel that was allegedly shark finning, an often-illegal practice that kills sharks for nothing more than their fins. The finners’ crew said Watson tried to kill them. In July, Watson jumped bail and fled Germany, which was about to rule on Costa Rica’s extradition request, leading Interpol to request his arrest on behalf of the Central American country.

After his flight, Interpol issued a second arrest request based on a complaint

by the Japanese government, which has called Watson an eco-terrorist because of his attacks on Japanese whalers. In 2010, Japan had issued its own arrest warrant for Watson on suspicion of sabotage against the Japanese whaling fleet.

The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society has a fleet of several “anti-whaling” ships, all designed to disrupt the work of larger fishing boats. Authorities have accused Watson of ramming ships in the Antarctic in the past — an extremely dangerous maneuver on the high seas — and this year Watson has promised to return to Japanese waters to disrupt the whale season.

Watson is an aggressive self-promoter who was expelled from Greenpeace’s board of directors in 1977 because of his propensity for “direct action” — criminal violence, in the view of his many detractors. He was once convicted in Norway, in absentia, of attempting to sink a vessel there.

None of this seems to have put off Watson’s cheerleaders, who apparently see him as a romantic figure and

who are not limited to the fringe of the animal rights movement. Since 2008, for instance, he and his group have been lionized on television, courtesy of Animal Planet’s “Whale Wars” reality series, which was renewed in late 2011 for the current television season.

LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING

Extremists Work to Influence Police Through Slanted Seminars

On a variety of fronts, hard-line interest groups are seeking to influence law enforcement officials with highly ideological training seminars that typically amount to little more than political propaganda. Several recent instances are only the latest in a trend that has been accelerating for a number of years now.

The case of the anti-immigrant powerhouse Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which planned a September “border school” for law enforcement officers in El Paso,

Texas, may be especially noteworthy. In advertising to an unknown number of sheriff's departments around the country, FAIR told officers that its school had been approved by the High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) program, which is run by the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP). Not only that, a flier distributed by FAIR included HIDTA's official logo, and FAIR told officers that their travel costs for the event "may be covered by your agency's HIDTA funding."

Not so, ONDCP spokesman Rafael Lemaitre told the *Intelligence Report*. He said his agency had in no way sanctioned FAIR's program and added that the nativist group's use of the HIDTA logo "to imply support for this conference is unacceptable" and that FAIR would be asked to stop. No funds had been approved for expenses associated with the FAIR event, Lemaitre added.

The FAIR program featured a raft of minor anti-immigrant celebrities, including Richard Valdemar, a retired sergeant from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department who in 2005 mustered on the border with armed members of the Minuteman Project, people who President George W. Bush that same year characterized as "vigilantes" whom he opposed. In a 2009 article for *Police* magazine, Valdemar wrote, "[M]y advice to cities, counties, states, and federal authorities is, if you don't want vigilantes — do your friggin' job."

Others attempting to influence law enforcement recently have included the John Birch Society (JBS), the group that once accused President Dwight D. Eisenhower of being a Communist agent. The JBS has been making presentations to police departments and others about the supposed dangers of a United Nations global sustainability plan (in fact, the plan is toothless, with no requirements at all) and the Southern Poverty Law Center. (Full disclosure: the SPLC trains law enforcement officials in such matters as domestic terrorism and hate crimes.)

But the most prolific propaganda, of late, has come from the Islamophobes.

In July, the Gawker website reported that an FBI training manual listed books by Robert Spencer, a prominent anti-Muslim figure in America, as recommended reading for field agents hoping to further their understanding on Islam. Spencer co-founded Stop Islamization of America and has written a dozen books on the topics of Islam and the Koran. Specifically, the FBI recommended Spencer's *The Truth about Muhammad* and *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam*.

Similarly, *Wired* magazine reported on anti-Muslim materials in an elective course — "Perspectives on Islam and Islamic Radicalism" — at the Joint Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Va. The materials promoted "total war" against Muslims and raised the prospects of "taking war to a civilian population" and destroying Mecca and Medina. The course had been taught since 2004 by Lt. Col. Matthew Dooley, who told his students that the Geneva Convention, which established the legal rules of warfare, was "no longer relevant" and that the concept of a "moderate Muslim" was laughable. After a review, the course was cancelled.

"It's even worse than Abu Ghraib," Mikey Weinstein, president of the non-profit Military Religious Freedom Foundation, told NBC News at the time, referring to the mistreatment of Muslim prisoners at a U.S. prison in Iraq. "What they are talking about is essentially genocide."

NEO-CONFEDERATES

Extremist Who Once Led SCV Pleads to \$59 Million Rip-Off

Ron G. Wilson, a former national commander of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) who was part of an extremist bid to take over the Southern heritage group, pleaded guilty after being accused by the South Carolina attorney general of defrauding investors in his company, Atlantic Bullion & Coin.

Wilson, who also served for a time on

the South Carolina Board of Education, pleaded on July 30 to two counts of mail fraud in an agreement in which he admitted cheating at least 800 investors out of \$59 million over an 11-year period. The scheme entailed buying silver with investors' money, then telling them, falsely, that their silver was being safely stored in a Delaware depository. In the plea agreement, Wilson admitted that he used "fictitious account statements" and "used money for my personal benefit." He faces up to 20 years in prison, \$250,000 in fines and three years of supervised release when he is sentenced.

Wilson was for a time a major player in the neo-Confederate movement, especially during his 2002-2004 stint as the SCV's top leader. Allied with white supremacist lawyer Kirk Lyons, Wilson worked with racial hard-liners seeking to take over the SCV. He appointed racists and anti-Semites to key posts and purged some 300 members for publicly opposing racism within the SCV. Ultimately, thousands of members left the organization and its reputation suffered.

Earlier, Wilson had authored five essays about the evils of communism (one praising the legacy of disgraced Sen. Joseph McCarthy) for the tabloid of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), which has called black people "a retrograde species of humanity." He also spoke at a 1997 CCC meeting.

In addition, along with hawking investments in gold and silver, Wilson has sold from his home a book called *Barbarians Inside the Gates*, written by 1960s Defense Department official Donn de Grand Pré. The tome is viciously anti-Semitic and approvingly quotes *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the infamous Czarist forgery that purports to reveal a Jewish plot to take over the world.

Lyons, who has long considered Wilson a close friend, declined to comment beyond criticizing the Southern Poverty Law Center, which wrote extensively about Wilson and Lyons during their SCV takeover attempt.

RELIGIOUS RIGHT

Christian 'Historian,' Denounced as a Propagandist, Sees Book Withdrawn

It has been a long and steady trip downhill for David Barton, the self-styled Christian writer who claims to debunk left-wing myths about America and was for years the go-to "historian" for the religious far right. An already weak reputation collapsed this August when his new book, *The Jefferson Lies*, was yanked from shelves after its publisher learned of numerous egregious errors in the text.

And what errors they were.

Barton claimed — in an attempt to show how America should be — that the country was founded as a religious entity, and that its founders never intended to erect a wall of sep-

aration between church and state. He argued that Thomas Jefferson and others opposed slavery, despite owning slaves themselves, and fought Britain for that reason. He said the founders had already finished the debate on creationism and evolution, a strange claim when you consider that Charles Darwin, the founder of evolutionary theory, would not publish his findings until more than three quarters of a century after the Declaration of Independence. And that was just the beginning.

Soon after these and other Barton claims were publicized and debunked, viewers of the History Channel voted *The Jefferson Lies* the "least credible history book in print." That seemed to prompt even more criticism from the media and real historians. Ten conservative Christian professors denounced Barton's totally unsupported claims. An NPR story obliterated his assertion that the Constitution quoted the Bible. In the end,

his Christian publishing house said it had "lost confidence in the book's details" — a death knell for any "historian."

It's not much of a surprise that Barton seems to know nothing of historiography. He has no academic training in history or any related field — his only degree is in Christian education from Oral Roberts University.

But Barton nonetheless has been an influential man on the right. As *The New York Times* wrote last year in a profile that noted Barton's long history of "flawed" and "disputed" historical works, he then had the ear of several GOP presidential candidates. "He is so popular that evangelical pastors travel across states to hear his rapid-fire presentations on how the United States was founded as a Christian nation and is on the road to ruin, thanks to secularists and the Supreme Court, or on the lost political power of the clergy," the newspaper's profile said.



OCT. 13, 2012 • PHILADELPHIA, PA.

About 20 members and associates of the Keystone State Skinheads (KSS) gathered at the statue of Icelandic explorer Thorfinn Karksefni, who, immediately following Lief Ericson's purported discovery of North America in 1003, established what may have been the first European colony in the New World. Karksefni's son, Snorri — who was born during the three-year course of that settlement, the location of which is unknown but believed to be in Newfoundland, Canada — is said to be the first child of European descent born in the Americas. Many neo-Nazis celebrate what they see as the heroic Viking roots of "real" white people, sometimes referring to themselves as Vinlanders, after the area briefly settled by European Vikings. This year, for the sixth year in a row, the KSS crew, who called their event "Lief Ericson Day," were met by so-called antifascists, who shouted them down in a confrontation at the statue. Those attending included members of The Hated, a Florida group of racist skinheads, and Heidi McCarty, a KSS associate from Pennsylvania who wore a shirt emblazoned with the words, "Don't Shoot, Officer, I'm White."

Updates on Extremism and The Law

MAY 23 Stewart Rhodes, the Yale-educated lawyer who founded the antigovernment “Patriot” group **Oath Keepers**, was ordered to pay a \$600 fine by a committee of the **Arizona** Supreme Court for writing legal “notices of claim” despite having no license to practice law in the state. Rhodes’ group had earlier intervened in a local dispute over alleged government corruption in **Quartzsite**.

JULY 11 A federal grand jury indicted Anson Chi of **Plano, Texas**, who allegedly attempted to bomb a natural gas facility on June 18, for possession of an unregistered explosive device. An apparent sympathizer of the antigovernment “**sovereign citizens**” movement, Chi, 33, was badly injured when the bomb went off prematurely. He was being held without bail pending a mental competency evaluation.

AUG 1 Daniel Wacht, a **California** man with an extensive criminal record, was sentenced to life in prison without parole for the 2010 shooting and beheading of Kurt Johnson, a researcher at **North Dakota** State University, most of whose body has never been recovered. Wacht, 31, reportedly killed Johnson, of **Cooperstown, N.D.**, to show the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations** that he had what it took to run a local hate group.

AUG 8 A **Detroit** federal judge sentenced two members of the

Hutaree Militia, David Stone and his son 23-year-old Joshua, to time served and two years of court supervision after they pleaded guilty to weapons violations in March. The pleas followed a federal judge’s dismissal of far more serious conspiracy charges against the Stones and five followers of the anti-government group.

AUG 17 Self-described racist Douglas Howard Story of **Manassas, Va.**, pleaded guilty to possessing an illegal weapon after purchasing a fully automatic AK-47 from an undercover FBI agent. Story, 48, caught authorities’ attention after threatening President Obama and Attorney General

Eric Holder on racist websites including **Stormfront**, **Vanguard News Network** and **New Saxon**.

AUG 21 Three reported members of the **Aryan Brotherhood** were charged in **Texas** with murdering a man for falsely claiming to be a member of the white supremacist prison gang. The men, from **Eules, Haltom City** and **Fort Worth**,

allegedly hog-tied, choked, kicked, beat and sexually tortured Earnest Lackey, a 34-year-old ex-con from **Burleson**, with a soldering iron before killing him on July 7.

AUG 22 A federal judge in **Gainesville, Ga.**, sentenced two members of the **Georgia Militia** to five years in prison in connection with a plot

to bomb federal buildings, assassinate public officials and attack cities including **Atlanta** with deadly ricin. Ringleader Frederick W. Thomas, 73, and Emory Dan Roberts, 67, pleaded guilty to conspiring to possess firearms and explosives. Two other members of the militia group still face trial.

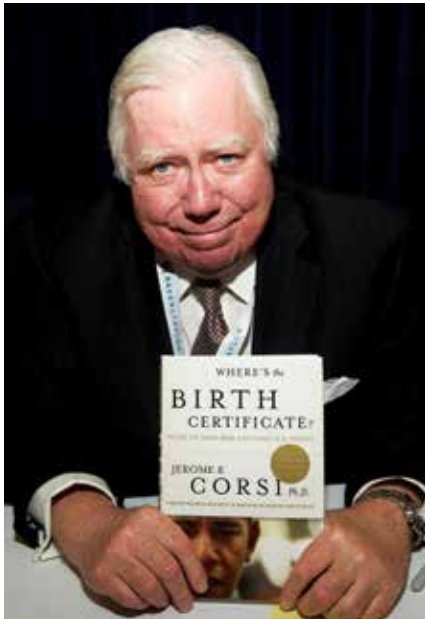
AUG 24 A federal judge sentenced four **Johnston County, N.C.**, men to lengthy prison terms for their part in a plot to support overseas **jihadi terrorists** and murder persons abroad. Officials said ringleader Daniel Patrick Boyd recruited his two sons and five other men, all of whom have now been ordered to prison.

AUG 27 Lonnie Vernon, a member of Schaeffer Cox’s **Alaska Peacemakers Militia**, and his wife, Karen Vernon, admitted conspiring in 2011 to murder a federal judge and an IRS agent over a court ruling that the couple owed \$165,000 in back taxes. The Vernons, of **Salcha, Alaska**, had bought a gun, a silencer and several grenades, and also had obtained a map to the judge’s home. Lonnie Vernon and Cox still faced sentencing in their June conviction in another murder plot.

SEPT. 12 A federal judge sentenced notorious neo-Nazi Bill White of **Lynchburg, Va.**, (and, earlier, **Roanoke**) to 10 additional months in prison for violating his parole and fleeing to Mexico after posting an Internet rant against the U.S. government. White, the one-time führer of the **American National Socialist Workers Party**, had recently completed a two and a half-year prison term for threatening a host of enemies.



Lonnie Vernon



A day late and a dollar short: Far-right propagandist Jerome Corsi issued his book attacking President Obama several days after the release of Obama's "long form" birth certificate. Now, Corsi is pursuing a new — and even stranger — line of attack.

This year, Barton also heavily influenced the Republican Party platform — he says that 70 of the 71 positions he proposed as part of the party's 2012 platform were approved. His allies include former Fox News personality Glenn Beck, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Minnesota Congresswoman Michele Bachmann, along with Scott Lively, an ideologue who has blamed gay men for the Nazi Holocaust.

'BIRTHEERS'

Conspiracy Theorist Jerome Corsi Plugs a New Obama Tall Tale

The conspiracy theories about the real nature of our first black president have been almost literally endless. Barack Hussein Obama, the critics said, is a Kenyan, a Marxist, a Muslim Manchurian candidate seeking to destroy America. An entire industry sprang up to support the idea that the president is not American.

Now, with all of that thoroughly debunked in the minds of most sane

people, the Tea Parties' favorite conspiracy theorist — "birther" propagandist Jerome Corsi, who also was the chief activist behind the "Swift boating" of one-time presidential candidate John Kerry — is pushing a new and different theory. And this one doesn't rely on Corsi's dog-with-a-bone insistence that Obama is a foreigner.

The president, Corsi suggests, is gay and married to a Pakistani man.

But, hey, that's not a criticism. Corsi isn't down on gay people: "The question is not to condemn Obama here for being bisexual or gay, if that's in fact what he is, but to wonder why he's gone to the extent of hiding it, especially when he now is supporting same-sex marriage," he explained in a YouTube video.

The idea that Obama has a male Pakistani paramour first surfaced this summer when a blogger for We the People of the United States, an anti-government "Patriot" website, wrote about coming across a copy of the 1990 *Harvard Law Review*, a parody magazine that satirizes the *Harvard Law Review*, the prestigious journal Obama edited and was president of while a student.

The *Review*'s satirical profile of Obama points out a ring that the future president wore on his left ring finger and that was visible in many photos of him as a young man. "As far back as 1990, when he was in law school, Obama was apparently asked repeatedly about the ring on his left hand," the We the People blogger fretted. "Sounds like he dodged the question."

That was all it took to send Corsi sniffing.

"Evidently, Obama has never explained it. He has never given any discussion of it," the intrepid Corsi reports breathlessly on his video. "It's like many of the factors of Obama's life. There are hidden aspects to it, lies, mysteries, disinformation. ... Increasingly, I try to point out to people that Obama's life reads like a classic intelligence agency disinformation operation."

Actually, most of the real disinformation has come from Corsi, who wrote an entire book claiming Obama's

Hawaiian birth certificate is a forgery and who works as a "reporter" for WorldNetDaily, a conspiracist website that once claimed in a multi-part series that eating soy products causes homosexuality. Even Obama's 2011 reluctant release of his "long form" birth certificate failed to convince Corsi or the other deep thinkers at WorldNetDaily that the president was, in fact, American.

Now comes Corsi with his latest claims about Obama. Let's hope, this time, that the president doesn't feel obliged to try to prove him wrong.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Family Research Council Shooter Charged with Assault with a Weapon

In an era when non-Islamic terrorism in America comes predominantly from the extreme right, it was a remarkable and unusual event: A man who was apparently sympathetic to LGBT people walked into the lobby of the anti-gay Family Research Council (FRC) in Washington, D.C., and shot a staff member who was standing guard.

Prosecutors say that when Floyd Lee Corkins II encountered building manager Leo Johnson at the FRC's headquarters on Aug. 15, he said something like "I don't like your politics" and opened fire. Johnson was hit in the arm, but managed to tackle Corkins and, with help, wrestle his gun away. Corkins was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and could face up to 55 years in prison.

A native of Herndon, Va., Corkins has a master's degree in education and human development from George Mason University and was working as a volunteer at The DC Center, a community center for Washington's lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community. At the time of the attack, he was carrying a bag of sandwiches from Chick-fil-A, which made headlines this summer when its president announced his opposition to same-sex marriage.

Before the day was out, the National Organization for Marriage, the

leading opponent of same-sex marriage in America, was blaming the Southern Poverty Law Center for the attack because the SPLC had two years earlier named the FRC as a hate group. The next day, FRC President Tony Perkins made a similar accusation at a crowded press conference, saying Corkins had been “given a license to shoot an unarmed man” by the SPLC’s “reckless use of terminology.”

The SPLC responded with a statement emphasizing that it had always opposed political violence, from the left or the right, in a democracy. It also disputed Perkins’ televised claim that FRC was listed as a hate group because it opposed same-sex marriage, pointing out that at the time of the initial listing, the SPLC said the listing was based on FRC’s propagation of known falsehoods about gay people — in particular, the claim that large numbers of gay men are child molesters.

“Perkins and his allies, seeing an opportunity to score points, are using the attack on their offices to pose a false equivalency between the SPLC’s criticisms of the FRC and the FRC’s criticisms of LGBT people,” SPLC Senior Fellow Mark Potok wrote. “The FRC routinely pushes out demonizing claims that gay people are child molesters and worse — claims that are provably false. It should stop the demonization and affirm the dignity of all people.”

The crimes would be horrible — if they were real. But in each of these cases, authorities say, the “victims” lied about the attacks they supposedly suffered.

The best evidence suggests there are something like 200,000 hate crimes a year in the United States. But within that total are a vastly smaller number that turn out to be bogus. The reasons people lie about hate crimes vary — covering up an embarrassing incident, promoting a cause, or just seeking attention — but their effect is the same. They give fuel to right-wing opponents of hate crime laws who like to claim that enormous numbers of reported hate crimes never occurred.

Several recent incidents have gotten wide attention:

This July in Nebraska, 33-year-old Charlie Rogers told police three assailants broke into her Lincoln home and attacked her, carving the word “Dyke” into her and attempting to burn her house down. Rallies were held to denounce the crime against the former University of Nebraska women’s basketball star. But then police found that she’d purchased the items used to “attack” her several days earlier and also had posted a Facebook message boasting that she was going to become a “catalyst” to “make things better for everyone.”

In Missoula, 22-year-old Joseph Baken told officials he’d been attacked outside a bar in August because he was gay. He posted photos of his injuries on the Internet, where they were spread by gay rights groups. But then police found a cell phone video showing Baken injuring his face while attempting a back flip off a sidewalk curb. In the end, he was given a suspended 180-day jail sentence and fined \$300 for his attempt to avoid embarrassment.

Zachary Tennen, a 19-year-old sophomore at Michigan State University, claimed that he was beaten at a party in August, leaving his jaw broken and his mouth stapled shut, by neo-Nazis who had just learned he was Jewish. He told newspapers of his “terrible experience” and drew national attention for his ordeal, particularly in the Jewish community. But 50 witnesses at the party told police they saw no neo-Nazis and no attack. What they remember was a drunk college student who was aggressively hitting on women until, as he pawed one of them, a male friend punched Tennen in the face.

Right-wing websites wrote about all these incidents, suggesting that they showed how bogus most hate crime reports are. That’s false, of course, but every fake hate crime report feeds directly into the extreme-right propaganda machine. ▲

HATE CRIMES

Incidents Add to Roster of Fake Bias Assaults, Fueling Far Right

Masked intruders attack a lesbian in her Nebraska home and carve anti-gay slurs into her stomach. A Montana man is beaten severely about the face as he leaves a Missoula gay bar. Neo-Nazi thugs attack a Jewish college student in Michigan, Sieg-heiling their victim before they violently staple his mouth shut.

Laying blame: Family Research Council President Tony Perkins accused the Southern Poverty Law Center of responsibility for the shooting of a guard at the religious-right organization’s Washington, D.C., headquarters.





CONSPIRACY IN GEORGIA

Ten people, most connected to the Army, are charged in a major plot. But their alleged goals and ideology remain unclear

BY DON TERRY

The delusional but deadly plot to overthrow the United States government started out as “just guy stuff,” as one of the accused conspirators recently described it in court: an all-American band of brothers from the Fort Stewart Army base getting their kicks by harmlessly shooting off guns under the stars in the Georgia woods.

But soon they were buying and stockpiling more and bigger weapons. Soon they were talking about using them to wage a second American Revolution. Soon they were in way over their heads, when, faster than it takes to pull a trigger, everything fell apart in a spasm of betrayal and blood.

A couple of weeks before Christmas 2011, two young lovers — Michael Roark, 19, a recently discharged soldier who had served at Fort Stewart, and his girlfriend, Tiffany York, 17, a high school junior and photographer on the school yearbook — were lured to the woods with the promise of starlight shooting.

There, around midnight on Dec. 5, they were each shot twice in the head in an attempt by the group, prosecutors charge, to eliminate a “loose end” and keep the plot secret.

“I don’t know how it got to the point where two people got murdered,” Pfc. Michael Burnett told a Georgia courtroom in late August, confessing his role

in the killings in a plea agreement to testify against his former comrades and avoid the death penalty.

“Say that again,” the judge demanded, as if he could not quite believe the plans for domestic terrorism he was hearing from the mouth of an active-duty American soldier (see related stories in this issue, p. 28 and p. 30).

“I don’t know how it got to the point where two people got murdered,” Burnett repeated.

Indeed, if not for the killings, the funerals, the devastated families and the \$87,000 worth of military-grade weapons and explosives stockpiled by the group, the scheme would be laughable. Even the

STEPHEN MORTON/AP IMAGES

group's name spoke of grandiose aspirations — Forever Enduring Always Ready, FEAR for short.

But beyond wanting to “give the government back to the people,” as Burnett explained the group's motivations in court, the political ideology of FEAR is murky.

“So you talked about revolution?” the judge asked Burnett.

“Yeah,” he said, “patriotism.”

A prosecutor described the group as a militia of “anarchists,” a charge that sparked headlines around the country. But there appears to be little evidence, beyond a tattoo several members wore that reportedly resembles an anarchist symbol, that FEAR members were believers in a stateless society. “The United States military is many things, but a haven for an anarchist cell it is not,” said Daniel Levitas, author of *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*.

Mark Pitcavage of the anti-racist Anti-Defamation League (ADL) also expressed doubt that FEAR was made up of antigovernment leftists. “Anarchist militia is an oxymoron,” he said. “It's very common for prosecutors and police to mischaracterize or very loosely characterize extremist groups. They don't know the ideologies or the differences.” He said the ADL had researched FEAR in recent weeks and “we found nothing to suggest ties to anarchists.”

“All signs that we found pointed to them being conservative, not extremist,” Pitcavage said. “If they did become extremists it was a sort of right-wing variety.” Or as one alleged member of FEAR, Timothy Joiner, 21, told *The Associated Press*, “I'm a proud Republican.”

As the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) reported earlier this year, the antigovernment “Patriot” movement has experienced a resurgence, growing explosively since 2008, when President Obama was elected to office. In 2012, the SPLC identified 1,274 anti-government Patriot groups that were active the prior year. Of these groups, 334 were militias and the remainder included “common-law” courts, publishers, ministers and citizens' groups. At the same time, domestic terror plots have multiplied.

FEAR and Loathing in Georgia

FEAR's grand plan, according to state prosecutors, called for a sort of military coup that included taking over Fort Stewart, home of the 3rd Infantry Division; poisoning the apple orchards of Washington state; blowing up a fountain in Savannah, Ga.; and someday assassinating the president of the United States — all under the unlikely leadership of a bright, charismatic 20-year-old private named Isaac Aguigui, who founded the group.

Aguigui was a page at the 2008 Republican National Convention who attended the West Point preparatory school in New Jersey before being dismissed for a forbidden affair with a classmate, the female soldier he later

mer, runner and linguist who served a tour of duty in Iraq — died in their home on the sprawling base in July 2011 under what a prosecutor described as “highly suspicious” circumstances that are still being investigated, Aguigui received a \$500,000 life insurance settlement. Prosecutors say he used that money to bankroll the group's arsenal, including more than \$30,000 worth of weapons he purchased while home in Washington state on bereavement leave in the fall of 2011. Deirdre Aguigui, 24, was nearly six months pregnant at the time of her death. Her Facebook profile photo is of a sonogram.

A total of 10 people, most of them on active duty or recently administratively discharged soldiers, have been indicted in Georgia state court with an array of felo-



Anthony Peden (opposite page, from left), ring-leader Isaac Aguigui and Christopher Salmon face a possible death penalty if convicted in the murder of former compatriots (above, right) Michael Roark and Tiffany York. Michael Burnett (above) agreed to testify against his former comrades.

married. In FEAR, Aguigui was the least experienced warrior. Unlike several of his older co-conspirators, he had never been deployed to a combat zone. Aguigui's war was still just in his imagination.

But he was by far the richest. After his wife, Deirdre — an army sergeant, swim-



“I don't know how it got to the point where two people got murdered.”

nies in connection with FEAR. As of press time, there had been no federal charges.

Aguigui, who turned 21 in April, Sgt. Anthony Peden, Pvt. Christopher Salmon and Burnett were arrested Dec. 10, 2011, just a few days after the young couple was found dead. Aguigui, Peden and Salmon have been charged in state court with murder. Prosecutors say they will seek the death penalty. Burnett was also initially charged with murder but pleaded guilty to lesser crimes in exchange for his testimony.

“It seems like every time you turn around, there’s another snake under a rock at Fort Stewart.”

In September, five more men, including four former soldiers from Fort Stewart, were indicted on lesser charges connected with FEAR, including gang activity and breaking into houses and cars to help fund the group.

“I’ve heard so many bizarre rumors and tales about what’s going on,” Brett Roark, Michael Roark’s father, told the *Intelligence Report*. “It seems like every time you turn around, there’s another snake under a rock at Fort Stewart.”

The Army also charged the members of FEAR with a number of offenses but dropped the charges in August, saying the slain couple were civilians and were killed off base.

Salmon’s wife, Heather, herself a former soldier, has also been charged with murder in the case but does not face a death sentence. At the time of the killings, prosecutors say, she was at home, babysitting Burnett’s infant son, while Burnett allegedly accompanied Aguigui, Peden and Salmon into the woods close to midnight on Dec. 5, 2011, to take care of the “loose ends.”

“Tiffany knew these guys. She wasn’t afraid of them,” her mother, Brenda Thomas, told the *Report*. “I know they would go shooting and she’d go with them. She would talk about Isaac Aguigui. How he lost his wife. They were supposed to go shopping to buy him some stylish clothes. She was trying to set him up with her stepsister, who went shooting with them, too.”

Roark had apparently been helping FEAR buy guns, and the group, according to prosecutors, was afraid he would start revealing what he knew about the antigovernment plot once he was out of the Army — and out of their reach. He planned to move home to Seattle. His

girlfriend was also planning to leave Georgia. She was headed to California to live with her father. They had been dating for only a few months.

“That evening,” Aguigui and the others “decided they needed to kill them now,” said Assistant District Attorney Isabel Pauley. “There was urgency to the matter.”

The Ringleader

Two fishermen discovered the bodies of Roark and York off a dirt road in the woods near Fort Stewart in the mid-morning of Dec. 6 in Long County, a rural stretch of the state that does not even have its own jail. Agents from the Georgia Bureau of Investigation took over the search for the killers. “They had to answer who committed these heinous murders and why,” prosecutor Pauley said. “The answer to these questions of who and why center around one man, Isaac Aguigui.”

The son of a 20-year Army veteran, Aguigui, like most of his six siblings, was homeschooled for much of his life, according to his father, Edward, 46. “We moved around a lot,” Edward Aguigui told the *Report*. “It just made sense rather than pull the kids out of school every two or three years, we opted to home school them.”

There were other reasons the family chose home schooling. “Maybe there was some curriculum we didn’t agree with,” he said, “like evolution versus creation. We wanted to teach them in our way.”

For as long as he can remember, Edward Aguigui said his son wanted to be a soldier. Isaac used to volunteer at the local senior citizen center where he called out the bingo cards. He loved listening to the war stories of the old veterans.

He also loved guns. Young Aguigui got

his first gun, a .22 rifle, when he was 12, but only after he took a gun safety course at his father’s insistence. As a teenager, he used to go shooting with his grandfather twice a month. “I’ve only had one weapon and that was the weapon the Army issued to me,” Edward Aguigui said. “I’ve never bought a weapon. I know what a weapon can do and don’t want to fill my house with them.”

When Aguigui came home on bereavement leave and went on a gun-buying spree at a local gun shop, father and son got into an argument. Edward Aguigui said his son initially lied to him about the guns. He said he and a buddy had been collecting them for years. “They were military grade weapons,” Edward Aguigui said. “I didn’t see them all. It looked like a lot of them.”

A concerned relative notified the authorities that young Aguigui was buying a lot of weapons. The federal agents came calling on the family. “They were asking me about Isaac,” his father said. “Is he stable? He’s never threatened us. I know that.”

Since he had done nothing illegal, Aguigui was allowed to return to Fort Stewart, where he continued to purchase weapons, sending fellow soldiers such as Burnett and Roark to buy them to avoid attention. “Isaac is a very intelligent and capable young man,” said Alma Wetzker, Aguigui’s former father-in-law. “It’s not everybody who gets appointed to West Point” prep school.

Wetzker only met Aguigui twice. Once after his daughter and Aguigui got married in 2009. And once at his daughter’s funeral in 2011. “While I was superficially conversant with his politics, I can’t state in depth what they are. But he was conservative, actually fairly conservative.”

“I’m not sure exactly where he jumped the rails,” Wetzker said. “I just wish there was some way to redeem him.” ▲

► For more on extremists in the military, see intelreport.org/issue/2006/summer/a-few-bad-men

► For a list of recent domestic terror plots, see intelreport.org/publication/terror-from-the-right

The 'Fourth Position'

After a killing and a mass arrest, a new leader tries to steer former racist skinheads toward a bizarre new left-right ideology

The arrests last spring of 14 American Front (AF) members in Florida capped a year of tumultuous infighting that began with the March 2011 killing of the organization's national leader, David Lynch, in California. Now, with his Florida rivals sidelined by their legal troubles, an earlier AF national leader, James Porrazzo, has returned and is working to lead Lynch's former followers to a bizarre new ideology that mixes ideas of the radical right with those of the extreme left.

Based in Boston, Porrazzo has started a new group, New Resistance, that espouses ideas Porrazzo describes as the "Fourth Position" — a modified version of the Third Position Porrazzo once plugged, an ideology that mixed advocacy of racial separatism with opposition to capitalism, communism and globalism. He has tried to bring former members of the AF, along with others, into this new formation.

The AF, which is one of the nation's oldest racist skinhead groups, was founded in 1987 in San Francisco by Bob Heick. It soon made a name for itself on the American extreme right, affiliating with better-known racist groups like Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance and winning notoriety for episodes like breaking Geraldo Rivera's nose on live television and posing for photos in a spread on neo-Nazis published by *Sassy* magazine. Much of its ideology was standard for racist skin crews of the day, emphasizing hatred for blacks, Jews and other minorities.

Since then, it has gone through many ideological changes.

Porrazzo's first run at leading the group came in the 1990s, and he continued as leader until 2002, when Lynch took over. Under Porrazzo, the AF moved to Arkansas and became one of the only American radical-right groups



"We actually see more in common, ideologically, with groups like Nation of Islam, the New Black Panther Party or Aztlan than with the reactionaries like the Hollywood-style nazis or the Klan."

to espouse the Third Position, which is far more common among groups on the European racist right. The Third Position is a brand of neofascism that advocates racial separatism and a racially based socialism that is opposed to both capitalism and communism.

Porrazzo took Third Positionism seriously, even holding that opposition to capitalism was more important than white separatism. In an interview posted online in 1999, Porrazzo said:

"We actually see more in common, ideologically, with groups like Nation of Islam, the New Black Panther Party or Aztlan than with the reactionaries like the Hollywood-style nazis or the Klan." During this period, the AF also joined the Liaison Committee for Revolutionary Nationalism, an umbrella organization of Third Positionist groups.

But this political alignment, which included support for radical Islamists, ultimately did not win many popularity

contests among white nationalist skinheads. “By the early 2000s,” the anti-racist Anti-Defamation League reports, “Porrazzo had largely run the group into the ground and it was mostly inactive.”

Porrazzo’s approach to Islamists seems to have been the final cause of his undoing. The group promoted not only Hamas and Hezbollah, but even Al Qaeda’s Osama bin Laden. After 9/11, that kind of promotion “inspired some heavy state harassment and severely limited our ability to safely expand or organize,” according to Porrazzo. A Florida AF member says it was even rumored in the group that Porrazzo had connections to the Taliban. Troy Southgate, another white nationalist involved with Third Positionism, says that the 9/11 attacks angered the native New Yorkers in the AF, causing infighting and a descent into Islamophobia.

Right Left, Right Left

Soon afterward, Lynch said later, Porrazzo “disappeared without a trace,” and Lynch took over, moving AF headquarters back to California, where he lived in a suburb of Sacramento. Porrazzo was little heard from in the period between 2002 and Lynch’s 2011 death, with the exception of a 2008 arrest in Springfield, Mo., for allegedly assaulting a member of Anti-Racist Action, a militant anti-racist group.

Lynch, who was more of a traditional racist skinhead, steered the AF back toward the ideas it had originally espoused. He made alliances with traditional neo-Nazi skinhead crews such as the Hammerskins, Volksfront and Blood & Honour, among others. His AF website said: “We will work with any pro-white organization with common ideals and goals, regardless of their public image. We place race first in all matters and do not participate in, condone, or support fratricidal in-fighting.”



David Lynch



Mark Faella

Beginning around 2005, Lynch began to successfully lead the AF to a major resurgence, especially after 2007. Known in the movement as a charismatic man, he appeared to be successfully bringing the group back into national prominence.

But then, on March 2, 2011, an unknown attacker burst into Lynch’s home in Citrus Heights, Calif., and killed him in a murder that remains unsolved. Suddenly, the leadership of the AF was thrown open once again, and Porrazzo stepped in.

Immediately after the killing, Porrazzo (also spelled Porazzo) launched a struggle over the group’s leadership against Mark Faella and his wife Patty, who were heading up the increasingly powerful AF chapter based in St. Cloud, Fla. It appears to have been Porrazzo who commandeered the group’s website, sent an expulsion letter to both Faellas, and posted a YouTube video mocking the St. Cloud skinheads and questioning their sexual orientation. Eight months later, in October 2011, Porrazzo said he was dissolving the AF entirely and accused anyone still using the name of being “a liar and a counter-revolutionary.” At the same time, he announced that all former AF members were now part of his newly christened group, New Resistance.

Porrazzo later claimed he long had been deliberately trying to destroy the American Front in order to save it. Starting in 2009, he said, “a number of us entered their bandit grouping, disrupted

it as best we could and reestablished AF as a National Revolutionary movement.” He was referring to his efforts to reverse Lynch’s ideological course and drag the AF back to its previous Third Positionism.

But in Florida, Mark Faella won support for his own leadership bid, and his crew began making big plans. According to an FBI informant, Faella convened a July 2011 national gathering and “patched in” 10 new members, including the FBI informant who would prove to be his undoing. The Florida outfit then moved on to allegedly threatening Porrazzo’s life, with one member even claiming to have gone to Boston with another skinhead in a failed attempt to kill Porrazzo. (When Porrazzo didn’t show up at a pre-arranged meeting, the pair reportedly assaulted the two people, a man and a woman, who had gone in Porrazzo’s place. For his part, Porrazzo said that he waited for the Floridians, but they failed to appear.)

The AF has always had a reputation for violence, whether under Heick, Porrazzo or Lynch. Members have gone to prison for both murder and attempted murder, as well as a number of stabbings, drive-by shootings, bombings, and attacks on synagogues and churches. But now Faella allegedly went further, stockpiling weapons, training people, including felons, for what he considered an “inevitable race war,” and conspiring to ambush members of a local anti-racist group.

This May 12, the FBI arrested both Faellas and close to a dozen of their fol-

The manifesto calls for an alliance of groups, from all races and religions, to destroy the “blood-sucking American oligarch liberal scum.”

lowers. All were charged with illegal paramilitary training, and eight were accused of conspiracy to shoot into a dwelling. Mark Faella was also charged with directing gang activities and leading illegal paramilitary training sessions.

And just like that, Porrazzo’s rivals had been eliminated.

Dugin and the Fourth Position

Today, as chairman of New Resistance, Porrazzo is pushing his new Fourth Position ideology, an attempt to meld together revolutionary nationalists and ethnic separatists of all backgrounds with Communist holdouts and anti-Zionists. As recently as August 2011 a post on his website had promoted the AF by saying the “Third Position offers a real future for the People of North America.” But shortly thereafter he did an about-face, claiming that Third Positionism had been ruined both by neo-Nazis who used the term “while keeping all their worst ideas” and by moderates who favored change through the electoral process. Porrazzo said, “The true ‘idea’ of the Third Position as left-right synthesis that we fought so hard for is valid, though dated, and was the starting point of what we are doing today.”

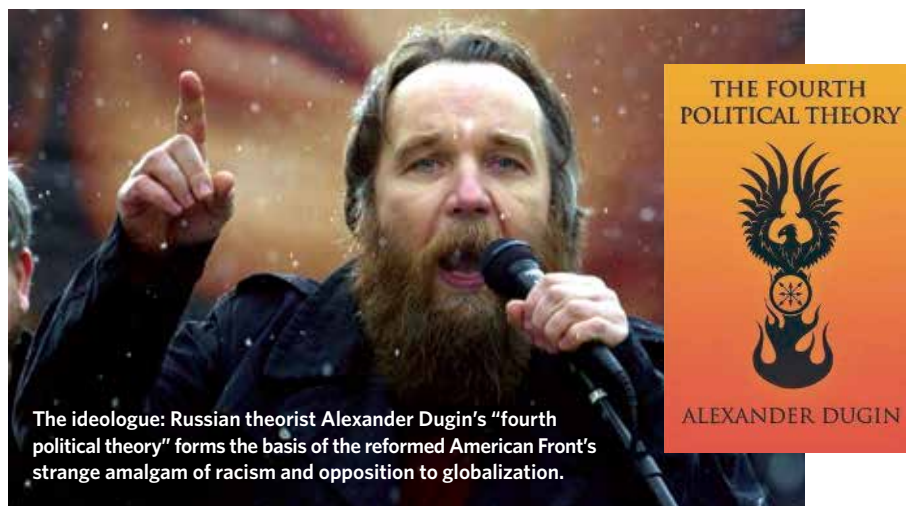
Now, Porrazzo holds that the Fourth Position — which he also describes as a kind of “left-nationalism” — is the “future of the revolutionary struggle against globalism, capitalism and liberalism.” His New Resistance supports authoritarian Syrian President Bashar Hafez al-Assad, mourns the defeat of Libya’s late ruler Muammar Gaddafi, and praises Venezuela’s leftist president, Hugo Chavez.

Followers are encouraged to read leftist classics by Karl Marx, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara, all of which sit uneasily on his website next to fascist thinkers like Claudio Mutti and Julius Evola. Porrazzo’s favorite writer is Alexander

Dugin, a Russian far-right political theorist who advocates a Eurasian super-state to oppose the Anglo-American alliance, liberalism and globalization. The Fourth Position takes its name from Dugin’s book *The Fourth Political Theory*.

Porrazzo’s group also employs left-wing slogans, calling for environmental sustainability, “social justice” and “direct democracy.” Still advocating racial sep-

would be better without.” But now, Porrazzo says his anti-Semitism was a “serious ethical error,” and that it was a mistaken outgrowth of his hatred of Zionism and capitalism; anti-Zionist Jews are welcome to work with New Resistance. However, just as the GRA manifesto’s description of the evil, inorganic, and cosmopolitan United States draws from traditional anti-Semitic formulations, so do Porrazzo’s descriptions of what he calls the “bandit state of Israel.” The “New Resistance Manifesto” that the New Resistance endorses states that “[w]e believe that Israel is nothing more than an imperialist, landlocked ‘aircraft carrier’ permanently moored to the Middle East, spreading destruction and subversion throughout the region.”



The ideologue: Russian theorist Alexander Dugin’s “fourth political theory” forms the basis of the reformed American Front’s strange amalgam of racism and opposition to globalization.

aratism, it claims that in the future this will be voluntary; in areas where this is not possible, a form of ethnically based representation is proposed.

The New Resistance promotes the rambling Global Revolutionary Alliance (GRA) manifesto, which calls for global opposition to the United States, which is described as a country of “absolute evil.” In line with much anti-Semitic thinking, America is said to be inorganic, without collective identity, “a giant golem, controlled by the oligarchy.” The manifesto calls for an alliance of groups, from all races and religions, to destroy the “blood-sucking American oligarch liberal scum.”

Previously, Porrazzo was known for his high-octane anti-Semitism, calling Jews “a filthy, evil people the world

Although he has decades of political experience behind him, the jury is still out on whether Porrazzo and his New Resistance can establish a group with any real influence on the American radical right. One thing that seems certain is that he will be fighting an uphill battle, both because the American extreme right loathes the far left and because Porrazzo’s own penchant for infighting could destroy him. ▲

► For more on ideology related to the “Fourth Position,” see intelreport.org/issue/2000/winter/neither-left-nor-right

MACK ATTACK

RESURRECTION

Amid a ‘Patriot’ resurgence, former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack wants an ‘army’ of sheriffs to resist federal authority

BY RYAN LENZ

He’s a graduate of the FBI National Academy who preaches that county sheriffs are the highest legitimate law enforcement officials in the land. He’s a hard-right libertarian who believes the federal government has no authority to require drivers to wear seat belts and who once demanded the government give him back the \$4,800 he paid in income taxes. He’s a self-styled “constitutional conservative” with little or no formal legal training who believes that states can ignore federal laws they don’t like, despite clear language in the U.S. Constitution that says otherwise.

Meet Richard Mack — or “Sheriff Mack,” as he is more commonly known.

Mack, 59, is the raven-haired former sheriff of a sparsely populated Arizona county who was catapulted from obscurity to right-wing fame in the mid-1990s when he challenged the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act and won a U.S. Supreme Court victory that weakened the gun-control law signed by President Bill Clinton.

An inductee in the National Rifle Association’s Hall of Fame whose stardom dimmed by the turn of the century, Mack is once again riding high in the saddle as a patron saint of the resurgent antigovernment “Patriot” movement and a meticulously coiffed darling of the Tea Party set. For the past two years, the former public relations director for the Gun Owners of America has zigzagged across the country spreading dark fears and conspiracy theories about the federal government, hawking his self-published

books about guns and God, and encouraging sheriffs to join his new organization, the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA), and be a “line in the sand” against government agents. He recently bragged that he had spoken at 120 Tea Party events across the country (his website says 70), in addition to the many law enforcement gatherings, local political fundraisers, John Birch Society (JBS) meetings, and other events where he is treated as a hero.

Whether he’s speaking to local chapters of the JBS or appearing on far-right radio shows like James Edwards’ white nationalist program “The Political Cesspool,” Mack’s central message is that the federal government has far overstepped its constitutional bounds and that county sheriffs have the rightful authority — and duty — to protect citizens from what he believes are its unlawful incursions. This idea that sheriffs have supremacy over other law enforcement agencies and even the federal government was born and gained traction in the 1970s and 1980s when it was pushed by the explicitly racist, anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus (Latin for “power of the county”), which capitalized on the Midwestern farm crisis of the era to promote an extreme antigovernment ideology. The Posse’s founding tract, the so-called Blue Book written by white supremacist Henry Lamont Beach, asserted the county was “the highest authority of government in our Republic.”

There is little question that Mack has been an important player in the resur-

gence of the Patriot movement, which has seen its numbers mushroom from 149 groups in 2008, the year President Obama was elected, to 1,274 by the end of 2011. His ideas, which include a heavy emphasis on state sovereignty, resonate with the armed militias and others in the broader movement, in addition to racist extremists across the radical right who chafe at federal laws protecting minorities from hate crimes and discrimination.

While Mack shakes his fist at the federal government and wants to devolve virtually all power to state and local governments, he says he does not favor violence. But his rhetoric is certainly confrontational and seems to fuel the passions of extremists as well as audiences closer to the mainstream. He once said he prayed for the day when a sheriff would be the “first one to fire the next shot around the world and arrest a couple of IRS agents.”

To the Tea Party activists who delight in his pugilistic attitude toward the government they distrust, Mack may seem like a natural ally. But some analysts say the ideas he is helping to transmit from the fringes of the radical right into the mainstream of conservative thought are extreme and, perhaps, dangerous.

“Ever since the notion of the supremacy of the county sheriff became popularized, it has continued to remain attractive — though when people hear it, they don’t understand that what is behind it is violent lawlessness and vigilantism,” said Daniel Levitas, author of *The Terrorist Next Door*, a book that



It was in Provo that Mack met the man who appears to have shaped his ideology more than any other — a fellow

Mormon named W. Cleon Skousen.

By the time Mack saw him speak in 1984, Skousen was a leading light of right-wing radicalism, a theocrat who believed the decline of America began with passage of the 14th Amendment and its guarantee of equality for the former slaves and others. A former Salt Lake City police chief who spent 11 years with the FBI, Skousen had toured the country in the late 1950s and into the 1960s to whip up anti-communist fervor under the banner of the John Birch Society. His best-selling book in 1958, *The Naked Capitalist*, warned of a cabal of global elites who were scheming to create a worldwide, collectivist government — what the JBS and Patriot groups now fear as the “New World Order.” He demonized the federal regulatory agencies and wanted to abolish civil rights laws, labor unions, the minimum wage, the income and estate taxes, the direct election of U.S. senators, the wall between church and state, and many other government programs and initiatives.

To Mack, Skousen’s controversial worldview was much more than a trip down the rabbit hole of Birch-style conspiracy theories. Years later, according to the *Arizona Daily Star*, Mack said of the

240 officers who heard Skousen speak: “I don’t know what happened to the other 239 of them, but this one was converted.”

In 1988, armed with Skousen’s views, Mack left Utah with his wife and children for his home state of Arizona and ran for sheriff as a Democrat in Graham County. He defeated the incumbent with 58% of the vote and, long before Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio would do so in Phoenix, began building a citizens’ militia to help his deputies.

He was re-elected four years later, and it was during his second term that Mack, backed with money and manpower from the National Rifle Association (NRA), became the first sheriff, on Feb. 28, 1994, to challenge the Clinton administration over the constitutionality of the Brady Act. His lawsuit was based on provisions requiring local law enforcement officials to conduct background checks for gun sales. That single event propelled him to fame on the Patriot lecture circuit, but it also drew the blueprint for his political demise in Arizona. Two years later, discontented with the time he spent on national issues, voters showed him the door.

The transition from being the focal point of national news to yesterday’s fascination left Mack listless, and he took up work at a car dealership while finishing his first book, *From My Cold Dead Fingers: Why America Needs Guns*. Published in 1996, the book retold the reasons he challenged the federal gov-

chronicles the racist underpinnings of the militia movement of the 1990s. “That’s what Richard Mack stands for when you strip all the window dressing away: lawlessness and vigilantism.”

Down the Rabbit Hole

Richard Ivan Mack’s animus toward the government might have never come to fruition. As a child in Safford, Ariz., where he was born into a conservative Mormon family on Dec. 27, 1952, he dreamed of becoming an FBI agent, like his father. He became an Eagle Scout, played football, baseball and basketball, and says he never smoked or drank. Despite his clean living, he was unable to gain admittance to the FBI following his 1978 graduation from Brigham Young University with a bachelor’s degree in Latin American studies. (He later attended the FBI National Academy and graduated in 1992.)

But while still attending BYU, he had already begun working as a part-time parking enforcement cadet with the Provo (Utah) Police Department, according to his website. Afterward, he stayed on and advanced up the chain — at one point spending a year as an undercover narcotics agent — to become a detective during his 11 years there.

ernment, and its pages dripped with charged antigovernment venom.

“The U.S. Constitution was written to protect honest Americans,” Mack wrote in the book’s final chapter. “Attempts to dilute its content and meaning must be met with fierce resistance in the polling places of America, in the Halls of Congress — and, if necessary, in the streets, the hills and dales of the Republic.”

In the mid-1990s, Mack went to work as the chief lobbyist for the Gun Owners of America, a Springfield, Va.-based organization whose executive director, Larry Pratt, played a major role in bringing the idea of militias to the radical right.

In 1994, Mack sued the federal government over certain provisions of the Brady Act, a gun-control measure, prompting the NRA to name him “Law Enforcement Officer of the year.” When, on June 27, 1997, the Supreme Court ruled in his favor, Mack became a media sensation overnight. He soon began speaking at militia gatherings and other venues to promote his book, often while wearing his sheriff’s uniform even though he no longer held office. Mack had found a new role in life as an antigovernment icon.

Cross-Pollinating the Right

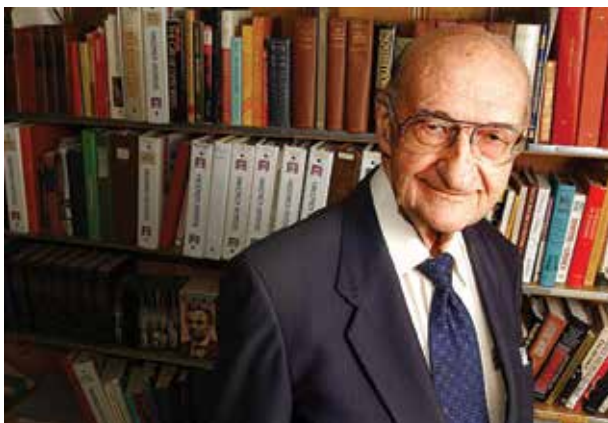
Mack has tried to return to elected office several times since losing his sheriff’s badge. First, he ran for sheriff in Utah County, Utah, in 1998 as a Republican but lost in the primary. Then, he returned to Arizona and in 2006 ran under the Libertarian Party banner against incumbent U.S. Senator Jon Kyl, a Republican, but garnered just 3% of the vote in the general election.

Last year, Mack moved to Fredericksburg, Texas, a small town about 70 miles west of Austin. A group called the Patriots of Gillespie County announced on its website that “[t]hrough the efforts of some great Patriots, enough support was gained to be able to help bring Sheriff Mack to the Hill Country” and that Mack would open a local office where he would work to “educate communities and their sheriffs about the ability to stop runaway government wherever one lives.”

This year, Mack challenged U.S. Rep. Lamar Smith, a powerful, conservative GOP congressman who has represented the state’s sparsely populated and largely

white 21st Congressional District since 1987. Smith received the NRA’s highest rating and its endorsement. Mack lost badly in the Republican primary, receiving just 15 percent of the vote.

While Mack has been repeatedly rebuffed by the electorate, he remains highly popular among the most conservative elements of the right as well as those on the far fringes. Veteran investigative reporter David Neiwert, who has written extensively about extremism in America, said that Mack “treads the boundaries of the various sectors of America’s right wing and appears to belong to each of them at various times.” But, he added, Mack “is most at home in his native base: the populist right, the world of militias, constitutionalists and pseudo-libertarians.”



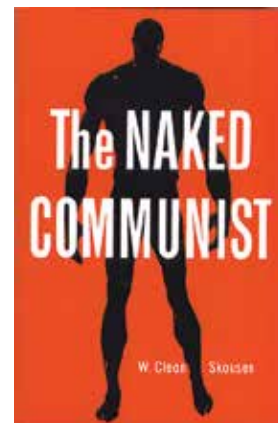
The radical: The late W. Cleon Skousen, whose book *The Naked Communist* warned early on of a socialistic global government, was a critical source for Richard Mack’s developing views.

It so happens, though, that these worlds often intersect with the racist and xenophobic groups that see the nation as divinely created for white people. For example, on Sept. 8, Mack appeared on “The Political Cesspool,” a wildly racist radio show that has promoted the views of white supremacists, neo-Nazis, Holocaust deniers, antigovernment conspiracy theorists and other extremists. He told host James Edwards, “We do have a solution for what’s going on in Washington, D.C. We can make the federal government irrelevant.”

Mack also has been a longtime supporter of white supremacist Randy Weaver. In 2003, he wrote the forward to Weaver’s book, *Vicki, Sam and America: How the Government Killed All Three*. It

had been 11 years since the deadly siege of the Weavers’ cabin in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, an event that helped fuel the militia movement of the 1990s, but Mack treated the event with fresh indignation. He chastised the federal government for inflicting an “unimaginable hell” on the Weavers and defended the family’s racist ties under the guise of “restor[ing] America as a country dedicated to freedom and liberty.”

“Those who told you Weaver was a bigot, a white supremacist, and a murderer or even worse, lied to you!” Mack wrote. “He was and is none of these things. Is he a white man? Yes. Is he a separatist? I suppose he is in a way; he does not believe in miscegenation (interracial marriage), but he holds no ill-will towards those who do. He also wanted to be left alone, especially from the government.”



Mack also once granted an interview to *The Jubilee*, a defunct, racist Christian Identity newspaper. And more recently, Mack has aligned himself with one of the nativist movement’s more flamboyant characters. The California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) has helped Mack raise funds to get his CSPOA off the ground. The group’s founder, Barbara Coe, is best known for diatribes against Mexican “savages” and her wild conspiracy theories, including one detailing a secret Mexican plan to “reconquer” the American Southwest. Coe is also a self-described member of the Council of Conservative Citizens, which has described black people as a “retrograde species of humanity.”

“The U.S. Constitution was written to protect honest Americans. Attempts to dilute its content and meaning must be met with fierce resistance in the polling places of America, in the Halls of Congress — and, if necessary, in the streets, the hills and dales of the Republic.”

Despite these relationships, Mack insists he is not a racist. And to make a point about how sheriffs should not enforce laws or mandates they don't like, he often alludes to the arrest of the African-American seamstress Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Parks' arrest sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, one of the seminal events of the civil rights movement. According to Mack, Parks would never have been arrested had the sheriff been true to his constitutional oath.

While he disavows the racism embraced by many with whom he consorts, he doesn't shy away from the kind of baseless conspiracy theories that animate Patriot organizations.

In July 2011, Mack appeared on “The Alex Jones Show,” where he shared the radio host's enthusiasm for the incredible, even floating the idea that the deadly 1995 raid on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, was staged by the government to ensure increased funding for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. He's also a board member of the Oath Keepers, a conspiracy-mongering Patriot group comprising veterans and active-duty military and police personnel who vow to disobey orders they consider unconstitutional. The hypothetical “10 Orders” that members pledge to disobey are based on typical Patriot fears: that the government will disarm law-abiding citizens, declare martial law, conduct warrantless searches, turn cities into concentration camps, confiscate food and property, and curtail freedom of speech and assembly.

“The greatest threat we face today is not terrorists,” Mack says on his website. “It is our own federal government.”

Sheriffs First

Over the past two years, Mack has been working to bring county sheriffs nationwide into the fold of the Patriot movement. He formed the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association in 2011 to advance the principle that sheriffs must resist the government.

“The county sheriff is the one who can say to the feds, ‘Beyond these bounds you shall not pass,’” Mack writes on the CSPOA website. He further writes that hundreds of police officers, sheriffs and others have “expressed a desire to be part of this Holy Cause of Liberty.” He vows to train them, state by state, and says that the local governments they represent will issue a “Declaration to the Federal Government regarding the abuses that we will no longer tolerate or accept.” That declaration, he says, will be enforced by those lawmen. “In short, the CSPOA will be the army to set our nation free.”

At the group's inaugural conference last January in Las Vegas, more than 100 sheriffs from around the country gathered, including Elkhart County, Ind., Sheriff Brad Rogers, who garnered Patriot fame in December 2011 when he vowed to arrest Food and Drug Administration agents if they tried to inspect an Amish man's dairy farm without a search warrant. “When I saw things like Waco and Ruby Ridge and [the] Hurricane Katrina gun grab, I'm telling you, as sheriff of Elkhart County, Ind., that stuff's not going to happen in my county,” Rogers said.

The problem with the idea of sheriff supremacy is that it has absolutely no standing in historical or modern jurisprudence, according to Dennis Kenney, a professor of criminal justice with the John Jay College of Criminal Justice at City

University-New York. It's the byproduct of a bygone era in American radicalism.

“There's never been anything to it, and there will never be,” Kenney said. Still, the idea has taken root in some quarters. In Montana, lawmakers two years ago considered a proposal dubbed the “Sheriffs First” bill that would have required federal agents to receive a sheriff's permission before making an arrest. In New Hampshire last August, a Republican candidate for sheriff came under fire for saying that a sheriff was justified in using deadly force to stop an abortion. In Delaware last April, the CSPOA supported the cause of Sussex County Sheriff Jeff Christopher, who was fighting proposed legislation clarifying that sheriffs in that state do not have arrest powers. “If you have a sheriff that stands against tyranny in each of their counties, if he's the chief law enforcement officer like he's supposed to be, then he can block some of those enforcement efforts that the federal government or the state government mandates that may be unconstitutional,” Christopher said. “He can say no.”

And that just may be the endgame Mack is after — a generation of sheriffs whose politics are infused with radical-right views and whose understanding of the office of sheriff extends far beyond serving court papers, running local jails and policing areas outside the city limits. What Mack seems to want is a nation of county sheriffs who believe the government is the enemy.

“These are now sheriffs who are learning and willing to learn how to become oath keeper sheriffs — that they would actually be willing to interpose on behalf of the people to protect their freedom,” Mack said in February. “These are true American sheriffs.” ▲



INSIDE THE BROTHERHOOD

A former ‘commissioner’ of America’s most notorious prison gang discusses life and death in the Aryan Brotherhood

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE ILLUSTRATION BY MATT MURPHY

“For the Aryan Brotherhood, murder is a way to make a social statement,” said John Greschner, a former top leader of the gang. ¶ “If blacks attack whites, we send a message. We go pick one of their shot callers. We catch them walking across the [prison] yard under guard escort in handcuffs. It don’t matter. We’re going to butcher him in handcuffs in front of God and everybody at high noon in the middle of the yard. And it’s not just going to be a few clean stab marks. It’s going to be a vicious, brutal killing. Because that’s how brothers [AB members] take care of business, and a brother’s work is never done.” ¶ Greschner joined the Aryan Brotherhood (AB) in 1977 about 13 years after white prisoners formed the gang in the recently desegregated San Quentin State Prison in California. When he joined, Greschner said, there were 50 to 60 members and associates of the AB. Now, according to federal law enforcement agencies, there are roughly 20,000. ¶

The gang that Greschner said was “started up as a white self-defense group in a single pen,” has evolved into a multinational criminal syndicate with hugely profitable drug trafficking and gambling operations and protection rackets within prisons across the country. On the streets, the AB is involved in practically any profitable criminal enterprise, including murder-for-hire, armed robbery, gun running, methamphetamine manufacturing, counterfeiting and identity theft.

“It’s an empire,” Greschner said in a recent interview with the *Intelligence Report*. “That’s what I helped it become.”

As one of three members of the AB “commission” overseeing all gang activity based in the federal prison system — activity that often reaches far beyond prison walls — Greschner was directly responsible for increasing the size and sophistication of the Aryan Brotherhood during two key decades of rapid expansion for what is now the largest and deadliest prison-based gang in the country.

Along with vetting prospective members and voting on leadership decisions,

“You want the maniacs, those beserkers, man, that, in their minds, they’re going to Valhalla. If they fall on the battlefield, they’re going to paradise.”

including targeted killings, Greschner by his own account personally instituted a banking and collections system for the gang and developed complex written codes for communicating between prisons and with members and associates in the free world. He was also the gang’s resident expert in improvised weapons, including poisons and explosives he cooked up in prison cells.

Now 60 years old, Greschner is serving a double life sentence for murder and conspiracy to commit murder resulting from the 1984 killing of a fellow inmate at the United States Penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kan. Greschner said the man was killed because he refused to pay a large gambling debt owed the AB.

“We made sure to get the word out: If you burn the AB, you go in the hat, meaning there’s a contract on your life,” said Greschner. The phrase “in the hat” refers to the early years of the gang, he said, when AB members in a certain prison would draw pieces of paper out of a hat to determine which of them would carry out a contract murder.

“Once you’re in the hat, you ain’t getting out of the hat. Ever. Thirty years later, if a brother sees you somewhere, you’re going down. In the streets, in jail, it doesn’t matter. They’re gonna get you.”

Greschner used to put names in the hat. Now he’s in the hat. He severed ties with the AB and debriefed with federal investigators in 2001 following a bitter feud with the gang’s most notorious member, longtime AB commissioner and original co-founder Barry “The Baron” Mills, who recruited Greschner to join the gang 35 years ago. Now Greschner’s speaking to a wider audience.

‘The Brightest Light Shining’

Currently held in federal protective custody at a prison in the western U.S., Greschner earlier this year sat with hands and feet shackled for a three-hour interview. (As a condition of the interview, the *Report* agreed to withhold the name of the prison to protect Greschner.) With neatly trimmed grey hair, a beard to match, and blue eyes that rarely blink, Greschner slouched casually in his chair, a hooked toothpick strung with dental floss clenched between his teeth.

One thing he wanted to make clear right away: He’s not a racist. Before he joined the AB, he did stick-ups with black partners, Native American partners, no problem. His cellmate these days is black. They get along fine, even though Greschner has a swastika tattoo, which he insisted is the Sanskrit version, not the Nazi kind.

“To me, it’s a Buddhist thing,” he said. “I’m a yogi.”

Despite the swastika tattoos widely popular with its members, the vast majority of whom are neither Buddhists nor claim to be, the Aryan Brotherhood as it exists today is not a hate group in the traditional sense.

Although widely idealized by racist skinheads and other hard-core white supremacists, the AB in reality is far more about gaining power and reaping profit than promoting white racial unity or furthering any kind of white power revolutionary cause. If there’s big-time money to be made in dealing with Mexican drug cartels, AB shot callers won’t let skin color get in the way.

However, many AB members do practice a racist variant of the neo-pagan religion Asatru, the faith of Viking raiders of old. Also, rank-and-file members of

the gang commonly espouse “race war” rhetoric as justification for violence. According to Greschner, the AB began cynically using what he called “the race thing” as a recruiting tool in the 1980s to foster a sense of common identity and harden loyalty to the gang, particularly among new members, who might otherwise turn snitch.

“I was telling Barry [Mills] at one time, I said, ‘Look, man, we gotta have some deeper catalyst that pulls people in and holds them together. Because when you’re harvesting criminals [as members], criminals are fine, but criminals are in the game a lot of times only to get what they can for themselves, so if you put a lot of pressure and heat on, you can get them to roll over,’” said Greschner. “‘But if you give them something deeper they can feel connected to, maybe some northern European religion or whatever, and some racial thing and all that, well, they’ll start to feel like they’re down with a greater cause that they’re fighting for, and then they won’t roll.’ That’s what I told Barry.”

According to Greschner, AB leaders also recognize the value of exploiting the gang’s legendary image within the American skinhead movement to easily absorb skinhead crews throughout the country whenever a high-ranking member of a particular skinhead crew enters the prison system.

“This is what happens,” he said. “The loudest ringing bell, as far as any white group out there goes, is the Aryan Brotherhood. They’ve all heard of us. They all want to be us. We’re the brightest light shining. And, you know, we’ve got people everywhere out there [outside prison], keeping us up to date on all the little white crews in the United States — all the little skinhead crews,

the European Kindred, the LR's [Nazi Low Riders], the PENI [Public Enemy Number One], whatever.

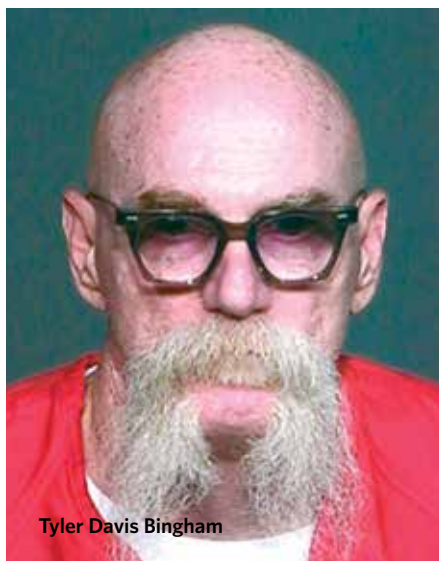
"So what we do is, any time a member of one of these white crews comes in here [the federal prison system], if they're one of their main guys, or just someone we see has the potential and the talent to step up and be with us, we pull him [recruit him to join the AB]. And through pulling him, we run his entire group out there, and usually that group has other affiliations, so we run them now. That's mergers and acquisitions. Takeovers, but not even hostile takeovers, because all the skinheads, all these white gangster crews, they all want to be down with us anyhow."

Joining the 'Brand'

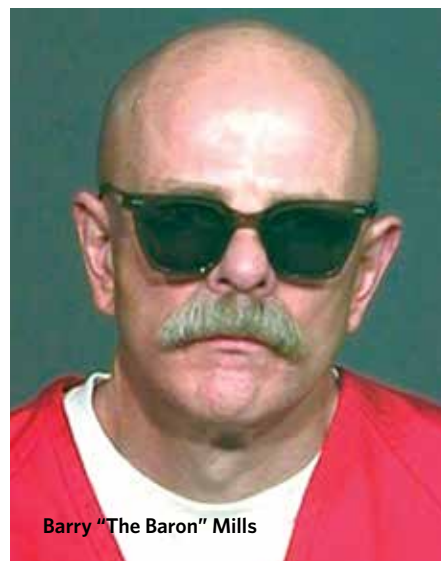
For Greschner, joining the AB was a natural progression in a life of crime that began when he was still just a boy growing up in Minnesota. "Pops was on the road all the time, driving 18-wheelers, Mom wasn't there a lot, so next thing you know, I had a little street gang going back in the '50s," he said. "We had our leather jackets all with zippers and our engineering boots and greaser hairdos and our little gravity knives."

Greschner was first incarcerated at the age of 16 for "robberies and shootings and conspiracy stuff." When he joined the AB in 1977, he was a 25-year-old career criminal with a string of violent felony convictions, then serving federal time for armed robbery and aggravated assault. Greschner at the time was also charged with the attempted murder of a police officer he shot during a gun battle the previous year, following his escape from a state prison in Minnesota.

At a federal prisoner transfer facility in Terre Haute, Ind., that convicts call "The Hut," Greschner met AB co-founder Barry Mills, who, like Greschner, was awaiting transfer to a federal penitentiary in Atlanta. Heavily muscled with long blond hair, Mills had a bad eye from a knife fight with Mexican inmates in San Quentin and an Aryan Brotherhood tattoo on one arm that he burned off years later.



Tyler Davis Bingham



Barry "The Baron" Mills

Mills knew of Greschner's escape and shootout with police officers, and of his reputation as a "good con," one that kept his mouth shut and backed up other good cons. "Barry came to me and said, 'You're like us. You're cut from the same cloth. You take care of your business. You've got good morals, good ethics, you're a good, stand-up dude, and you'd be an asset to our organization.'"

Greschner wasn't interested in joining a prison gang. But Mills described his vision for transforming the AB into a powerful crime syndicate. "He was talking about organizing the streets from inside the prisons. I was down."

It was a pivotal time in the history of the Aryan Brotherhood. Prior to 1977, the gang operated solely within the California state prison system. But as Mills and other AB higher ups had entered the federal prison system in recent years they had come to see the federal system as fertile ground.

"What happened was these guys would get out of the state pen in California, and then get a federal crack [conviction] for hitting banks, or running drugs or firearms, and they'd get put in the feds in different joints all over America," said Greschner. "So Barry started shooting wires back to the brothers in California, saying, 'Look, man, we got a whole country out here. We'd like to form our own thing.' And the word came back, 'You have our blessing.'"

From that point forward the Aryan Brotherhood divided into separate organizations: the California AB and the federal system AB. "They're like two related but different criminal families," Greschner explained. "They each have their commission ... but they're allies. Obviously, if we get the word from California that, 'Hey, this guy's coming into the feds, and he's no good, he's in the hat,' we're going to make sure he gets clipped. And vice-versa."

Greschner helped Mills and other founders of the federal AB recruit hundreds of new members in the late 1970s, searching out "psychos" who would buy into the Asatru concept of being Viking warriors destined for paradise. "You want the maniacs, those berserkers, man, that, in their minds, they're going to Valhalla. If they fall on the battlefield, they're going to paradise," he said.

In short order, the AB began taking over existing drug and gambling operations run by white inmates throughout the federal prison system, Greschner said. The leaders of these rings were offered a stark choice: join the federal AB and start taking orders — and kicking back money to the commissioners — or die.

"Our old saying was, 'One brother.' Meaning that one brother can walk into any joint [federal prison] and take it over. Any joint. Because the leaders of the other crews in there know that one brother has the entire Brand [AB] behind him. So if they kill that one brother, sooner or later he'll reach from the grave through us to get his revenge."



Some of the symbols used by the Aryan Brotherhood include swastikas and SS lightning bolts.

Into the Streets

As federal AB members were paroled or served their full sentences and were released, the gang began setting up crime groups on the streets. According to Greschner, he and Mills instituted a flat tax policy and de facto banking system in which 20% of the profits of any AB criminal enterprise on the streets was deposited into money stashes or “accounts” controlled by the commission and eventually laundered through strip clubs, custom motorcycle shops and other legitimate businesses.

The motorcycle shops, Greschner said, also served as sources for cyanide, which the AB put to several uses. “Cyanide’s used for chroming mufflers and engines, so they could order it without any hassle. We’d get a little cyanide sent in [smuggled into prison] and I’d use it to make different kinds of explosives or we’d serve a guy a hot shot [a poisoned syringe of narcotics].”

By the mid-1980s, Greschner said, the federal AB had ongoing criminal operations established in major cities across the country. The leader “on the street” in each city, or, in more sparsely populated areas, each region, was appointed by and reported directly to the three-man commission. “These are designated people we give the authority to run the day-to-day in their areas,” he said. “One of their responsibilities is to set up a switchboard, meaning a way to handle the mail, the phone calls.”

AB switchboards communicated with each other and relayed messages between the streets and the prisons using a complex system of codes that Greschner said he devised. “Basically it was just a bunch of different variations on a bilateral encryption system based on a code the French Underground used during World War II,” he said.

“It’s like, when you do a code puzzle in a game book, and you figure out that X means A, you know every time you run across X, it means A. But with our numbers, X may be A this time, but the next time X is B, and one sentence later it’s Z.”

Every switchboard had its own code and decryption key, which rotated often, Greschner said. “That way it was compartmentalized, as a security thing.”

“The loudest ringing bell, as far as any white group out there goes, is the Aryan Brotherhood. They’ve all heard of us. They all want to be us. We’re the brightest light shining.”

In 1992, Greschner said, Aryan Brotherhood street operations received a huge boost after Italian-American Mafia boss John Gotti, the “Teflon Don,” was sentenced to life in prison without parole and transferred to the maximum security federal pen in Marion, Ill., a longtime AB stronghold. (In 1983, AB members there stabbed to death two corrections officers on the same day.)

Gotti first hired the AB to protect him in the prison, and then began to set up deals between his crews and theirs on the streets. “It’s like, it’s his world out there, but it’s our world in here, and he’s in here doing forever, so he’s in our world now, and we scratched each other’s backs,” Greschner said. “We could tap into his resources up in New York, so when we needed glassware or whatever to set up [methamphetamine] labs, hey, his crews have righteous [legitimate] businesses through their unions that can get all the glasswork, all the chemicals, and, you know, the beat just went on from there.”

The Split

Dealing with Gotti, though, had a major unintended consequence, according to Greschner. “Barry started to want to be like Gotti, he started to trip like he was some kind of godfather,” Greschner said that Mills began issuing orders without first consulting Greschner or the other commissioner, T.D. Bingham. “He was a good brother before shit started going to his head,” said Greschner. “But it got the point where I told him, ‘Look, bro, AB stands for ‘Aryan Brotherhood,’ not ‘Aryan Barryhood.’”

This occurred in the late 1990s, when Greschner, Mills, Bingham and several other key AB leaders were all incarcerated in solitary confinement cells in the ADX (Administrative Maximum) prison in Florence, Colo. Federal authorities had transferred them to the Supermax prison in hopes of disrupting AB operations by preventing them from communicating between themselves or issuing orders to the outside world.

Still, they found ways. One, Greschner said, was called “getting on the phone,” where the commissioners would drain the water from their metal toilets and then have a meeting by speaking to one another through the pipes.

Meanwhile, his relationship with Mills continued to fray. According to Greschner, he was outraged when Mills ordered hits on five AB members for what Greschner perceived as “personal beefs, not official business” (see story, p. 27). Also, Greschner later testified, Mills began pressuring him to design package bombs to be mailed to federal prosecutors, despite his protests that such a bombing campaign would cause too much collateral damage and bring too much heat.

In mid-1999, Greschner sent a message to AB members that Mills was ordering hits on his own authority, a glaring violation of the gang’s code. That October, he severed ties with the gang forever, and guaranteed his own death warrant, by testifying against a high-ranking member of the AB in a federal drug trafficking case.

Three years later, in 2002, 29 leaders of the federal AB were rounded up from

prisons all over the country and charged with violations of the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, including conspiracy to commit murder, which carries the death penalty. Greschner was not among the RICO defendants.

Federal prosecutors declared their intention to seek the death penalty against 21 of the AB shot callers, or top leaders, including the two commissioners Mills and Bingham, in a highly publicized “decapitation strike” designed to cripple the gang’s leadership. Officials said they could see no other way of preventing imprisoned AB leaders, even if held in segregation, from continuing to run the gang. The tactic failed when juries returned convictions but no death penalties. Mills and Bingham, for example, were sentenced to life without parole and returned to the ADX in Colorado, where they were already serving life with no possibility of parole.

“The worst thing the government could have done if it was looking to shut down the AB was to bring that racketeering case and pump it all up through the news media, everywhere, all the newspapers about how, ‘The only way to deal with these guys is to cut the head off the dragon,’ and then nobody gets the death penalty, not one,” said Greschner. “All they did was provide the AB with the greatest recruitment tool ever, for all these young, white, radical fools all over the country. The AB couldn’t have bought PR shit like this.”

Today, Greschner spends his days in a prison yard, meditating and practicing Kundalini yoga. He says he harbors no ill will for the Brand, though his hatred for Mills is palpable. When asked if he minds spending the rest of his natural life behind bars, he shrugs and shakes his head. “This is my ashram, man, my temple. I can close my eyes and go anywhere I want. Without coming here, I never would have gotten where I’m going.”

Greschner is eligible for parole in 2055. He would be 103. ▲

‘Blood Out’

Leaving the Aryan Brotherhood can be a dangerous business. One former leader explains why he nevertheless quit the prison gang

It’s sometimes said that the notorious Aryan Brotherhood (AB) has a “blood in, blood out” rule — that prospective members need to kill an AB enemy to join the gang, and that the only way to leave the gang is by dying. While that is not literally true in all cases, the AB is famous for the deadly way it settles scores. John Greschner, one of the gang’s top leaders, or “commissioners,” broke ties with the AB in 1999. He said he was forced to leave the gang after he exposed an alleged plot by fellow AB commissioner and AB co-founder Barry “The Baron” Mills to have five AB members who were personally disliked by Mills but had not breached gang rules killed by falsely branding them informants. In an interview with the Intelligence Report, Greschner described how he fell out with Mills and detailed the AB’s ironclad rules for killing one of its own. The Report started by asking Greschner how AB leaders decide if a member should die.



JOHN GRESCHNER: Only the commission can authorize a hit on a brother. If the commission doesn’t authorize it, and you kill a brother, no matter what the reason, if it’s unauthorized, you’re going to pay the price. You’re going to get clipped. That shit is carved in stone on the face of a mountain.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: How does the commission authorize a hit?

GRESCHNER: It takes two commissioners to green-light a brother. So what happened with Barry was, he was coming to me, because he needed a second commissioner, and he thought I’d just rubber stamp all these hits, and he’s telling me, “These guys are informants.” But he had no evidence. And the common denominator was that he had personal beefs with them over feeling disrespected, but he’s

trying to put it in my head, “Look, bro, they’re tit for tat.”

IR: Tit for tat?

GRESCHNER: “Tit for tat” is our code for rats, just like “bees and honey” means money and “laying from Bristol,” pistol.

IR: So you didn’t believe him?

GRESCHNER: Well, I wanted to see evidence. I told him, “Look, brother, I’m not cosigning that order.” And I put the word out to all the joints [federal prisons], “Barry’s saying this, but there’s no evidence, so as the second commissioner, I’m putting the brakes on his order. These hits are not authorized, and anyone who carries them out will pay with his life.”

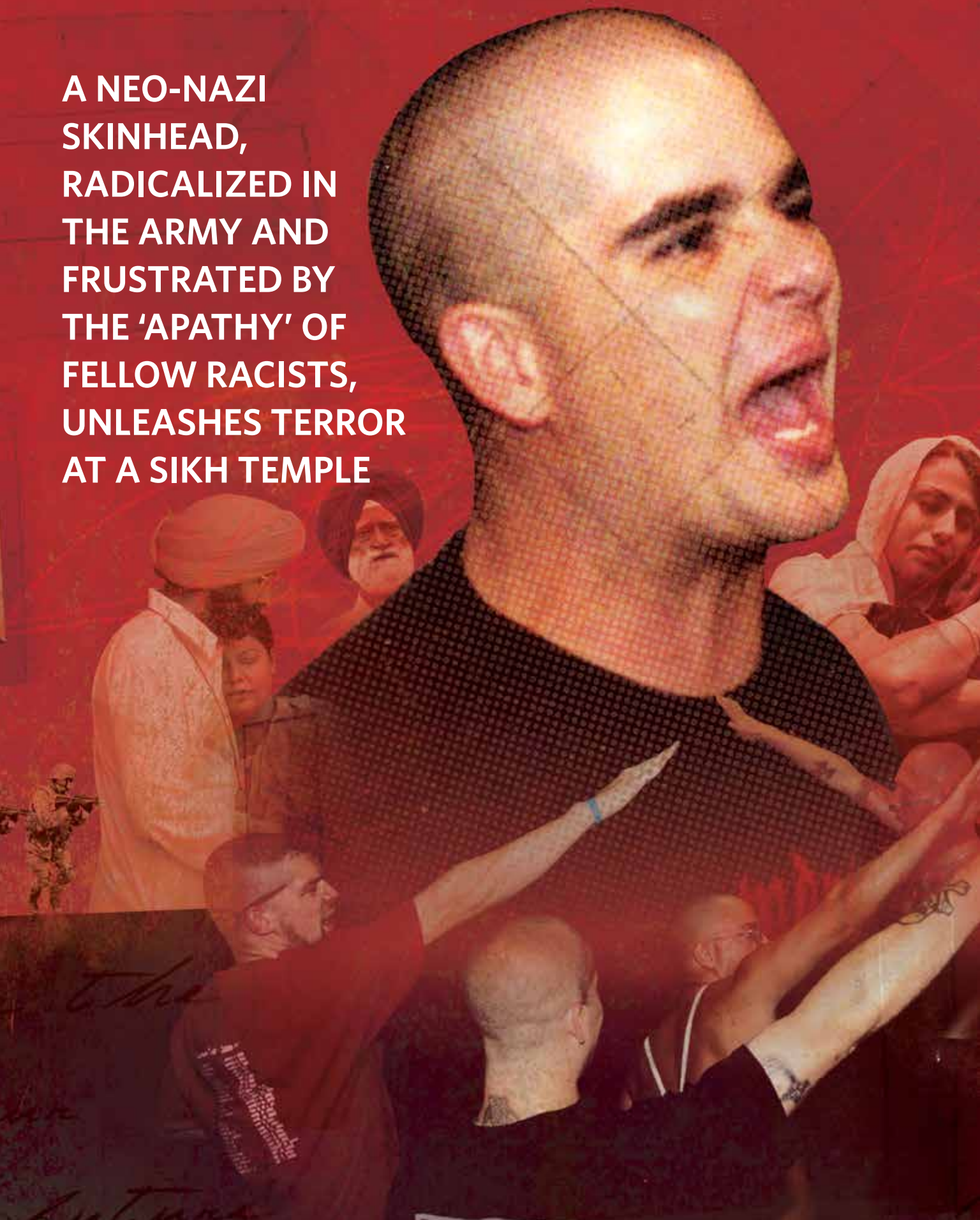
IR: How did Mills react?

GRESCHNER: He felt I betrayed him by exposing him to all the other brothers. Well, I’m doing what I’m supposed to do as a brother. I’m doing what the ethics of our organization demand that I do, and I’m certainly doing what I’m supposed to do as a commissioner. I’m not going to throw a brother’s life away. It’s not going to happen.

— David Holthouse

► For more information on the case and the group, see intelreport.org/issue/2005/fall/smashing-the-shamrock

**A NEO-NAZI
SKINHEAD,
RADICALIZED IN
THE ARMY AND
FRUSTRATED BY
THE 'APATHY' OF
FELLOW RACISTS,
UNLEASHES TERROR
AT A SIKH TEMPLE**





MASSACRE IN WISCONSIN

BY MARILYN ELIAS ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID VOGIN

No one knows what drove Wade Michael Page to walk into the Sikh Temple of Wisconsin on a Sunday morning last August and start shooting worshippers with a 9 mm handgun. Maybe the 40-year-old white power musician believed he was killing Muslims, a group he despised because of the 9/11 attacks by radical Islamists.

He didn't live to talk about it, though, and left no manifesto like the one written by the Muslim-hating Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik last year.

But while his motive may never be known, the details of his life suggest that the path toward his final act began at a U.S Army base that was home to a thriving neo-Nazi underworld during the time Page was stationed there in the mid-1990s.

EXTREMISTS IN THE MILITARY

A Longstanding Problem

Page's journey down that path took him deep into the world of hate music and, more recently, into the "patched" membership ranks of a violent skinhead crew. It ended on Aug. 5 in the Milwaukee suburb of Oak Creek, where he murdered six Sikhs, including the temple's president and three priests, and wounded four other people. Lt. Brian Murphy, the first police officer to confront Page at the scene, survived the encounter but was shot in the throat and hit by eight more bullets when he came to the aid of Page's victims. Page was finally felled by an officer's rifle shot to the stomach as he stood firing in the temple's parking lot; Page then put his pistol to his own head and fired.

Page's attack, which prompted a September congressional hearing on hate crimes chaired by Sen. Dick Durbin (D-Ill.), was only the latest domestic terrorist attack in a wave that began with the election of President Obama in late 2008. Violence and conspiracies from white supremacists, apparently infuriated at the impending loss of a white majority population that was symbolized by Obama's election, have ratcheted up in the last four years, as hate groups have grown and antigovernment "Patriot" organizations have expanded explosively.

For Page, the bloodbath in Oak Creek ended what apparently was a frustrating quest. He told an interviewer in 2010 that he had chosen the name End Apathy for a band he formed because he was trying to "figure out how to end people's apathetic ways" and "move forward" for the white supremacist cause.

Evidently, the lyrics of hate were not enough.

Swastikas and Murder

In 1995, three years after Page joined the Army at age 20, the Colorado native arrived at Fort Bragg, a sprawling installation in Fayetteville, N.C., that's home to the 82nd Airborne Division as well as the Army's Special Forces Command.

When Page was transferred there, it also served as the home base for a brazen cadre of white supremacist soldiers.

If Wisconsin mass murderer Wade Michael Page did indeed develop his extremist beliefs while serving in the U.S. Army — as the evidence strongly suggests — he wouldn't be the first.

Many analysts believe Timothy McVeigh, America's most infamous domestic terrorist and a veteran of the Gulf War, also became radicalized while in the military. Acting on his rage against the U.S. government, he went on to bomb the federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people.

Of course, it's no surprise that, with a force of more than 1.4 million active-duty personnel, some small percentage would harbor extremist beliefs. But because these service members are trained in weaponry and combat techniques — skills highly valued by antigovernment militias and violent white supremacist groups — it's a particularly thorny problem, one that military officials have grappled with for decades.

An unclassified Intelligence Assessment by the FBI's Counterterrorism Division in July 2008 pinpointed the potential danger: "The military training veterans bring to the [white supremacist] movement and their potential to pass this training on to others can increase the ability of lone offenders to carry out violence from the movement's fringes."

The report could easily have been describing Page, the neo-Nazi skinhead who killed six and wounded four at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wis., last August.

The report added: "[S]ensitive and reliable source reporting indicates supremacist leaders are encouraging followers who lack documented histories of neo-Nazi activity and overt racist insignia such as tattoos to infiltrate the military as 'ghost skins' in order to recruit and receive training for the benefit of the extremist movement."

The Department of Homeland Security noted its concern in an April 2009 report on the threat of domestic terrorism, stating that "rightwing extremists will attempt to recruit and radicalize returning veterans

in order to exploit their skills and knowledge derived from military training and combat."

The Department of Defense has been forced to confront the problem several times since the mid-1980s — each time tightening rules designed to weed out neo-Nazis and other extremists.

In 1986, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC, publisher of the *Intelligence Report*), wrote to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to turn over evidence that active-duty Marines stationed at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina were providing equipment and paramilitary training to a violent Ku Klux Klan group known as the White Patriot Party.

Weinberger responded by issuing a directive stating that military personnel must "reject participation in white supremacy, neo-Nazi and other such groups which espouse or attempt to create overt discrimination."

But many military commanders interpreted the rule as prohibiting only egregious forms of hate group activity, not mere membership or activities like distributing racist literature.

The issue arose again a decade

later, after the Oklahoma City bombing and the ritualistic, racially motivated slaying of a black couple by neo-Nazi paratroopers stationed at Fort Bragg in North Carolina in late 1995. Following hearings by the House Armed Services Committee and an investigation by an Army task force, the Department of Defense amended its regulations to more clearly define the nature of prohibited extremist activities.

The problem still wasn't solved.

In 2006, the *Intelligence Report* revealed that large numbers of neo-Nazis had infiltrated the ranks. The report blamed relaxed wartime recruiting standards and ambiguous regulations. It quoted a military investigator who said he had identified and submitted evidence on 320 extremists at Fort Lewis in Washington state but that only two had been discharged. It also cited the case of Matt Buschbacher, a Navy SEAL who attended the 2002 leadership conference of the neo-Nazi National Alliance while on active duty. The SPLC alerted military officials to Buschbacher's activities, but he was allowed to complete a tour of duty in Iraq and given an honorable discharge.

The SPLC, along with 40 members of Congress, urged Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to adopt a "zero tolerance" policy toward white supremacists in the ranks. But the Pentagon did nothing.

Two years later, in 2008, the SPLC issued a new report revealing that 46 members of the white supremacist web forum New Saxon had identified themselves as active-duty military personnel. It quoted a racist skinhead who wrote on a neo-Nazi online forum that he had joined the Army and specifically requested an assignment where he would learn how to make an explosive device. "I have my own reasons for wanting this training but in fear of the government tracing me and me losing [sic] my clearance I can't share them here."

Again, the Pentagon denied there was a problem and refused to act.

But the evidence continued to mount, and in February 2009, the threat became harder to ignore. Lance Cpl. Kody Brittingham, a Marine stationed at Camp Lejeune, was arrested and later charged with threatening the president after investigators found white supremacist materials and a journal containing a plot to assassinate President Obama among his belongings.

With no apparent action being taken by the Pentagon, in July 2009



the SPLC appealed to Congress to investigate. In a letter to committee chairmen with oversight over homeland security and the armed services, the SPLC presented dozens of additional profiles of active-duty military personnel on the New Saxon website. Those profiles included an individual who wrote that he was about to be deployed with the Air Force overseas and was looking forward to "killing all the bloody sand niggers!" Another listed Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as one of his favorite books. Many of the profiles included pictures of the posters in military uniform.

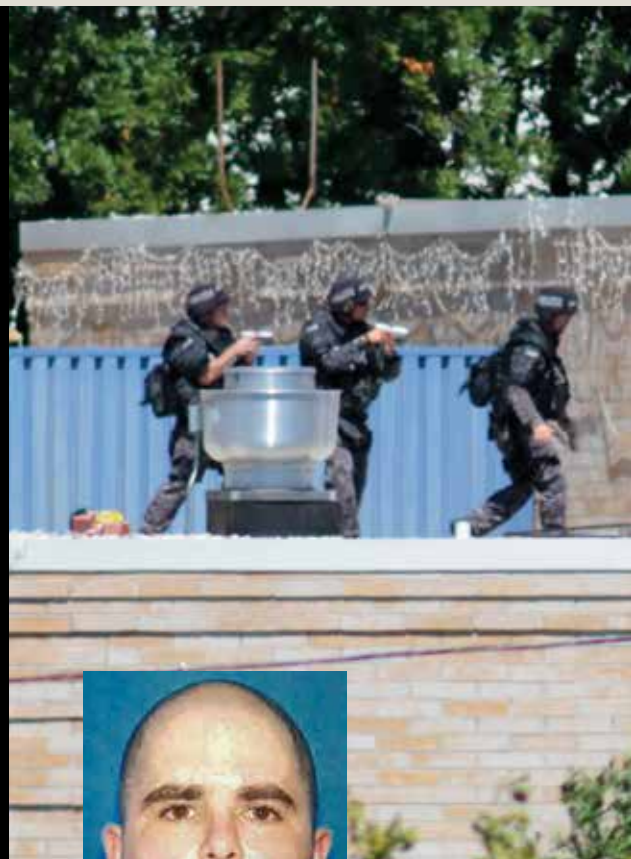
In November of that year, the Pentagon quietly tightened its policy on extremist activity, which formerly only banned "active participation" in extremist groups but did not define what that meant.

Under the new regulations, military personnel "must not actively advocate supremacist doctrine, ideology or causes" or "otherwise advance efforts to deprive individuals of their civil rights." The new rules specified that "active participation" includes activities such as recruiting, fundraising, demonstrating or rallying, training, organizing and distributing supremacist material, including online posts.

The rule revision surely won't eliminate all racial extremists or potential terrorists from the armed services. But it should make it much easier for commanders to investigate and discharge the likes of Matt Buschbacher.



— Booth Gunter



AUGUST 2012

MURDER AND THE MUSICIAN

Wade Michael Page burst into national consciousness this August, when he opened fire in a Sikh temple near Milwaukee, Wis., killing six people and badly wounding four more, including a police officer. But Page's neo-Nazi views, first developed in a 1990s stint in the military (see story, p. 28), hardened even further during a dozen years he spent as a participant in the underground world of white power bands.

During the course of those years, the Southern Poverty Law Center collected scores of photographs of Page and compatriots in a series of racist rock bands. The photos show clearly that Page, who played in a large number of these groups, was a well-known fixture in a world known for its violence and furious rhetoric. He played bass in his own bands and in some of those that have become far more famous.

On March 16, 2002, for instance, Page, wearing a white T-shirt emblazoned with the name of the hate band No Remorse (and its album, "Smash the Reds"), played at a white power concert in Jacksonville, Fla., that included a stage bearing the crossed-hammer emblem of the Hammerskins, a group Page joined much later.

Later that year, on July 12, 2002, Page, wearing a black T-shirt emblazoned with the name of the racist band Skrewdriver, was photographed as he screamed the lyrics to a skin-head song with Max Resist frontman Shawn Suggs. At the same concert, entitled the "Rocky Mountain Heritage Festival" and held in Denver, Page (upper right photo, only back of head showing) joined fellow neo-Nazis in a group Sieg Heil.

Earlier in 2002, Page had joined Max Resist and another racist band, Intimidation One, for the "Maximum Intimidation Tour" that played to crowds of thousands in Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands and other European countries. Intimidation One vocalist and Northern Hammerskin leader Jason Robert Stevens and Max Resist vocalist and Hammerskin member Suggs had a major following in Germany, where most of their music is banned. Page posed with some of his friends (near right photo, second from right) during that tour.

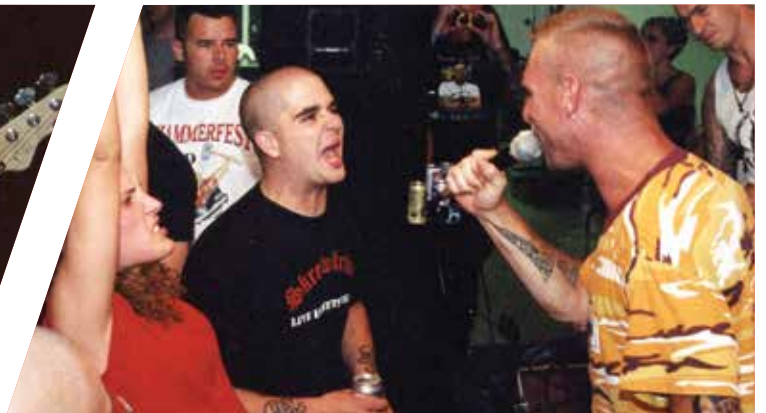




JULY 2002



MARCH 2002



Anti-Sikh Hate Crimes

Hard to Quantify But Very Real

Hate crimes in America against Sikhs, whose boys and men wear turbans as a basic requirement of the fifth largest religion in the world, are hard to quantify. The FBI does not have a category for anti-Sikh hate crimes, and Sikhs are frequently attacked because they are mistaken for Muslims.

What is known is that large numbers of Sikhs have been victimized, especially during the period immediately after the Sept. 11, 2001, Al Qaeda attacks that left some 3,000 people dead. In the first month after the 9/11 attacks, the Sikh Coalition documented more than 300 cases of violence and discrimination against Sikhs.

Although that level of violence certainly dropped in ensuing years, it nevertheless remains a serious problem. The Sikh Coalition surveyed Sikhs in New York in 2008, for example, and found that 9% said they had been assaulted because of their religion that year; a similar survey in the San Francisco area in 2010 found that 10% had experienced bias-motivated assaults or property damage.

Similarly, the Sikh Coalition found that 74% of turbaned boys in the San Francisco area had been bullied or harassed because of their religion. One New Jersey student had his turban set on fire by a fellow student, and a New York City student had his hair forcibly cut by another student who also threatened him.

Here, with thanks to the research of the Sikh Coalition, South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT) and the BuzzFeed news site, is a sampling of apparent anti-Sikh hate crimes that have occurred in America since 9/11:

Sept. 15, 2001: Gas station owner Balbir Singh Sodhi is murdered by a white man who mistakes him for a Muslim. Frank Silva Roque had bragged about wanting to “kill the ragheads” who were responsible for 9/11.

Dec. 12, 2001: Surinder Singh Sodi is beaten with metal poles by two men who walk into his Los Angeles store and accuse him of being Osama bin Laden.

Feb. 19, 2002: Four teenagers, three boys and a girl, burn down the Sikh temple Gobinde Sadan in Palermo, N.Y. The arsonists later tell authorities that they thought the temple was named “Go Bin Laden.”

July 12, 2004: Two Sikhs are attacked by a group of drunken white men in their 20s as they walk to a restaurant in New York City. The attackers, who mock their victims’ turbans, beat Rajinder Singh Khalsa into unconsciousness.

Jan. 30, 2009: Using racist slurs, three men attack Jasbir Singh outside a grocery store in Queens, N.Y. Jasbir’s father, Jiwan Singh, is attacked two years later on a subway by someone accusing him of being related to bin Laden.

March 4, 2011: Two elderly Sikh men, Surinder Singh and Gurmej Atwal, are shot to death while taking their customary afternoon stroll in Elk Grove, Calif. The motives of the attackers remain unclear but are thought to be anti-Muslim.

Aug. 5, 2012: Longtime neo-Nazi Wade Michael Page walks into a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wis., and shoots to death six people: Sita Singh, Ranjit Singh, Prakash Singh, Paramjit Kaur, Suveg Singh and Satwant Singh Kaleka.

—Mark Potok

Nazi flags flew and party music endorsed the killing of African-Americans and Jews. And, according to the *Military Law Review*, soldiers openly sought recruits for the National Alliance, then the most dangerous and best organized neo-Nazi group in the country. A billboard just outside the base even advertised for the National Alliance.

That same year, three paratroopers from Fort Bragg murdered a black man and a black woman in Fayetteville to earn their spider web tattoos, racist badges of honor that sometimes signify that their bearers have killed non-whites. The soldiers went to prison for life, and 19 other paratroopers were discharged for participating in neo-Nazi activities. The scandal prompted congressional hearings and led to new military regulations aimed at preventing extremist activity. But as an investigation by the *Intelligence Report* a decade later showed, the new rules did not go nearly far enough.

Page’s exposure to the neo-Nazis at Fort Bragg seemed to catalyze his bigotry, driving him further into extremist territory, said Pete Simi, an associate professor of criminology at the University of Nebraska, Omaha.

Simi should know as well as anyone. He met Page in Orange County, Calif., while conducting interviews for a Ph.D. thesis on white supremacist groups — research that eventually led to the 2010 book *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate*, co-authored with sociologist Robert Futrell. Simi interviewed Page numerous times from 2001 to 2003, and even bunked with him and a white supremacist roommate to learn about their daily lives.

“Wade saw the military as a transformational time in his life,” Simi told the *Intelligence Report*. “He always said, ‘If you don’t go in the military a racist, you’re sure





to leave as one.” Page believed that less-qualified black soldiers were promoted over whites and that they were disciplined less harshly. Despite these views, he made sergeant and was admitted into an elite psychological operations unit specializing in promoting pro-U.S. sentiment.

An Army buddy told the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* that Page expressed hatred for all non-whites, calling them “dirt people.” He also said Page sported a tattoo referring to the “14 Words,” shorthand for the notorious white supremacist catchphrase “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children,” coined by the late terrorist David Lane. A heavy drinker, Page eventually sank his military career by showing up for work drunk, another Army friend, Christopher Robillard, told the *Journal Sentinel*. When he refused treatment, the Army discharged Page in 1998, Robillard said. Page then moved in

“We’re conditioned to expect people will say nasty things, but to massacre us in a place of peace, a sanctuary — that, we never expected.”

with a woman in Denver but wound up on the streets after they broke up.

Lyrics of Hate

Page was always a music lover, and another turning point toward violence came when he attended Georgia’s Hammerfest, a large white power music festival, in 2000. He was so attracted to the message and lifestyle of the musicians he met there that he relocated to the city of Orange in Southern California, then a thriving center of the racist music scene.

When Simi met him in 2001, Page was playing bass guitar and singing backup vocals with a band called Youngland. He couldn’t hold a regular job because he

drank so heavily that he would pass out and miss work the next day, Simi said.

But he reveled in his white power music performances, which became the center of his life, and his rhetoric now fell squarely in the neo-Nazi corner. He called Muslims “towel heads” or “sand niggers,” Simi recalled. He was so furious after the Sept. 11 attacks that he thought the U.S. should just bomb Middle Eastern countries to smithereens. Most of his hate rhetoric, though, was directed toward Jews and blacks. About the Holocaust, Page said, “They had it coming,” and “Germany did what needed to be done.” One chilling incident during the December holiday season reflected

the depth of Page's hatred: When he and Simi were entering a pizza parlor that had a decal of a menorah, a candelabrum used in Jewish ceremonies, on the door, Page refused to touch the door. "It was like it was poison. He just froze. He wouldn't even touch anything that had a menorah on it."

In 2003, Page was having trouble paying his bills, irritating his friends and

Victory," whose cover showed a disembodied white arm punching a black man in the face, with blood spurting out. Page formed End Apathy in 2005 and promoted it, along with Definite Hate, on Stormfront, the largest neo-Nazi Web forum. In a 2010 interview on the website of Label 56, which promoted the bands, Page said he had also played with Celtic Warrior, Radikahl, Max Resist,

sage board for the Hammerskins. But the relationship fractured in June, and Page stopped showing up for his job in mid-July. His landlord said he owed back rent the day he entered the Sikh temple.

It's probably no coincidence that the temple is just down the block from the restaurant where Cook worked. Perhaps the turban-wearing Sikh men caught his eye because of the proximity.

Sikh Americans are well aware of the danger of being targeted for hate crimes by racists who mistake them for Muslims. In fact, what is believed to be the first hate crime murder committed in retaliation for 9/11 was the Sept. 15, 2001, slaying of Balbir Singh Sodhi, 49, a Sikh who was shot to death outside the gas station he owned in Mesa, Ariz. The killer, Frank Silva Roque, described himself to police as "a patriot."

"We're apprehensive about the climate of bigotry out there now, and we don't even have data about what's happening to Sikh Americans," said Rajdeep Singh, law and policy director for the Sikh Coalition, a human rights group, in an interview. (The Sikh Coalition and other groups representing Sikhs in September renewed a request that the federal government begin collecting data on hate crimes directed at Sikhs, because there is no definitive data on that category of victims at present.) "We're conditioned to expect people will say nasty things, but to massacre us in a place of peace, a sanctuary — that, we never expected."

Criminologist Simi, who was a fly on the wall in the white power music scene for several years, was shocked, too. He found it hard to believe that Page was involved. "I remember him saying, 'When talk fails, violence prevails.' But they all said stuff like that. The crazy part is, if you told me some of the others went on a shooting rampage, I wouldn't be surprised at all. Wade was pretty mellow compared to the others in that skinhead, white supremacist culture. Many of them are far more violent."

At the congressional hearing he chaired, Durbin made similar comments. "It was not the first tragedy based on hate and, sadly, it won't be the last," he said. "But it should cause all of us to redouble our efforts to combat the threat of domestic terrorism." ▲



Visiting the deputy führer: Wade Page (with moustache) and friends visited the grave of Nazi Germany's third most powerful leader in 2002. The gravesite, in Wunsiedel, Germany, was the venue for many neo-Nazi gatherings until 2011, when the gravestone was destroyed and Rudolf Hess' remains were cremated and scattered.

evidently wearing out his welcome. He moved back to Fayetteville, where he worked at a Harley-Davidson dealership for a year and a half. John Tew, the general manager, told the *Intelligence Report* that he fired Page because he refused to obey orders from female co-workers. After Page had gone, Tew found an application for the Ku Klux Klan in his desk. "He actually came back for it when he realized he'd left it behind, but I'd thrown it away."

Meanwhile, Page stepped up his involvement in the white power music scene. He played on the festival circuit with racist skinhead bands including 13 Knots and Definite Hate. Definite Hate produced an album called "Violent

Intimidation One, Aggressive Force and Blue Eyed Devils. That list includes some of the best-known white power bands on the American scene.

Page's immersion in the neo-Nazi rock music world undoubtedly raised his profile in extremist circles. In October 2011, he earned his "patch" and became a full member of the Northern Hammerskins, a chapter of Hammerskin Nation, one of the most violent and dominant skinhead groups in the U.S.

The Last Leg

The last leg of Page's journey took him to Milwaukee last year, where he moved in with a girlfriend, 31-year-old Misty Cook. Both were active posters on a mes-

WALKING IT BACK

An intellectual who worked for one of America's leading white nationalists now says he rejects the racism of Jared Taylor



From 2003 to 2006, Ian Jobling worked for prominent white nationalist Jared Taylor in Taylor's home office in Oakton, Va. Jobling was an unlikely racist; his parents were liberal academics and Jobling had attended the best schools in Louisville, Ky. He was pursuing a Ph.D. at State University of New York, Buffalo, in the late 1990s, when he was first attracted to racial theories about IQ. While working for Taylor, Jobling turned Taylor's website, Amren.com, into a powerhouse of white nationalism, in particular by creating a popular daily news roundup that brought thousands of viewers to the site. Jobling also served as an editor and a writer for Taylor's race and IQ journal, American Renaissance. Jobling's concerns about Taylor's politics came to a head in 2006, when several prominent neo-Nazis attended one of Taylor's biannual conferences. Jewish white nationalists who were there objected to the anti-Semites also attending the event and a full-throttle debate over anti-Semitism in the white nationalist scene erupted. Jobling, who had never countenanced anti-Semitism, pushed for the expulsion of anti-Semites and Holocaust deniers from Taylor's conferences, helping draft an open letter to Taylor to that effect. His views became problematic for Taylor, who, while not personally anti-Semitic, was willing to accept anti-Semites and Holocaust deniers in an attempt to build a larger movement. Troubling as the anti-Semites were, Jobling came to see even more danger from white nationalist ideology, eventually concluding that it had more in common with Hitler's genocidal views than what had seemed like a mild-mannered, scientific discussion about race and IQ. Currently a computer expert in the Washington, D.C., area, Jobling says he has now rejected white nationalism.



Can you tell us a little about your childhood?

I grew up in Louisville, Ky. My mother teaches history and women's studies at the University of Louisville. My parents divorced in 1974 and my father moved up to Canada, where he taught at a seminary. I went to the best private school in Louisville. Then I went to Amherst College.

I've read the Southern Poverty Law Center's stories about neo-Nazis and other really extreme racists, and my background is really quite different from theirs. I didn't publish songs about killing Jews. I didn't beat up any black people. I basically did research on crime and education as they relate to race.

How did you end up going from a Ph.D. program to white nationalism?

Starting around 2002, I was still in grad school. I was really very unhappy there. It was plain that I wasn't going to get a job in the academy. White nationalism was a position totally opposite to everything that I had known up to that point. The ideas coincided with my inclination and interests in a number of ways.

One thing that I was very angry about was what I called cultural egalitarian-

ism, the idea that there is no superior or inferior culture. Everyone is sort of just different and we should be nonjudgmental and tolerant of everything. That I didn't agree with, and I still don't. I thought Western culture to be superior in certain ways and that an argument could be made for that. And I was very interested in evolutionary psychology, which studies the relationship between genetics and behavior. It was through that work that I came into contact with racial difference research by [race scientists] Jean-Philippe Rushton and [the late] Glayde Whitney.

Did you get to know them?

Yes, I reached out to them, met them and participated on listservs with them. And I was really quite impressed by them. For someone angry at the liberal culture of the academy, as I was, they had what I thought was a really good critique of what was going on there. So I became very attracted to these ideas, partly because of my frustration with academia.

The 9/11 attacks had something to do with it, too. In the wake of 9/11, there were a lot of people saying the U. S. was at fault for the attacks, that they were somehow justified by U.S. policies toward Israel. I

didn't buy that argument. And that's why I got the idea that everyone blamed whites first — that there was an inclination to blame white people even though a non-white was to blame. I felt like non-whites were getting all sorts of special apologies and so, if that makes any sense, that was one of the things that really angered me and attracted me to white nationalism.

And it was personal, too. I lived in some pretty bad neighborhoods in Buffalo and was a victim of one robbery by a couple of black youths and another attempted robbery.

Had you run into racist ideas before graduate school?

I never encountered anything like that in my childhood. I don't think I have ever met a skinhead in my whole entire life. I was part of an academic community that was transnational.

When was it that you started getting frustrated with the academy?

I'm someone who has an analytical mind. And it seemed that there were no rules to literary criticism and a lot of advancement in that field had to do with sucking up and just not rocking the boat. For example, my interest in evolutionary

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psychology and in biological theories of human behavior was off the map in terms of ideas that people were using at that time. They were talking about Marx and Freud and such things.

I don't think I should ever have gone to the academy really and some of my frustration was always sort of present.

How did you come to know Jared Taylor?

Gladye Whitney [who once wrote a fawning introduction to former Klan leader David Duke's autobiography] was an especially big fan of *American Renaissance*. It wasn't long after I came to know him that I published my first essay. There's actually an article in *American Renaissance* about my conversion. I was interested in evolutionary psychology, I guess, starting from 1997, and I came to think these are very bright people and not everything they tell you is false. And so I eventually became interested and persuaded by them about racial differences in intelligence, criminality, and so forth. I didn't know Whitney was linked to Duke and I had no interest in anti-Semitism.

Tell us about your time at *American Renaissance*.

I joined in November of 2003 and learned Web design basically on the job. I put up the new *amren.com* website, which ran news stories. People would comment on them. I also would moderate comments. It was a very popular site. The comments had to be moderated to keep the anti-Semites out. And then I wrote articles, stuff Taylor wanted written about. I didn't have a lot of discretion at any point in my career there.

The major project that I undertook was the revision of *The Color of Crime* [a booklet about racial differences in crime rates], which came out in 2005. I did all the research for that.

When did you start to question your commitment to white nationalism?

One thing you must understand is there are two basic strands to white nationalism. This is not generally understood. One strand relates to racial differences in intelligence and behavior. And especially research on black and white intelligence differences. There is some real substance in that research, though I'm no longer as convinced by all that stuff as I used to be. I took a body of research on black/white differences in intelligence and extrapolated from it wildly and irresponsibly into a general theory of white superiority over all other races.

What's the other strand?

A part of white nationalism that I really never bought into but I just sort of agreed with because of the people around me is the idea of ethnonationalism — that it's natural for people to align with their own race and to work in their own race's interests. And if you don't do that, there's something wrong with you and if you don't defend your own race's interests, you're just going to be victimized by other races because those other races have it together, right? The idea is we are organized by race and we all are meant to work in our race's interest.

So this is really the heart of white nationalism and the major scholarly exponent of this idea today is [anti-

Semitic theorist] Kevin MacDonald [who argues that Jews are genetically driven to undermine majority white societies by favoring such things as multiculturalism and non-white immigration]. And also J. P. Rushton. And Taylor was popularizing these wrong-headed ideas.

Did Taylor have any trepidation about associating with such a prominent anti-Semite as MacDonald?

Of course. He never alluded to Kevin MacDonald. He wanted to keep himself clear of that crowd. I came to see ethnonationalism as dumb and really dangerous. It's basically the same mindset as Nazism, right? Hitler believed that different races had different interests and they were like organisms that were designed to work together. And they had to compete against each for world dominance. Hitler thought the Jews were getting the upper hand in the struggle, so something had to be done about that.

Taylor doesn't believe in genocide. But the basic idea here is the same — there is a natural and a moral obligation to side with your own race and compete with other races. This is how he sees the world.

My other problem was that I came to see that most *American Renaissance* subscribers are Holocaust deniers. Some of them aren't, but most of them are. It infuriated me because I think Holocaust denial is an evil conspiracy theory. I was always indignant about that and I never got any sympathy from Taylor. I always wanted *American Renaissance* to take a position against Holocaust denial as extreme anti-Semitism. But he always dismissed that concern in a rather smug and condescending manner.

What else did you find problematic?

One of the main arguments in *The Color of Crime* was that Latinos have these high crime rates. That means as Latin American immigration increases, America should grow more crime-ridden. But that isn't happening. From 1990 to now, there's been a reduction in crime, simultaneous with substantial [Latino] immigration. And so that link



isn't there. Taylor tended to downplay arguments like these that were inconsistent with his white nationalism.

There were other problems with *The Color of Crime*. If you look at crime statistics, they'll show that blacks are 100 or 150 times more likely to commit assault against a white person than a white person is against a black person. And this is entirely true. This is what the statistics do say. And Taylor used this to try to make the argument that there's a great hostility against whites amongst blacks.

But the argument is silly. If you've got a population which is 90% white and 10% black, whites are much more likely to encounter whites than blacks. And that means that any kind of crime, interracial crime, is going to be skewed by that likelihood of encounter. So what Taylor "discovered" — that blacks are supposedly more criminal than whites — didn't have the ugly meaning that he attributed to it. Once you started adjusting for blacks as a minority, you found blacks

"I now realize that it was really misguided. I had erected this whole theory of white superiority based on very limited evidence and believed that non-white immigration was going to cause the United States to become a Third World country."

were as likely to commit crimes against whites as they were against other blacks. No white nationalist story there. The second edition of *Color of Crime*, which I reworked, fixed some of these problems.

Why do you think Taylor plays ball with anti-Semites?

Taylor's position always was we should just remain silent about Jewish issues. In an organization so rife with anti-Semites, that kind of silence is the same as complicity.

Taylor invites people who are associates of David Duke, like [Holocaust denier] Sam Dixon, to the conference. His personal associations are a problem to. He is close to Holocaust denier Mark Weber, who regularly stayed over at his house. There's a kind of complicity there that maybe made him not see how anti-Semitism discredited us. Given Taylor's ethnonationalist views, that people are naturally loyal to their race and naturally struggle against each other, well anti-Semitism naturally follows from that,



right? But Taylor avoids the whole issue. I think Kevin MacDonald is just more intellectually honest than Taylor is.

How did your parents deal with your white nationalism?

My involvement with *American Renaissance* was incredibly hard on my family relationships. I still see my mother and father, but with my mother's family, there was so much conflict there that I just stopped seeing them.

Both my parents, I think, did rather well about this. And chose to ignore it. The problem is hard — seriously disagreeing with a family member. Can they put that disagreement aside, to save the rest of the relationship? And both my mother and father managed to do that, [to] compartmentalize and segregate this whole problem. And they did manage to treat me as a son.

My mother's family was obsessed with sorting out my life, however. They couldn't get over it. It made for some

very rough times and very snarky, hostile Thanksgivings.

What finally made you decide to move on?

After the 2006 conference, a bunch of us got together and wrote a letter to Taylor about anti-Semitism. I didn't put my name on it. He was very upset by it and he published a snotty reaction, that he wasn't going to be pushed around. It was over—I left.

We had other differences, too. A major source of contention between us was the Iraq War. I was a supporter, which may well have been the wrong position. I basically bought into the Bush administration's line. I believed in the idea of trying to establish a liberal democratic nation in Iraq.

Taylor doesn't believe in those ideals, not at all. He took this very simple-minded nationalist viewpoint, that we should allow other nations their sovereignty. I always basically agreed with liberal democratic ideals. My concerns

about non-white immigration were that immigrants did not believe in those ideals, so we needed to retain a white nation so we can go on being a liberal democracy. That was very, very different from what Taylor believed.

What happened after you left *American Renaissance*?

I ran a website called "The Inverted World" for a while [that was against anti-Semitism but white nationalist]. I was still dedicated to the white nationalist cause. Some people accused me of being in the pay of Israel, called me a Jew-lover. It was sort of a mire and I got sick of it.

I now realize that it was really misguided. I had erected this whole theory of white superiority based on very limited evidence and believed that non-white immigration was going to cause the United States to become a Third World country. That wasn't happening and I eventually recognized that.

I feel so much distance between me and that former self that I just wanted to put that behind me.

And what do you think about your years as a white nationalist now that you've left?

It may be that there are innate, biological differences among the races. There is a large body of academic research on these differences, and this research is credible, which doesn't mean that it won't be overturned in the future. Scholars should not be persecuted for publishing research on these matters. But this subject is so explosive that, in our daily lives, we should ignore it to the extent that this is possible. We should make an effort to treat people equally and not impose our stereotypes on them. That's where most Americans are today, and I've come to accept the common wisdom. ▲

► For more on the IQ journal, *American Renaissance*, see intelreport.org/group/american-renaissance



Fires of hate: Shaun Winkler spoke at a cross-burning held on his new property in northern Idaho's Hoodoo Mountains.



ARYAN NATIONS

R E D U X

A neo-Nazi is building a North Idaho compound to replace the defunct Aryan Nations. But his project is already in trouble

BY BILL MORLIN

PHOTOGRAPHY BY MATT MCKNIGHT

A neo-Nazi protégé of Aryan Nations founder Richard G. Butler is building a new compound in North Idaho where he hosts Ku Klux Klan cross burnings and anti-Semitic Christian Identity church services.

Shaun Patrick Winkler — who studied the Christian Identity message of hate under Butler until the iconic racist leader's death in 2004 — purchased 17.3 acres of timbered property last year in the Hoodoo Mountains of Bonner County, Idaho, not far from the former site of the Aryan Nations “world headquarters” in adjoining Kootenai County. He reportedly plans to open it up for families affiliated with the Klan or Aryan Nations to move in and build residences.

Construction of the new Aryan-style compound is sending shivers down the spines of area human rights activists who applauded when Butler's 20-acre hate compound was turned into a cow pasture more than a decade ago. The land was auctioned off after a 2000 lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law



Constructing a new “Aryan” headquarters: Shaun Winkler, seen above with his daughter, Hannah, is building a new white supremacist compound where he hosts people like Klansman Mark Eliseuson. Eliseuson is known locally for building a Klan snowman, complete with noose.



Center resulted in a \$6.3 million judgment against the group, Butler and several of Butler’s security guards who had terrorized a woman and her teenage son.

“Here we go again,” sighed Marshall Mend, a longtime human rights activist who lives nearby, upon learning of the development. “We’ve got another group of Nazis up here in North Idaho. This is just what Butler did back in the late 1970s, and it’s not good for this region. It will cost us business. We definitely need to have people notified of what’s going on.”

But the déjà-vu fears of the human rights folks — who remember all too well how Aryan Nations badly damaged the fabric of local life as well as the region’s

vital tourist economy in the 1980s and 1990s — may be premature.

Winkler’s plans for a new Aryan compound, the first mentions of which came last spring during his unsuccessful run for sheriff of Bonner County, may already have run into a debilitating buzz saw. The 33-year-old native of York, Pa., is expected to soon receive legal documents kicking him off the property. Besides logging the land without required permission and being late with his \$750 monthly payments, Winkler also may have some sewage disposal issues on the property, which is being investigated by environmental health authorities.

Early this summer, however, he sounded full of pride in a brief telephone interview with the *Intelligence Report* in which he suggested that the new property could replace the Butler compound, which long served as an important annual gathering place for many different sectors of the American radical right. “You ought to see what we’re doing up there, so you can compare it to what Pastor Butler had going back in the day down at the Aryan Nations.”

Winkler initially agreed to give a tour of the compound to a *Report* writer. But when the date approached, he backed out

with an odd excuse: “My pickup truck is loaded with firewood and it’s stuck in the mud, so I’m not going to be able to show you the place.” After that, Winkler would not return telephone messages.

Life at the Compound

Shaun Winkler may well have decided that publicity could only hurt his latest racist venture. Nonetheless, information about his undertaking was obtained from public records and various interviews, including one with the owner of the company that sold Winkler the property for \$72,000, with a \$3,000 down payment.

After buying the undeveloped timberland, which was advertised in local newspapers, in March 2011, Winkler moved three travel trailers onto the property and spent last winter there — at about the 3,500-foot level, where heavy North Idaho snow can make movement difficult.

The next spring, in early March 2012, Winkler decided to make a run for office, filing as a Republican candidate for Bonner County sheriff. News accounts of his candidacy caught the attention of a young photojournalist, Matt McKnight, who thought there might be a story in photos of a racist running for sheriff.

McKnight shot pictures of Winkler waving a campaign sign along a roadway. But he also finagled an invitation to visit Winkler’s compound, located in a rural, mountainous area southeast of the Priest River, for a family barbecue and cross burning. He ultimately made three visits to Winkler’s property.

When the pair first met, McKnight recalled, Winkler “asked me if I was Jewish because I have curly hair. He said he only allowed whites on his property — and no Jews.” But after that, he was welcomed in. Showing up for the barbecue and cross burning in early May, McKnight said he was greeted by man dressed in a KKK robe and holding a rifle. The man later identified himself as Mark Eliseuson, a Winkler associate who once built a Klan snowman in nearby Spirit Lake.

Before the cross burning, Winkler gathered his followers around a campfire where he conducted a Christian Identity-style church service and extolled the virtues of Adolf Hitler and two former prominent residents of North Idaho — white supremacists Vincent Bertolini and Randy Weaver.

Like Winkler, Weaver had past ties to the Aryan Nations, unsuccessfully ran for local sheriff and then built a cabin on a mountaintop where the infamous Ruby Ridge siege occurred 20 years ago this past August. A U.S. marshal and Weaver's wife and son were killed during the standoff with federal law enforcement officials.

Because of Ruby Ridge, Winkler said, people were urging him to build a "double-block wall" or similar brick structure to protect his compound. "I said, 'What? We ain't planning on having a war right here.' People seem to think that just because we're in the right-wing movement that we have this weird philosophy and this kind of activity is going to happen. I'm not saying it won't."

"I say this again today, that we need to look at the perspective of the Jews and look at what they've done to us to fire back," Winkler told those gathered around his campfire. "We're messengers, and Pastor Butler said the same thing. We don't carry out deeds unless we feel the Holy Spirit moves us to do so. We're generally a legal organization."

For several minutes, he continued with his anti-Semitic tirade: "The bad, evil, rotten Jew is behind a lot of things. We look at the media, we look at society in general. We look at even our public school systems. They paint this pretty little portrait for Jews, how they were such victims of the Holocaust or, as I like to refer to it, the 'Holo-Hoax.' We ... deny that 6 million died."

After eating, about two dozen people, including about five small children, gathered for the cross burning – or "cross lighting," as Winkler said he prefers to call it. Beside KKK robes, many of those in attendance wore Aryan Nations patches and indicated they lived in nearby communities. One of those attending and reportedly living on the new compound is Winkler's younger sister, Christine Newman.

"Winkler told me there had been other cross burnings there, and I saw evidence of that – burned pieces of wood," McKnight told the *Report*. "He told me it was something they do, I think he said, on a monthly basis. He said a lot of his followers weren't there that evening because they live some distance away, in other cities throughout the Northwest."

"Here we go again. We've got another group of Nazis up here in North Idaho. This is just what Butler did back in the late 1970s, and it's not good for the region."

Winkler said he was the leader of a klavern, or local chapter, of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan – the same Klan faction that Butler had cozy ties with for three decades and which was founded in 1975 by David Duke.

Building the 'Vision'

Winkler showed the photojournalist a two-story log cabin he was building on the property, while living in one of the nearby travel trailers. A second trailer is used for cooking and storage and a third houses another family, McKnight said. Winkler's wife, Shealyn, said there is a makeshift outdoor shower that "works just fine."

Shealyn Winkler told McKnight that she had had a "vision" encouraging the building of a compound around the same time she married Winkler. "I've had this vision for five years, and God gave it to me ... not only to prepare for myself and my family and generations to come, but I also want a place for other people that aren't preparing."

But conditions at the property reportedly have prompted state child welfare workers to contact the Winklers. "Just because we live out in the woods doesn't mean we're dirty, scummy people, and people are under that impression," Winkler said in discussing his contact with CPS with McKnight. "With the CPS situation, it's because of our religious and political views, and, again, we don't see anything wrong with our position."

McKnight said Winkler indicated that he "wants to first finish building his cabin, then, in the future, open up his property to other families and individuals affiliated with the Klan or the Aryan Nations to live on the compound, build their own cabins and live that lifestyle."

"We're in the early stages of the game plan, I guess you would say," Winkler told McKnight this spring. "We started our root cellar down

there, well, it's just a hole there right now. We started setting up our house. The big thing is going to be food because there's going to be massive food shortages."

When he had finished his work, McKnight took his photos to the *Bonner County Daily Bee*, the local newspaper in Sandpoint, which published a story in early May about the racist sheriff candidate who burns crosses on his property. Reporter Cameron Rasmusson said the newspaper took heat from many readers who claimed such news coverage was bad for the region's reputation.

The news story pointed out that Winkler was participating in candidates' forums throughout the county, insisting his KKK ties "would not impact his performance as sheriff or make him susceptible to racial profiling. Instead, he would focus on tough stances regarding drugs and sex offenders."

"Most people don't know that we don't just oppose the Jews and the Negroes," Winkler was quoted as saying in the article. "We also oppose



Shaun Winkler

sexual predators and drugs of any kind.” Winkler said he believes perpetrators of sex crimes “should be hung immediately.” At one point in his campaign, Winkler said “I have no hate toward anyone,” only to go on to discuss “why I hate the Jews.”

The story hardly did Winkler any good. Less than two weeks after hosting the May cross burning, he finished dead last in the three-way race for sheriff, winning just 182 votes in the largely rural county near the U.S.-Canadian border.

Dinning, who lives in Bonners Ferry, Idaho, said he met with the Winklers in a Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, restaurant, and signed paperwork selling the property on March 12, 2011. That deed of trust, filed in Bonner County, is a public record with the Winklers’ signatures affixed.

Dinning held the initial promissory note for \$69,000, but sold the note on April 28, 2011, to retired Kalispell, Mont., attorney Thomas R. Bostock and his wife, Linda. (The Bostocks didn’t return telephone calls seeking comment.) That

Despite all that, human rights activists are concerned about Winkler and his plans, both because they could bring back North Idaho’s reputation for harboring white supremacists and because of Winkler himself. It’s not hard to understand why.

Five days after losing the election this spring, Winkler and several followers were in Coeur d’Alene, in adjoining Kootenai County, picketing outside Atilano’s Mexican restaurant, when a melee broke out with counter-protesters. Every on-duty Coeur d’Alene police officer was called to the scene, backed up by six Kootenai County sheriff’s deputies and four Idaho State Police troopers, police reports say.

One of the counter-protesters, identified in police reports as Malissa McCaffery, told officers she was verbally confronted by Winkler, who called her a “retarded Hispanic cunt” who “needed to leave his town because she was not welcome, and that she wasn’t dead yet.”

Winkler, who has a prior criminal record, was briefly detained by officers, who recommended that the city file formal charges. But the city prosecutor declined to prosecute, investigators told the *Report*.

In nearby Sandpoint, a worried Brenda Hammond, president of the Bonner Human Rights Task Force, said her organization “is not surprised to hear that one of Richard Butler’s former supporters is once again coming out of the woods and going public with his racist views.”

“The task force agrees that the best way to deal with these elements in our society is to bring them out into the light,” she told the *Report*. “We don’t need to sensationalize their actions, but we definitely need to respond — lest our silence be interpreted as acceptance.” ▲



Before the cross: Shortly before a 2012 cross-burning, Shaun Winkler and several followers paid homage to national socialism.

Trouble in Mind

Despite Winkler’s headline-making involvement in racist activities for more than a decade in North Idaho, the president of the land company who sold him property said he didn’t know anything about Winkler or his views.

“I was involved in selling the property to Shaun and Shealyn Winkler,” Rick Dinning, president of Tungsten Holdings Inc., based in Libby, Mont., told the *Report* when public documents led to his doorstep. But, he added, “I didn’t know [Winkler] had any past ties with the Aryan Nations or this white supremacy stuff.”

note, used as loan collateral, was repurchased by Dinning’s Tungsten Holdings in April, Dinning said.

Dinning told the *Report* that he would soon begin a foreclosure action against Winkler because he had logged the property, in violation of the purchase agreement, and was delinquent in making his monthly payments.

Meanwhile, Dick Martindale, of the Idaho Panhandle Health District, said health and building code officials were investigating why Winkler didn’t obtain a required “building location permit” before starting construction of the cabin on his property. Although there is no building code in Bonner County, Idaho, state law requires such a site permit along with an approved sewage disposal system, Martindale said.

► For more on Aryan Nations, see intelreport.org/group/aryan-nations

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

ARKANSAS

Arkana • July 25, 2012

The words "White Power," the letters "KKK" and anti-religious graffiti were spray-painted inside a church.

CALIFORNIA

Alameda • Aug. 12, 2012

Swastikas were scrawled on several cars in a neighborhood. David Desruisseau, 34, was arrested on suspicion of vandalism, stalking and committing a hate crime.

Clairemont • Aug. 28, 2012

An anti-gay slur was spray-painted on the garage of a residence where a gay person rents a room.

Hayward • Aug. 3, 2012

Four teens, ages 13 to 16, were arrested on suspicion of defacing property and a hate crime for allegedly throwing lemons at a local mosque, striking at least one person.

Orange • July 18, 2012

A Latina woman allegedly dumped hot coffee on a black nursing assistant at a medical center and called him racial epithets. Rose Mary Ayala, 38, was charged with one felony count of hate crime battery.

Redding • Aug. 17, 2012

Anti-gay graffiti was written on a gay man's residence.

Sacramento • Aug. 10, 2012

A man was allegedly called anti-gay epithets by four men and then beaten by one of them outside a light rail train stop.

Sacramento • Aug. 31, 2012

Swastikas, anti-gay epithets and gang signs were spray-painted throughout a park.

Shasta Lake • Aug. 23, 2012

A reported self-proclaimed white

supremacist allegedly yelled "white pride," threatened to kill an 18-year-old Native American and his two cousins and then punched the teen. The man allegedly later threatened the teen's mother with a gun.

Tehama • Sept. 26, 2012

Nicolas Brendon Madison, 21, was arrested on charges of suspicion of a hate crime and gang participation after he allegedly threatened a store clerk and made racist statements.

COLORADO

Colorado Springs • July 4, 2012

Fliers from the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left at residences.

CONNECTICUT

Monroe • Aug. 2, 2012

A group of four white teens in a car allegedly yelled racial slurs at a black man and threw a milkshake at him.

West Hartford • Sept. 15, 2012

Michael Germain, 68, was charged with hate crimes, breach of peace and threatening after he allegedly threatened to punch a Muslim woman because of her ethnicity.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • July 22, 2012

Three men allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs and attacked two other men on the street.

FLORIDA

Coral Springs • Aug. 16, 2012

A swastika and two pentagrams were painted on a bus belonging to a synagogue.

Crawfordville • July 27, 2012

A swastika and racist symbols and remarks were painted inside a church that was vandalized.

Gainesville • Sept. 10, 2012

An anti-gay slur was scratched into a University of Florida professor's car.

Port St. Joe • July 30, 2012

Walton Henry Butler, a 59-year-old white man, allegedly shot a black man in the head after the man confronted Butler about racial remarks Butler reportedly made to black children in their apartment complex. Butler, who allegedly used a racial epithet to describe the victim to police, was charged with attempted murder with a hate crime enhancement.

GEORGIA

Savannah • Aug. 24, 2012

A white man walking with his black girlfriend allegedly was attacked by three black men who made racist remarks.

ILLINOIS

Belleville • July 31, 2012

Codie M. Engelke, 18, was charged with one count of burglary, one count of criminal damage to property and one count of hate crime after he allegedly vandalized a church and wrote a racial epithet inside.

Chicago • July 12, 2012

Two white teens, ages 17 and 16, were charged with committing a hate crime, aggravated unlawful restraint, intimidation, aggravated battery and battery in connection with a December 2011 incident. The teenagers, along with Matthew Herrmann, 18, allegedly put a noose around a black high school student's neck, threatened him with a knife and used racial slurs while holding him captive.

Chicago • Sept. 13, 2012

Two men walking along the lakefront were allegedly verbally assaulted by two men who believed the pair was gay. A Cook County prosecutor was stabbed after trying to stop the incident from escalating into a physical assault.

Elmhurst • July 10, 2012

Myles Burton, 21, a former Elmhurst College student, was sentenced to two years of probation for scratching the letters "KKK" and a racial slur on a window ledge outside a black dorm supervisor's room.

Monmouth • Aug. 29, 2012

A racial slur was carved into the door of a predominantly black church.

Plainfield • July 1, 2012

Nicholas Minniti, 18, was charged with a felony hate crime and aggravated battery for allegedly assaulting a gay teen at a fast-food restaurant.

Tinley Park • Sept. 1, 2012

A white man allegedly yelled racial slurs and attacked a black man who was working near his home. Joseph Berndt, 47, was charged with a felony hate crime and aggravated assault and battery.

INDIANA

Beech Grove • July 24, 2012

Fliers from the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways.

Indianapolis • July 21, 2012

A window at a gay bar was shattered during an allegedly bias-motivated drive-by shooting.

IOWA

Fort Dodge • Aug. 23, 2012

Racist epithets were spray-painted on a black family's mobile home.

MAINE

Bangor • Sept. 21, 2012

Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were spray-painted on two synagogues. Three teens were arrested in connection with the incident. Two of them face felony aggravated criminal mischief charges while the other youth was charged with misdemeanor criminal mischief/vandalism.

MICHIGAN

Interlochen • Aug. 12, 2012

A swastika and racist graffiti were painted in the middle of a neighborhood intersection.

MINNESOTA

Buffalo • Sept. 24, 2012

Wade Murray, 30, was charged with felony vandalism for allegedly throwing rocks and leaving anti-gay posters at four churches.

Rochester • Aug. 21, 2012

A white man allegedly yelled racial slurs and threatened a Somali woman in a grocery store parking lot, then attempted to hit her with his car.

St. Paul • Aug. 11, 2012

A car window was smashed by a golf ball with a gay slur written on it. The car was parked at a church that was celebrating an openly gay pastor.

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau • Aug. 14, 2012

A gay woman was allegedly attacked at her home by a 17-year-old girl who yelled anti-gay slurs. Mercedes Ayers was charged with a hate crime and burglary.

Independence • July 24, 2012

Charles Wilhelm, 23, was sentenced to three and a half years in prison for conspiracy and violating the Fair Housing Act after he vandalized a biracial man's mobile home with racial slurs in June 2006 and then burned it two days later.

Joplin • Aug. 6, 2012

A mosque was set afire.

Springfield • July 9, 2012

A racial slur and a threat were etched into a car owned by a black

family whose house was burned a week earlier.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • Aug. 9, 2012

A racist message about a black Congressional candidate was spray-painted on a garage door. Martha Dewitt, 78, was cited for destruction of property.

NEW JERSEY

Jersey City • July 24, 2012

Two women allegedly yelled anti-gay epithets and smashed a bottle on a man's head. Derita Boone, 21, and Jennifer Gilmore, 25, were charged with bias intimidation, aggravated assault and weapons offenses.

Manalapan • Sept. 6, 2012

Swastikas and the words "Kill the Jews" were painted on residences in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood.

NEW MEXICO

Rio Rancho • July 24, 2012

Racial slurs were spray-painted on the garage of a black man who moved in to the neighborhood two months earlier. Other residences in the neighborhood were also spray-painted with graffiti. Jose Campos, 23, was charged with seven counts of criminal damage to property, one of which included a hate crime enhancement.

NEW YORK

Bay Shore • Sept. 21, 2012

Anti-Muslim epithets were spray-painted on a mosque.

Congers • July 14, 2012

A white man armed with a steak knife allegedly burst into an apartment, screamed anti-Latino epithets and struck a child in the face. Thomas Cheviot, 53, was charged with three counts of first-degree burglary, assault on a child less than 11 as a hate crime, assault as a hate crime, criminal possession of a weapon, resisting arrest and endangering

the welfare of a child.

Hoosic Valley • July 2, 2012

Casey Lee and James Harley, both 17; Dylan Justus, 18; and Brent Onge, 19, were charged with criminal mischief, conspiracy as a hate crime, trespassing and graffiti after they allegedly spray-painted swastikas and profanity at a high school in Schaghticoke in June.

New York • Aug. 6, 2012

A man was allegedly punched by another man who used an anti-gay slur.

New York • Sept. 17, 2012

A man who was with his transgendered girlfriend was allegedly attacked by another man who used anti-gay slurs. Keith Patron, 44, was charged with assault as a hate crime.

Sleepy Hollow • July 11, 2012

A swastika and anti-Semitic graffiti were spray-painted on a building and tables at a park.

Staten Island • Aug. 19, 2012

Packages of uncooked bacon were strewn around a park where hundreds of Muslims were celebrating Ramadan.

NORTH CAROLINA

Eden • July 11, 2012

A pro-Ku Klux Klan banner questioning the decision not to replace a Confederate statue in a nearby town was hung near a school.

OHIO

Marietta • Sept. 22, 2012

A swastika and the letters "KKK" were spray-painted in a parking lot.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City • July 21, 2012

A gay man was burned when his car was allegedly firebombed by two people. An anti-gay slur was also spray-painted on the vehicle.

PENNSYLVANIA

Waymart • July 25, 2012

Five people allegedly yelled racial epithets, destroyed prop-

erty and shot paintballs several times during July at campers at a Jewish summer camp. Mark Trail, 21; Tyler Spencer and Cassandra Robertson, both 18; and two juveniles face numerous charges including ethnic intimidation, terroristic threats and riot.

TEXAS

Houston • July 23, 2012

Three men were sentenced under a federal hate crime law for attacking a black man at a bus stop in 2011. Brian Kerstetter, 33, received a 77-month sentence; Charles Cannon a 37-month sentence and Michael McLaughlin a 30-month sentence.

VIRGINIA

Harrisburg • Sept. 14, 2012

Racial and ethnic slurs and sexually explicit images were spray-painted on an Islamic center.

WASHINGTON

Beacon Hill • Aug. 1, 2012

At least three people were allegedly attacked by a man who yelled racist slurs. Eric Gibbs, 37, was charged with committing a hate crime.

Lake Chelan • Sept. 7, 2012

Cars belonging to a group of Muslim students vacationing at a lake were vandalized and had racial slurs etched into them.

Seattle • July 17, 2012

A man was charged with malicious harassment and malicious mischief after he allegedly smashed a window of a Muslim community center and said he committed the act because he hates Muslims.

Spokane • Sept. 12, 2012

A white man allegedly yelled racial slurs at three black teens, chased them and threatened them with a gun, firing at least one shot. Jimmy J. Blackburn, 29, was charged with attempted second-degree murder. ▲

Obamapocalypse

Paranoid prognosticators of the far right fear doomsday scenarios under second Obama term

BY BOOTH GUNTER

The far right does not like President Obama. He's been depicted as a Muslim (he's not) and a terrorist sympathizer. He's been called a fascist and compared to Hitler. He's been pegged as a socialist and even a communist. And, of course, an entire cottage industry has been built around the false accusation that he's not even an American.

His 2008 election also helped fuel an explosive resurgence of the antigovernment "Patriot" movement, whose sympathizers indulge themselves in all sorts of wild conspiracy theories about the federal government: It's building concentration camps for dissidents, it's selling out Americans to the dreaded "New World Order," it's planning to institute martial law, confiscate everyone's guns and send in U.N. troops to keep order.

Of course, none of this has come about in the last four years. But therein lies the rub. The first term was nothing but an elaborate ruse to get re-elected. The second term, now that's when everything hits the fan. Freedom itself, maybe even all of civilization, hangs in the balance.

That, at least, is the impression you might get by reading the paranoid prophecies of some of the right's most rabid Obamaphobes. They see a dark night of despair, madness and chaos — with no guns around to defend freedom — if Obama is re-elected. (This issue went to press prior to the Nov. 6 election.) To record these prophecies for posterity and so that you will know what's in store if some of the pre-election polls turn out to be true, here are some of the Top Predictions of the Obamapocalypse:

One Thousand Years of Darkness. In a video posted on YouTube, tough-guy actor Chuck Norris and his wife, Gena, warn of "socialism or something much



worse." Quoting a 1964 speech by Ronald Reagan, Gena says: "We will preserve for our children this last best hope for man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the first step into 1,000 years of darkness."

An Obama Dictatorship. Robert Ringer, who calls himself "A Voice of Sanity," is a motivational speaker, a self-help author and big fan of Ayn Rand. He's also got the president all figured out. After the election, the "Marxmeister" will move swiftly to unleash a "dictatorial full monty." We're talking instant citizenship for all Third World immigrants; a new sedition act that criminalizes criticism of the government; forced equalization of income; suspension of habeas corpus; the end of fossil fuel production, and much more.

Obama Will Take Away Our Gun Rights. Obama will take away our guns and "erase" the Second Amendment, says Wayne LaPierre, the \$970,000-a-year executive director of the National Rifle Association who once called federal agents "jack-booted thugs" in a fundraising letter. Obama's first term was nothing but a "conspiracy to ensure re-election by lulling gun owners to sleep."

U.S. Will Be Enslaved by Globalists. Dick Morris, the one-time aide to Bill Clinton, told Sean Hannity on Fox News last March that Obama's "big focus" will be to make the U.S. a "vassal state to a

Author of *Armageddon*? To hear some of President Obama's critics, four more years under the nation's first black president will pretty much spell the end of the world as we know it.

globalist entity." And by the way, he'll sign a treaty ensuring that the U.S. has to get permission from Russia and China to go to war.

U.N. Troops and Civil War. Tom Head, a county judge in Texas, called for a property tax increase to help fund his county's response to post-election civil unrest — what he envisions as a good old fashioned "Lexington, Concord, take up arms" uprising. But it seems like he wants to be leading the insurrection. "He's going to send in U.N. troops," the judge warned a local TV station. "I don't want 'em in Lubbock County, OK? So I'm gonna stand in front of their armored personnel carrier and say, 'You're not coming in here.'"

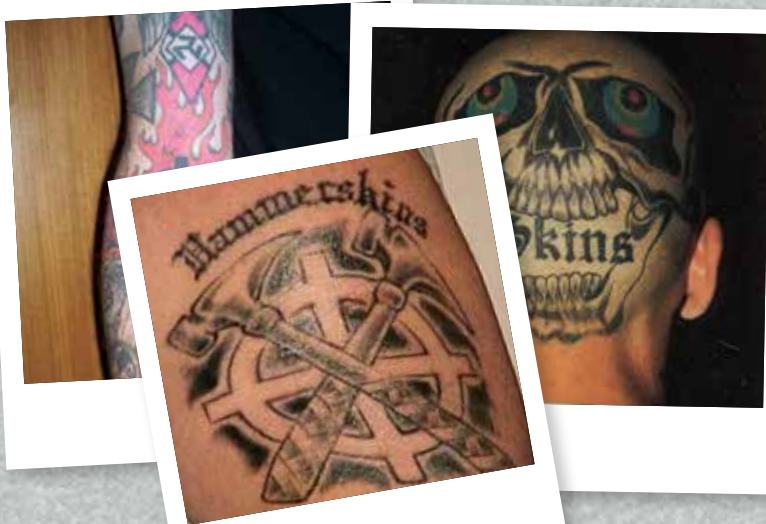
And No. 1:

Hunted Down Like Dogs. Joseph Farah, who leads the far-right, conspiracy-mongering website WorldNetDaily, is under no delusions about his fate. "If [Obama is] re-elected, it's gonna be war," said Farah, who swears he saw a drone surveilling his Northern Virginia property. "We will be hunted down like dogs."

Now that we've reported this information, you can decide your next move. The local gun store closes at 9 p.m. ▲

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