

THE ARYAN ACCOUNTANT AN IDAHO CPA'S SECRET LIFE



Intelligence Report

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SUMMER 2013 | ISSUE 150

FOR DECADES
RACISTS
AND ANTI-RACISTS
HAVE BATTLED
IT OUT IN THE
STREETS

PLUS
BEHIND THE WALLS
A City for 'Patriots'

BATTLE LINES
Sheriffs Defy Gun
Control

SUSPECT 'SCIENCE'
Anti-Gay Study
Debunked

BUT DOES THE VIOLENCE
REALLY SOLVE ANYTHING?

Boston and Beyond

BY MARK POTOK



SINCE 9/11, 21 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN killed in this country at the hands of jihadist terrorists, including the four who tragically lost their lives in the Boston bombing this April and the 13 killed at Fort Hood in 2009 by U.S. Army Major Nidal Malik Hassan. During the same period, 23 people were murdered by protagonists of the domestic radical right, including the six who were slaughtered last August at a Sikh temple near

Milwaukee, Wis., by neo-Nazi Wade Michael Page.

In the case of the Sikh temple killings, it seems safe to assume that Page was motivated by anti-Muslim hatred but did not understand that turbaned Sikhs have nothing to do with Islam. That was only the latest attack aimed at Muslims that resulted in Sikh deaths since 9/11. The first came just four days after the Al Qaeda attacks with the murder of Balbir Singh Sodhi, slain outside his Arizona gas station by a man who had promised to “go out and shoot some towel-heads.”

Now, the same kind of hatred that motivated Page and Arizona killer Frank Roque is bubbling to the surface again in the wake of the Boston bombings.

By the time the Boston suspects were identified as Muslim immigrants, the U.S. Muslim community already was cowering. Already, there had been reports of a man in New York and a woman near Boston attacked by hate criminals. The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) hurriedly called a news conference with four other Muslim organizations to condemn all terrorism — and to advise Muslims and Islamic institutions in America to beef up security procedures.

Then the hate really began to fly.

Bryan Fischer of the American Family Association said anyone who believes the Koran is “the holy book of God” should be banned from immigrating. The Eagle Forum’s Phyllis Schlafly called for bringing back the infamous House Committee on Un-American Activities to probe “jihadists” and “fellow travelers.” Pam Geller’s American Freedom Defense Initiative called for Muslim profiling, surveillance of mosques and a halt to all Muslim immigration. Right-wing author Ann Coulter said the wife of one bombing suspect “ought to be in prison for wearing a hijab.”

Larry Klayman of Judicial Watch declared his outrage that an accidental blast at a Texas fertilizer plant and the sending

of ricin-laced letters were not being investigated for possible Muslim terrorist connections. Former Fox News celebrity host Glenn Beck claimed that a Saudi student cleared early on in the investigation was actually an “armed and dangerous” “control agent” being protected by the Obama administration. And televangelist Pat Robertson, who has blamed hurricanes on gay people, pointedly mocked the “religion of peace.”

There is no question that the threat of homegrown jihadist attacks is real. We wrote about that rising phenomenon in our Summer 2011 issue, which explored the shift from external to internal jihadist threats. But there also is no question that the American Muslim community is, by and large, a peaceful one that abhors terrorism in all its forms and that cooperates with law enforcement in exemplary ways.

A recent study by noted terrorism expert Peter Bergen and the New America Foundation found that Muslims and non-Muslims were “just as likely” to cooperate with authorities by tipping them off to plots, and it specifically rejected New York Republican Congressman Peter King’s 2011 claim that most Muslims won’t help police. Another study, issued by the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security in 2011, reported that 48 of 120 Muslims suspected of plotting terror attacks in the U.S. since 9/11 were turned in by fellow Muslims.

Bergen’s study also found that while every death is a tragedy, “Islamist terrorism has been less deadly in the United States than other forms of terrorism since September 11.” But that hasn’t dampened anti-Muslim feeling.

Muslims in this country have been here before. Right after the 9/11 Al Qaeda attacks, anti-Muslim hate crimes exploded by some 1,600%, to the surprise of very few people. But that crime wave fell back right away, dropping by about two thirds in 2002, in large part because of President George W. Bush’s repeated speeches to the effect that the culprit was Al Qaeda, not Islam. Then, however, after seven more years of overall decline, anti-Muslim hate crimes shot up again by 50%.

That 2010 jump, along with similar numbers in 2011, is best explained by the rancor stirred up by the Muslim-bashing propaganda that characterized those two years — Geller’s crusade against New York’s “Ground Zero Mosque,” fights over mosques in other states, attacks on Shariah Islamic law, and the rhetoric surrounding King’s 2011 congressional hearing on the radicalization of U.S. Muslims.

At press time, President Obama had not yet spoken out against the wave of intolerance against Muslims that clearly was building. He should. As President Bush showed in 2001, good leadership at the right moment can make us a better nation. ▲

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12 Battle Lines

In the wake of the Newtown, Conn., schoolhouse slaughter, more than 400 sheriffs are promising to “oppose and disallow” any new federal gun control measures. Much of their brazen talk about taking the law into their own hands, even at the cost of their lives, has its roots in the radical and racist Posse Comitatus organization.

ON THE COVER

29 A Better Way

On May 19, 2012, as many as 18 self-described anti-racists stormed into a suburban Chicago family restaurant and attacked a group of white nationalists meeting for lunch with batons, baseball bats and chair legs. The bloody attack highlighted the long history of endemic violence between white supremacists and “anti-fascists” that also includes the 1998 murder of two anti-racist skinheads in a neo-Nazi plot.



19 Behind the Walls

Far-right gun enthusiasts say they are planning to build a walled city in northern Idaho for “Patriots” who love the Constitution and hate “liberals, Marxists and blue voters.” But a convicted con man is the primary promoter of the fantastic scheme, and there’s little to suggest that it will ever become what its backers are promising.



24 The Aryan Accountant

For at least six years, a well-known and respected certified public accountant — a man whose firm has audited many of Idaho’s public schools and government bodies — has led a secret life as a neo-Nazi. Timothy Stephen Folke now says his activism was part of a bizarre research project, but his family has not accepted that claim.

Intelligence Report

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PUBLISHED BY

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S
INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

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The *Intelligence Report* is published quarterly by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. © 2013 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved.



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The execution-style murder of the Colorado prisons chief was almost certainly the work of a white supremacist prison gang member. Was he operating on orders?



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A new study of LGBT families is being trumpeted by anti-gay groups. But an expert appointed to review it says it was fatally flawed and calls its author "disgraced."

45 Agenda 21 and the Jews

A 1992 United Nations "smart growth" plan has long been demonized by the radical right. In the latest twist, Agenda 21 is now being described as a Jewish plot.

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A "sovereign citizen" leader is convicted of fraud; a racist party gets a makeover; a racist Mormon breakaway cult scatters; and other glimpses of extremism.

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A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2013 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

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A self-described "white nationalist" pens a film guide to help "our people" avoid "Jewed" movies. But he doesn't leave much for his comrades to watch.

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.





ANTI-GAY

As Tolerance of LGBT People Grows, Anti-Gay Groups Ratchet Up Smears

It seems that as Americans become more accepting of same-sex marriage and LGBT people in general, many anti-gay groups grow more desperate in their attempts to smear gay men and lesbians with rhetoric linking them to all kinds of societal ills.

Last November, voters defeated anti-gay ballot initiatives in several states, and recent public polling consistently demonstrates rising support for marriage equality nationwide. Plus, more than 50 U.S. senators have publicly announced support for same-sex marriage, and the number is rising. State after state has legalized same-sex marriages.

But none of that stopped the Rhode Island chapter of the National Organization for Marriage (NOM) from posting videos on its website last January that not only referred to

homosexuality as being “lethal” and a “disorder” but accused LGBT people of “collapsing morality” and pushing “atheistic Communism.” Until recently, NOM typically steered clear of the kind of malicious rhetoric employed by some of the more extreme anti-gay groups. After progressive bloggers took note, the videos rapidly disappeared from the anti-gay group’s site.

Scott Lively of Abiding Truth Ministries, best known for his activism in Uganda on behalf of the “kill the gays” legislation, continued to push the theory that President Obama is gay. His proof? The president traveled in February with his former personal assistant, Reggie Love, rather than the first lady while returning from a vacation. Last year, Lively claimed that Obama had once been married to a man.

Brian Brown, president of the anti-same-sex marriage group National Organization for Marriage, has tried to give his group a moderate image. That didn’t stop a NOM chapter last January from accusing LGBT people of “collapsing morality” and “pushing atheistic communism” — at least until the slurs were noticed by pro-LGBT bloggers.

In keeping with Lively’s theme, the American Family Association’s Sandy Rios tried in March to resurrect the rumor that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian after the former secretary of state announced her support for marriage equality. Not to be outdone, Americans for Truth About Homosexuality launched a “pedo-file” project devoted to smearing gay men as pedophiles. (All major medical and psychological associations have concluded that gay men are no more likely than straight men to molest children.) Keeping up the pedophilia drumbeat at the National Press Club in April, perennial junk science purveyor and thoroughly discredited psychologist Paul Cameron claimed that one in four gay men have sex with children “as part of their sexual repertoire.” If that weren’t bad enough, Cameron added some besti-

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“If you compare white populations, we have the same murder rate as Belgium. So perhaps it’s not a gun problem, it is a demographic problem.”

—Right-wing author **ANN COULTER**, suggesting on the **Jan. 14** edition of Fox News Channel’s “Hannity” that non-white people are the real cause of gun violence

“[T]he Sarah Palin-style feminists, they’ll get themselves a husband, but ... they will use their power probably to make their husband submit to them.”

—Colorado-based **DAVE BUEHNER**, on the **Jan. 22** edition of the Internet-based “Generations Radio” show he co-hosts, in a rant against “cute,” “ugly,” “Sarah Palin-style” and other feminists, all of whom he called “selfish, narcissistic, family-destroying whores”

“[Y]ou have a lot of quote-unquote apostate Christian churches that have adopted homosexuality and they will do their best to burn Christians at the stake.”

—**KEVIN SWANSON**, during the **Jan. 28** “Generations Radio” show he co-hosts with Dave Buehner, on the fate of Christians if LGBT people were in power

“Being gay is not only a bonus for humans these days, it is a definite plus for dogs as well.”

—Catholic League President **BILL DONOHUE**, complaining in a **Jan. 31** blog post about a Tennessee animal shelter that resisted a dog owner’s request that his pet be euthanized because the owner thought the animal was homosexual

“I believe they will put together ... a black force to go against a white resistance, and then they will claim anyone resisting the black force, they are doing it because they are racist.”

—Internet radio host **STAN SOLOMON**, in a **Feb. 19** exchange with Gun Owners of America’s Larry Pratt about an alleged Obama administration plot to provoke a civil war by confiscating weapons, on his “Talk to Solomon Show”

“We’ve got some people who think Shariah law should be the law of the land [T]he guns are there ... to make sure all of the rest of the amendments are followed.”

—U.S. Rep. **LOUIS GOHMERT** (R-Tex.), defending gun rights by suggesting that weapons will be needed to resist the imposition of Islamic religious law in the U.S., on the **Feb. 21** edition of the “Voice of Freedom” show on KTFS-FM in Texarkana, Tex.

“Let me remind the gay rights fanatics, North Korea plans to send a nuclear warhead our way. There’s a terrible price to pay for outright rebellion against the Holy God of Israel.”

—Christian nationalist **RICK WILES**, on the **March 7** edition of his “Trunews” Internet radio show, suggesting that God may soon punish America for homosexuality

ality to his slander stew. He claimed that references to pets in the obituaries of gay people indicate “estrangement from humanity” — adding that 20% of gay men have sex with animals.

Is it any wonder that LGBT people are, by far, the group most victimized by violent hate crime?

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Long Attacked by the Left, Nativist Groups Come Under Fire by the Right

Influential groups such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) that have long fueled the Republican Party’s hard-line stance in the immigration debate have come under fire in recent months from the very conservative movement they have influenced for so long.

The growing tumult comes as conservative members of Congress have warmed to the idea of immigration reform legislation. They’ve attacked FAIR, NumbersUSA and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) for an “unorthodox agenda of strict population control that also has included backing for abortion, sterilization and other policies at odds with conservative ideology,” *The Washington Post* reported in February.

The conservatives taking on the groups include Sen. Marco Rubio of Florida, anti-tax activist Grover Norquist, and officials in the Roman Catholic Church. Kevin Appleby, director of immigration policy for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, warned that “pro-life legislators should think twice about working with these groups, as their underlying goals are inconsistent with a pro-life agenda.”

But evident in the uproar was an undeniable reaction to the views of the groups’ patriarch, John Tanton, a Michigan ophthalmologist who led the anti-immigration movement for decades but left amid mounting evidence that his foundational views were infused with white nationalism.



John Tanton

In his private papers at the University of Michigan — papers unearthed by the Southern Poverty Law Center — Tanton talked about the necessity of maintaining a “European-American” majority and also the advisability of eugenics, the discredited “science” of trying to breed superior humans. In his private correspondence, he even entertained extended dialogues with Holocaust deniers, a former Ku Klux Klan lawyer and various racist nativists. At one point, he introduced FAIR leaders to the president of the Pioneer Fund, a racist foundation established in 1937 to encourage “race betterment” among white people and fund eugenics studies.

Those very papers are now being circulated privately in Washington, alarming GOP lawmakers and strategists who are increasingly concerned that the party’s harsh rhetoric on immigration alienated Latino voters and contributed to Mitt Romney’s defeat last year. (In fact, Romney’s adoption of “self-deportation” to address immigration is an idea and a phrase that comes directly from FAIR and the Tanton network, which favors an “attrition through enforcement” policy.

Now, for the first time in memory, conservative groups are attacking the network built by Tanton, who once was a principal of Planned Parenthood in his home state of Michigan and also an activist in the Sierra Club, because of Tanton’s interest in population control. “These groups are in no way conservative. They were founded, and are funded and staffed, by radical environmentalists and zero-population activists,” Alfonso

Aguilar, executive director of the Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles, told the *National Journal* on Feb. 14.

The situation is a new experience for FAIR, CIS and Numbers USA — groups that are very much on the political right and have for decades provided the brains and brawn behind the grassroots anti-immigration movement. Perhaps unsurprisingly, their reaction has been one of indignation and disbelief.

ELECTORAL EXTREMISM

Racist, Holocaust Deniers Fail in Local Election Bids

He’s getting closer.

In 2012, Edward Stephens, a reported member of the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), did what more and more on the American right have been doing in recent years. He ran for office.

He started small, running for a seat on the seven-member Park Hill School board in suburban Kansas City, Mo. He came in fifth — dead last — with 5% of the vote. A candidate who dropped out of the race before the election even got more votes than Stephens.

Undaunted, Stephens, 25, went after another seat on the board this spring and racked up 7.33% of the vote. He still came in fifth, but this time at least he beat out a candidate called “write-in votes.”

Stephens received 712 votes and “write-in votes” got 41 in the April 2 election.

Stephens ran on a platform that included teaching “a pro-America agenda in our classrooms” and “removing materials that promote racial diversity” in a district that has become increasingly diverse in recent years. Students of color make up about

30% of the district, which is in Platte County, Mo.

The CCC’s newspaper, *Citizens Informer*, regularly publishes articles condemning “race mixing,” decrying the evils of illegal immigration, and lamenting the decline of white, European civilization. The group’s website once described black people as a “retrograde species of humanity.” Created in 1985, the council is the modern reincarnation of the old White Citizens Councils, which were formed in the 1950s and 1960s to battle school desegregation in the South.

Voters were not kind to the right-wing, immigrant-bashing Rizoli twins of Framingham, Mass., either. Framingham, about 20 miles west of Boston, is a city of 67,000 residents, 20% of whom are Brazilian, representing the largest per capita Brazilian community of any municipality in the United States.

Yet political wannabes Jim and Joe Rizoli have spent years bashing Brazilian residents of Framingham, seemingly at every chance they get, including on their public-access cable television show, “Illegal Immigration Chat,” a twice-weekly hodgepodge of racist skits,

In his second run for a suburban Kansas City, Mo., school board, Edward Stephens, who sought to do away with “materials that promote racial diversity,” failed miserably yet again. Chances are that posing with posters of Adolf Hitler didn’t help the 25-year-old racist.



man-on-the-street interviews and recycled Town Meeting footage.

“Framingham has been turned into a Brazilian slave camp,” Jim Rizoli, who is also a Holocaust denier, told reporters in 2006.

His brother Joe, the more beligerent of the pair, has repeatedly declared, “Framingham has been raped by Brazilians.”

On April 9, the twins lost their Town Meeting seats when four other candidates each earned between 54 and 65 votes “while Jim and Joe Rizoli collected 19 and 20 votes, respectively,” according to the *Metro West Daily News*.

“19 to 20 votes?” a reader wrote into the *News*’ website. “Who are they? This is Very Very scary that there are that many others like them in town.”

“I’m going to miss those cute little racists,” someone else wrote.

But someone identifying himself as Joe Rizoli also wrote in. “You ain’t seen nothing yet from the Rizoli’s. We’re just getting started.”

‘SOVEREIGN CITIZENS’

Antigovernment Floridian Killed in Standoff With Police

In another act of violence attributed to the antigovernment “sovereign citizens” movement, a Florida man accused of printing his own currency and defying the courts was shot and killed after a four-hour standoff with police.

Jeffrey Allen Wright, 55, of Navarre, Fla., attempted to pay a traffic fine with counterfeit money, then refused to acknowledge that courts had any jurisdiction over him. When officers went to Wright’s home on March 8 to arrest him on counterfeiting charges, he barricaded himself in his home, fired a shot from what appeared to be an automatic rifle, and began taunting officers.

“Come and get me,” he yelled at one point, according to a statement from

the Santa Rosa County Sheriff’s Office. Later, he warned deputies not to come up the stairs or they would “not come back down” and boasted that he “would not be a servant of the king,” claiming he was not a citizen of this country.

After police fired tear gas into the home’s attached garage, Wright began breaking out windows with a handgun. Just moments later, SWAT officers entering the home found Wright sitting at the top of a stairwell, where he raised his pistol. Three officers fired simultaneously in return.

Wright had a long history of provoking the courts and law enforcement, common tactics of so-called sovereign citizens, who believe they are not subject to most federal tax and criminal laws. On five separate occasions, Wright had attempted to pay his traffic and criminal fines with fraudulent money orders having a total face value of \$15 million.

The standoff, and Wright’s death, are the latest reminder of the violence and criminal activity coming from the still-growing sovereign citizens movement. Here are a few other examples of sovereign activity in the last few months:

- In Bethesda, Md., a “Moorish” (or black nationalist) sovereign named Lamont Butler attempted to take over a vacant \$6 million home, claiming it was his right to do so as a “Moorish National.” Butler is one of a growing number of black Americans who subscribe to sovereign citizens ideology, often as part of squatting schemes to claim ownership of vacant or foreclosed homes.



Tabitha Gentry

- Another black sovereign, Tabitha Gentry, filed a form with the government in January claiming ownership of seven properties in Memphis, Tenn., including a \$3 million house. Gentry has a long history of violent interactions with the police. Early this year, she allegedly tried to run down police officers after they pulled her over for driving without headlights.

- In Washington state, federal juries convicted four men of filing fraudulent

claims. Raymond Leo Jarlik Bell and Ute Christine Jarlik Bell, of Yelm, were convicted of filing false documents with the IRS with the aim of collecting \$320,600 in tax refunds. A week earlier, two co-conspirators, Kenneth Wayen Leaming, 57, of Spanaway, and David Carroll Stephenson, were convicted of filing unjustified property liens against federal officials, a harassing technique common among sovereigns that is known as “paper terrorism.”

RADICAL TAX PROTEST

President of Major Antigovernment Group Convicted of Tax Crimes

In the months leading up to his trial on federal tax crimes, James Timothy Turner, the head of the largest antigovernment “sovereign citizens” group in the country, boasted that he knew “truths” about the federal government and history that would set him free.

An old hand on the sovereign circuit, he played the part of a political prisoner by claiming the federal government was trying to silence him, adding that it was only a matter of time before his organization, the Republic for the united States of America (RuSA), took control of the government, which he said was up to no good. “I discovered things that big Washington government doesn’t want you to know,” he proclaimed on the opening day of his trial in U.S. District Court in Montgomery, Ala.

But none of that was true.

The secrets Turner purported to have uncovered were little more than half-baked fantasies and an addled understanding of the law — ideas that both fueled his meteoric rise on the antigovernment right and ultimately resulted in his fall.

On March 22, it took a jury less than an hour to return a guilty verdict on the 10 tax fraud charges Turner faced, including the allegation that he had used a fictitious financial instrument with a face value of \$300 million to pay his taxes. He apparently expected to



DEC. 8, 2012 ■ OLD TOWN, FLA.

Six days before the Sandy Hook Elementary School massacre in Newtown, Conn., 57-year-old retired police officer Jim Foster allowed photographer Brian Blanco to accompany his North Florida Survival Group as it performed “enemy contact drills” in the woods. Foster refers to his group, which aims to teach “patriots to survive in order to protect and defend our Constitution against all enemy threats,” as a “militia” and says that its members deeply distrust the federal government and, especially, President Obama, who is suspected of moving the country toward socialism and secretly planning to confiscate Americans’ guns. Foster doesn’t stop at training adults for the repression he expects at any moment; several children, including 9-year-old Brianna and her brother (both above), were among those training with semi-automatic assault rifles. The message on the boy’s T-shirt — “I’m willing to die to defend my 2nd Amendment rights, Are you willing to die trying to take them from me?” — sums up Foster’s attitude as well. After Sandy Hook, with gun control being debated nationally, Foster sounded more militant still: “Now it looks like groups like ours are going to be called up to defend the Constitution even if it means using force.”





James Timothy Turner

receive a whopping government refund.

Much of Turner's trial, in fact, focused on those very "bonds" he taught people how to make in seminars across the country between 2007 and 2010. In sessions for which he charged as little as \$50 for a few minutes of his time to more than \$300 for a two-day seminar, Turner claimed to expose the secrets of the American banking and legal systems. Using what he called "Freedom Documents," he claimed to have devised a system that could free anyone of mortgage, tax or credit card debt.

In reality, of course, Turner was teaching his clients how to dupe bankers and court officers, federal prosecutors said.

Turner and other sovereign citizens typically spent Saturday mornings around a color printer making dozens of the fraudulent bank bonds, according to testimony in the case. The bonds were to be peddled to those in desperate financial situations.

"They're designed to look real enough to make the government accept them," federal prosecutor Justin Gelfand said. "[But] they're, in fact, worth nothing more than Monopoly money."

Such financial schemes were only a beginning for Turner, who in the last three years built RuSA from a base of sovereign citizens in South Alabama into a nationwide government-in-waiting, with supporters in nearly every state. A few of those supporters were in the courtroom when Turner, 57, of Ozark, Ala., gave a half-hearted wave as U.S. marshals took him away after the guilty verdict was read. One was Vivian Gwin, a RuSA "senator" from North Dakota, who shook her head in disbelief.

lief. "This is not about his bonds being unlawful," she said defiantly. Then, parroting what Turner had said all along, she added, "This is about him being the president of the Republic."

RADICAL LEGISLATION

Unbowed by Criticism and Mockery, Lawmakers Promote Nonsensical Bills

If misery loves company, so does wacky, at least when it comes to America's elected officials and some of the laws they think up and sometimes even pass. Take the City Council of little Nelson, Ga., home to 1,300 souls about 50 miles north of Atlanta.

On April 1 — that's right, April Fools' Day — the five-member City Council, according to The Associated Press, voted unanimously to approve a measure requiring every head of household in town to own a gun and ammunition to "provide for the emergency management of the city" and to "provide for and protect the safety, security and general welfare of the city and its inhabitants."

The measure was called the Family Protection Ordinance and exempted convicted felons, residents suffering from physical and mental disabilities and anyone who just plain didn't want to own a gun.

There was no penalty for not complying.

Essentially, the measure was tiny

Nelson's two cents in the national debate about gun control, following the Newtown, Conn., elementary school massacre. Indeed, the AP quoted from the council's agenda, which said another purpose of the measure is "opposition of any future attempt by the federal government to confiscate personal firearms."

The big bad federal government was also on the minds of a group of North Carolina Republican state legislators who proposed in early April a bill allowing an official state religion and declaring North Carolina exempt from the Constitution and court rulings.

The bill said each state "is sovereign" and courts cannot block a state from "making laws respecting an establishment of religion." It also said the First Amendment only applies to the federal government and does not stop state governments, local governments and school districts from adopting measures that defy the Constitution.

North Carolina Speaker of the House Thom Tillis quickly stepped in and killed the measure, saving the state, as one Internet wag put it, "from further embarrassment."

In March, Kentucky Gov. Steve Beshear tried to save his state from further embarrassment by vetoing a controversial "religious freedom" bill, which opponents said could pave the way for increased discrimination against LGBT people, wrote blogger Camille Beredjick.

The bill, sponsored by a conservative Democrat, would allow residents



The elder statesmen and stateswomen of tiny Nelson, Ga., passed a law requiring almost every head of household to own a gun and ammunition. The measure, signaling resistance to any federal attempt to "confiscate personal firearms," was approved on April Fools' Day.

JOHNNY CLARK/AP IMAGES NELSON GA COUNCIL

Updates on Extremism and The Law

JAN. 8 A federal judge in **Anchorage, Alaska**, sentenced **Alaska Peacemakers Militia** founder Francis Schaeffer Cox, 28, to almost 26 years in prison for conspiring to kill a federal judge and law enforcement officers. Co-defendants Lonnie Vernon, 56, and his wife, Karen, 67, received 26 and 12 years, respectively, on related charges.



Schaeffer Cox

JAN. 9 Three men, including two members of the neo-Nazi **National Socialist Movement**, allegedly lured a suspected drug dealer into a car, beat him severely, slit his throat and stabbed him as part of a campaign against drugs. Jeffrey Allen and NSM members Anthony Baumgartner and Stephen Harkness were arrested six days after the slaying, which included dismemberment of the victim, in **Boone County, Ky.**

JAN. 14 A **Riverside County, Calif.**, judge found 12-year-old Joseph Hall guilty of the murder of his father, a West Coast leader of the neo-Nazi **National Socialist Movement**. The boy, 10 at the time of the May 1, 2011, killing, shot Jeff Hall in the head as he lay sleeping on a sofa in the family's **Riverside** home.

JAN. 18 Brian Moudry, 36, who claims to have been the Illinois leader of the neo-Nazi **World Church of the Creator** (since renamed **The**



Brian Moudry

Creativity Movement), pleaded guilty to burning down the home of an African-American family who moved into his **Joliet, Ill.**, neighborhood. Nine people were asleep in the home when Moudry, whose body is covered in racist tattoos, torched it in June 2007.

FEB. 6 A federal judge sentenced Charles Robert "Junior" Barefoot Jr., a **Benson, N.C.**, man who headed a klavern of the **Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**, to 15 years in prison on weapons and explosive charges in connection with a plot to murder **Johnston County** Sheriff Steve Bizell in 2001. Barefoot had earlier been judged incompetent by state officials to stand trial in a 2001 murder.

FEB. 11 Following a 30-minute standoff, **Cleveland County, Okla.**, sheriff's deputies arrested Ace Hailey, 46, a high-ranking member of the white supremacist **Aryan Brotherhood** prison gang. Hailey was wanted for assault and battery, robbery and kidnapping in connection with his alleged Feb. 7 robbery and threat to "gut" an **Oklahoma City** man.

FEB. 20 A federal judge in **Chicago** sentenced Bill White, founder of the neo-Nazi **American National Socialist Workers Party**, to 3½ years in prison on charges related to Internet threats he made against the foreman of a jury that sent a different white supremacist, neo-Nazi leader

Matt Hale of the **World Church of the Creator**, to prison.

MAR. 5 A federal court in **Chicago** upheld the 2004 conviction of Matt Hale, leader of the **World Church of the Creator**, who is serving a 40-year sentence for soliciting the murder of a federal judge who ruled against his neo-Nazi group in a civil case.



Matt Hale

MAR. 8 A member of **WAR Skins**, an offshoot of the defunct neo-Nazi group **White Aryan Resistance**, was sentenced to life for the January 2012 murder of a man during a home invasion/robbery in **Cottage Grove, Ore.** Robert Paul Smith shot the 48-year-old victim in front of his 78-year-old father, who the victim was caring for.

MAR. 8 Fifty-five-year-old Jeffrey Allen Wright of **Navarre, Fla.**, an apparent "sovereign citizen" who believed he was not subject to U.S. laws, was killed after allegedly pointing a gun at **Santa Rosa County** sheriff's deputies in a standoff at his home. The officers were there to arrest Wright for creating fake money orders to pay off traffic fines, a practice that is common in the sovereign movement.

to sidestep anti-discrimination laws if they pointed to “sincerely” held “religious beliefs” that justify their actions, according to opponents of the measure.

Gay rights groups and other advocates were up in arms.

“House Bill 279 represents a clear and present danger to the gay and lesbian community and other minority groups around the commonwealth,”

the *Lexington Herald-Leader* quoted a letter from the Kentucky Equality Federation sent to the senator who sponsored the bill. It “does nothing more,” the letter continued,

“than give people permission to discriminate based on their religious beliefs, thereby taking it beyond ‘freedom of religion’ to ‘forced religion,’ because they have imposed their religious beliefs on others, with legal authority to do so.”

The governor agreed.

“I have significant concerns,” the Louisville *Courier-Journal* quoted him as saying, “that this bill will cause serious unintentional consequences that could threaten public safety, health care, and individuals’ civil rights.”

On March 26, the Kentucky House and Senate overwhelmingly voted to override Gov. Steve Beshear’s veto. The bill will become law in July.

Sometimes, wacky isn’t funny. It’s wicked.

RACIST PARTIES

American Third Position Gets A Makeover Following Election Losses

What’s in a name? For the American Third Position (A3P), the only white nationalist political party in the United States, apparently some sleight of hand.

In February, A3P officials announced they were changing the group’s name to the American Freedom Party (AFP) after a “strong” finish in the 2012 presidential election. But what the group was not planning, despite all the fanfare surrounding its patriotic new logo of red,

white and blue letters, was any change at all in its platform. It remains defined by unvarnished disdain for immigrants and its chairman’s longstanding desire to deport any American with a “discernable trace of Negro blood.”

As the party said in a statement, “Only the name is changing. ... [T]he party’s passionate defense of freedom,

as well as its platform, will remain the same.”

That platform advocates for all immigration to cease immediately and for all undocumented immigrants to be deported as soon as possible. Its members also believe that non-whites endanger white culture and society. As racist

lawyer and party chairman William Daniel Johnson assured party members in a clear paraphrase of a well-known neo-Nazi motto, “We will secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”

What is apparently behind the name change is an effort to draw in future voters who either didn’t understand the “third position” — a racist ideology that rejects both capitalism and communism — or knew the A3P’s version to be akin to neo-Nazism. It may also have been an attempt to draw in the far more numerous supporters of the similarly named antigovernment “Patriot” groups that have burgeoned in recent years.

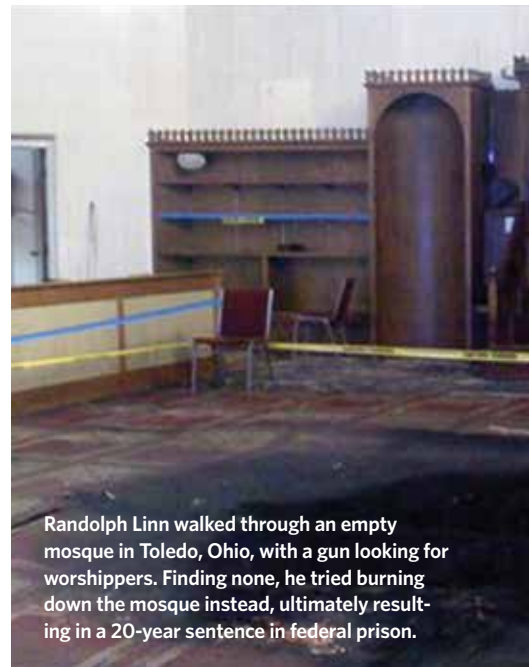
It’s understandable that the group would look for a makeover after its less-than-remarkable showing in the 2012 presidential election. The party’s candidate, film director and white nationalist Merlin Miller, finished ninth. But that didn’t stop A3P spin doctors from doing their work.

“Surprising his competitors,” a statement accompanying the announcement of the November election results reads, “Miller finished ... ahead of a number of much larger parties and more well-known candidates.”

Well, kind of. In a country of more than 310 million people, Miller won the votes of exactly 2,703 voters. That works out, in the final, official statistics of the 2012 presidential election, to 0.00%.



William D. Johnson



Randolph Linn walked through an empty mosque in Toledo, Ohio, with a gun looking for worshippers. Finding none, he tried burning down the mosque instead, ultimately resulting in a 20-year sentence in federal prison.

ANTI-MUSLIM

Ohio Mosque Arsonist to Get 20 Years in Plea Bargain

The anti-Muslim hate parade continued its shameful march across the country in recent months.

Six days before Christmas, Randolph Linn, 52, of St. Joe, Ind., pleaded guilty in U.S. District Court to setting fire to a mosque outside of Toledo, Ohio, on Sept. 30 after driving nearly two hours from his Indiana home “to get some payback” for Americans who had been killed, according to *The Blade* newspaper.

“When you went through that door, you did not attack extremists or terrorists,” the paper quoted Judge Jack Zouhary as telling Linn during the hearing. “Instead, you attacked the place where families come to pray.

“Ironically,” the judge added, “it’s your own violence that was sinful and evil.”

Linn admitted to setting fire to a rug in a prayer room at the mosque after walking through the building with a gun, checking each room for worshippers. As part of the plea agreement, he was sentenced in April to 20 years in prison and must pay restitution to the mosque.

Authorities, according to *The Blade*,



said Linn left Indiana with several firearms and three gas containers. He stopped at a gas station near the mosque, filled the containers and then drove to the 60,000-square foot building, which was damaged by smoke and water.

A few weeks after Linn's guilty plea, law enforcement officials had to provide stepped-up security for Muslims taking part in "Texas Muslim Capitol Day" at the state Capitol in Austin after threats were made on a notorious anti-Islam hate blog, said Corey Saylor of the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), a Muslim civil liberties and advocacy group.

Saylor said the threats included statements such as the grammatically challenged post by "Chris," who wrote, "A big bunch of muzzies all in one place eh?? Why not give em a warm Texas welcome. How do you Americans say? LOCK AND LOAD!"

Someone else wrote, "Call out the texas militia and kill and capture all participates. What in hell is going on in texas?"

In April, police in Harris County, Texas, near Houston, arrested 32-year-old Carlos Marroquin after a convenience store clerk reported a man using racial slurs and making terroristic threats, according to Saylor and local media reports.

Saylor said the man allegedly threat-

ened to kill the clerk and burn down the store because the worker was "Muslim."

The man apparently made the same threats to at least three other stores. "None of the store clerks," Saylor said, "are actually Muslim."

RACIST RELIGION

'Fundamentalist' Mormons Leaving Utah-Arizona Settlements

Something strange is happening in Short Creek, the desert home of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS).

In recent months, onlookers have begun to notice a quiet exodus as members of the racist Mormon breakaway sect move away from Short Creek — or, more formally, the twin cities of Hildale, Utah, and Colorado City, Ariz. — for other states. According to various news reports, FLDS members are now showing up in Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Texas and South Dakota.

In Pringle, S.D., whose official population is 112, droves of church members have recently moved into a single compound in what may be the most dramatic example of the unannounced exodus. Already, about 200 to 250 people reportedly live there, and the FLDS has permits for six new residential structures with a total of 61 bedrooms on the site.

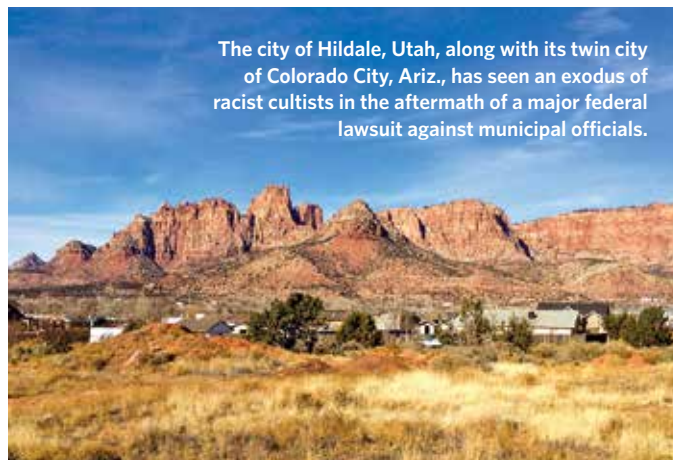
While it's hard to tell exactly what is happening in FLDS-dominated Short Creek, the departures seem to have been set off by a federal lawsuit filed last June. The suit accuses municipal leaders of both Hildale and Colorado City, including police officials, of operating as an "arm of the FLDS" and discriminating against non-FLDS members.

According to the suit, the Colorado City Marshal's Office carries out the "will and dictates" of FLDS leaders, including leader Warren Jeffs, who is currently serving a life term for raping two underage girls. But there are other developments that complicate the story.

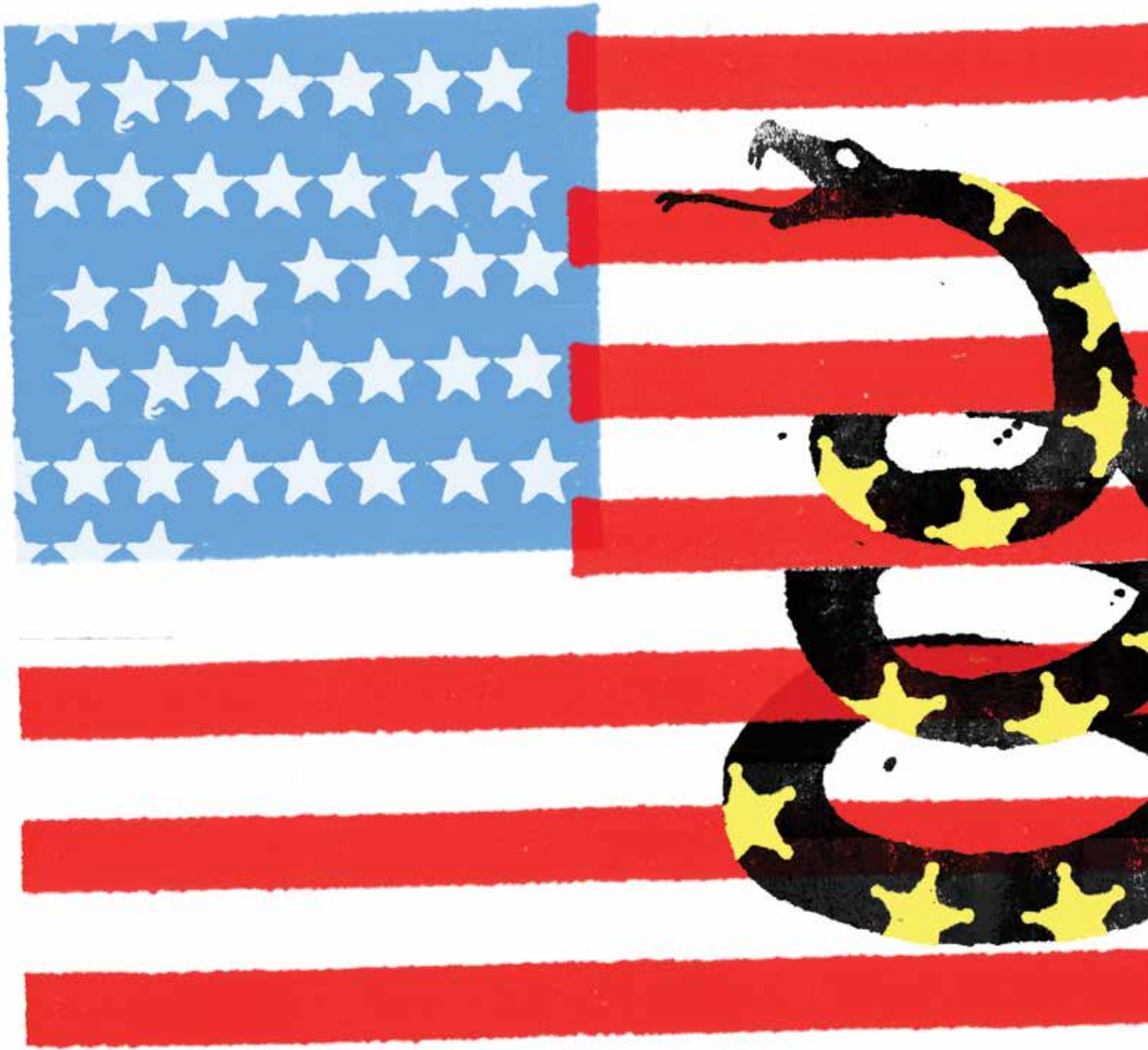
In March, Washington County, Utah, officials announced plans to auction off a sprawling \$2.65 million walled compound in Hildale belonging to Jeffs to raise money for a \$30 million civil judgment awarded to excommunicated FLDS member Willie Jessop. Construction has been ongoing at the compound, which includes a mansion FLDS members were building for Jeffs. Jeffs has predicted in "visions" that his Texas prison would be destroyed once that home is ready for him.

The state of Utah plans to also sell off an FLDS land trust in small parcels to satisfy the same judgment, though that could change as officials in Utah and Arizona continue to debate options for dissolving the church's holdings.

Sam Brower, a private investigator who has long tracked the FLDS, said the departures from Short Creek likely stem from Jeffs' worries about concentrating his members in highly visible communities — worries that began after a 2008 raid by Texas authorities on an FLDS compound there. The apparent abandoning of Short Creek, he said, likely marks the latest effort of the group to escape the public eye and resume the life of a secluded and unknown polygamous sect. ▲



The city of Hildale, Utah, along with its twin city of Colorado City, Ariz., has seen an exodus of racist cultists in the aftermath of a major federal lawsuit against municipal officials.





Battle Lines

Hundreds of sheriffs buck federal authority, raise specter of conflict if new gun restrictions are enacted

BY RYAN LENZ ILLUSTRATION BY DANIEL ZENDER

A sheriff in Kentucky was the first, and hundreds more fell in line — all vowing to stand up to the federal government if it dared restrict gun rights following the massacres of schoolchildren in Newtown, Conn., and moviegoers in Aurora, Colo., last year.¶ More than 400 of the nation's 3,080 sheriffs have signed a pledge to “oppose and disallow” new gun measures, as have sheriffs associations in 15 states. Organized under the aegis of Richard Mack, a former Arizona sheriff who first became a hero to the radical right in the 1990s, the sheriffs are part of a broad political pushback against the prospect of even modest new gun control measures.¶ What sets their protest apart is the militant language, adopted by some, that raises the specter of violent resistance and incorporates the radical views of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, which has mushroomed since President Obama took office and made inroads into the law enforcement community.



The pledge reads, for the most part, more like a political statement than a call to arms, and it would be difficult to imagine county sheriffs resorting to violence to resist the federal government. But in an interview with the far-right “news” website WorldNetDaily, Mack claimed that many of the sheriffs have said they “would lay down their lives first rather than allow any more federal control” and would “do everything they could to stop gun control and gun confiscation.”

Mack has a long history of gun rights activism. In the early 1990s, the National Rifle Association recruited him to challenge provisions of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, which instituted federal background checks on firearms purchases. In 2011, he formed the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) to recruit sheriffs and police officers to stand as “an army to set our nation free.” The county sheriff, the CSPOA says on its website, is “the one who can say to the feds, ‘Beyond these bounds you shall not pass.’”

Those bounds apparently were breached in January when Obama signed 23 executive actions intended to tighten background checks and marginally increase the federal government’s oversight of guns without the benefit of new legislation.

Shortly thereafter, Mack’s CSPOA introduced the pledge, which was later

endorsed by a “Liberty Coalition” that included Patriot groups like the ultra-conservative John Birch Society, the Oath Keepers, We the People, Gun Owners of America, and the Tenth Amendment Center, a group that advocates the alleged right of states to nullify federal laws.

The first to sign was Sheriff Danny Peyman, whose jurisdiction in Jackson County, Ky., lies deep in the heart of Appalachia. He told the *Intelligence Report* that he feared the Second Amendment was in danger. “They’ve tried to weaken it, they’ve tried to compromise it,” Peyman said. “Basically they’re just going to chip away at it to completely dissolve it.”

While it is not clear what will become of the movement in the aftermath of Congress’ failure to pass gun control legislation in April, the sheriffs’ uprising does represent the notable return of an ideology popularized by the racist, anti-Semitic movement known as the Posse Comitatus — that the county sheriff is the pinnacle of legal authority, charged with protecting American citizens from their own federal government.

Chip Berlet, a veteran analyst of the American radical right, told the *Intelligence Report* that the current angst derives from a deep-seated fear on the radical right, pushed endlessly by extreme antigovernment groups like the John Birch Society, that gun control

— and, ultimately, gun confiscation — is the first step toward a totalitarian government. This idea feeds into a larger conspiracy theory: that global elites are pushing the country into a socialistic “New World Order” in which Americans will lose their freedoms.

That fear was expressed by Peyman, who told the *Report* that if the federal government calls in soldiers from the United Nations to round up American guns, an event some have begun to suggest is inevitable, there would be dire consequences.

“What do you think is going to happen?” Peyman asked, flabbergasted the answer wasn’t apparent. “A bloodbath. And they don’t want that.”

The War on Guns

Until this year, there had been no serious talk of gun control since Congress passed the 1994 assault weapons ban, which expired in 2004.

Even after the July 20, 2012, mass shooting during a midnight showing of “The Dark Knight Rises” at a movie theater in Aurora, Colo., that left 12 dead and 58 injured, there was little discussion of new legislation. But five months later, on Dec. 14, the unthinkable happened in Newtown: A mentally unstable gunman walked into an elementary school and started slaughtering first graders, ages 6 and 7, with a semiautomatic assault rifle. Twenty children were killed, along with six adults.



Driving the discussion: Massacres at an Aurora, Colo., movie theater (lower left), allegedly by James Holmes last July, and in Newtown, Conn. (memorial, near left) last December sparked the first serious national discussion of gun control since the early 1990s.

The county sheriff, the CSPOA says on its website, is "the one who can say to the feds, 'Beyond these bounds you shall not pass.'"

Obama, in a televised address on the day of the shooting, called for "meaningful action to prevent more tragedies like this, regardless of the politics." Then, on Jan. 16, he and Vice President Joe Biden introduced legislative proposals to institute universal background checks for gun purchases and to ban military-style assault rifles and magazines holding more than 10 rounds.

Almost immediately, the Patriot movement exploded with worry and anger.

Stewart Rhodes, a former Army paratrooper and lawyer who founded and leads the Oath Keepers, a conspiracy theory-minded group made up of former military and police personnel, called Obama's executive orders and proposed legislation the work of "disarmament freaks" intent on taking "the power of the sword" from the American people.

"It is the height of Orwellian perversion of language and logic to say that disarming you of the most effective arms for combat that you still have is somehow not really disarming you," Rhodes wrote in a "Personal Pledge of Resistance" posted on the Oath Keepers website. "The truth is that our semi-automatic, military pattern rifles are the single most important kind of arm we can own ... When you are disarmed of your military rifles, you are DISARMED."

Former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack, an iconic hero to the 1990s militia movement, has organized hundreds of sheriffs around the country who promise to "oppose and disallow" any new federal gun control measures. Mack says many of them "would lay down their lives" rather than submit.

The fear soon morphed into worries that the federal government would begin confiscating guns, even though no one has proposed such a thing and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in its landmark 2008 decision in *District of Columbia v. Heller* that Americans have a fundamental right to own firearms but that certain limitations were permissible.

Amid this uproar, rumors that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was buying 1.6 billion rounds of ammunition set Patriot tongues wagging. The conspiracy theorist and radio host Alex Jones earlier had raised suspicions about the purchase, which had been disclosed in the *Federal Register*. Jones warned of an "arms race against the American people" and said the government was "gearing up for total collapse, they're gearing up for huge wars." If Americans no longer had guns, the new reasoning went, the war would be much easier.

"Something strange is going on," echoed the conservative website Breitbart.com in February. "Federal non-military agencies bought two billion rounds of ammunition in the last 10 months."

The truth was that the DHS and Immigration and Customs Enforcement were indeed embarking on a multi-year purchase of ammunition, mostly for use during training exercises in the coming years. The DHS said that 70,000 agents



The origins of sheriff supremacy are somewhat murky, but most experts attribute its genesis to the Posse Comitatus, a far-right antigovernment group that sprang up during the Midwest farm crisis in the 1970s and 1980s.

and officers from 90 federal agencies used its training facilities last year.

Meanwhile, the National Rifle Association and its executive vice president, Wayne LaPierre, were in the midst of a fear-mongering campaign that began almost immediately after the Newtown shootings. In his widely criticized editorial on the far-right Daily Caller website, which was advertised as a response to Obama's State of the Union Address, LaPierre cast a grim prediction. Everything was up for grabs as the president set out to dismantle the Second Amendment, LaPierre warned. "Bans

on millions of commonly owned rifles, shotguns and handguns ... bans on tens of millions of standard magazines ... bans on private transfers, even between family members ... import bans ... a federal database to track firearms and their owners, tantamount to national registration of every single gun owner in the country," LaPierre wrote.

The following week, Glenn Beck hosted four sheriffs on his Internet television show, "The Blaze," to talk about what they believed was the tyrannical overreach of the federal government, a common theme for Beck, and how they, as county law enforcement officers, had "banded together for our Second Amendment rights."

The stakes were high, Beck said. "The war on guns. It's real. It's here. And it's just the beginning."

Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president of the National Rifle Association, has been one of the most intransigent voices in the gun control debate, resisting all attempts to impose even the mildest measures.

Rise of the County Sheriff

The four sheriffs on Beck's show that day — David Clarke of Wisconsin, Tim Mueller and Glenn Palmer of Oregon and Steve Cox of Missouri — had answered the call of the CSPOA, a little-known group that has been growing in prominence on the Patriot right since Mack founded it two years ago.

In the years since he successfully sued the government to block provisions of the Brady bill in the 1990s, Mack has become perhaps the biggest proselytizer of county sheriff supremacy, the idea that sheriffs are the highest law enforcement authority. Legal experts say the notion, which gives rise to the term "constitutional sheriffs," has no standing in historical or modern jurisprudence.

The origins of sheriff supremacy are somewhat murky, but most experts attribute its genesis to the Posse Comitatus, a far-right antigovernment group that sprang up during the Midwest farm crisis in the 1970s and 1980s. Its name means "power of the county" in Latin. The Posse's ideas found a lasting home in the radical corners of conservative America, birthing the county supremacy movement, common-law courts, militias and tax protesters, even the "sovereign citizens" movement — all of which have come roaring back to life since 2008.

The influence of the county supremacy movement was seen in Montana three years ago when lawmakers considered a legislative 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, a Republican candidate for sheriff came under fire for saying that a sheriff was justified in using deadly force to stop an abortion.

Now, these "constitutional sheriffs" are flexing their muscles in the gun debate. In Utah, all but one of the state's 29 sheriffs have sent defiant letters to the White House. In New Mexico, 29 of 33 sheriffs did the same, all vowing to oppose "the current gun control scheme"



PENNSYLVANIA POLICE CHIEF STARTS GROUP TO DEFEND CONSTITUTION

In preparation for that feared day when the federal government comes for citizens' guns — a fear that animates much of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement — a police chief in Pennsylvania has formed a militia-like group to stand against federal authorities he believes are intent on destroying the Constitution.

The group, the Constitutional Protection Force (CPF), has already grown to 38 chapters in 38 states, with each dedicated to “meeting any attempts by the federal government to forcibly disarm the public,” one website claims.

Behind the effort is Mark Kessler, police chief in the tiny borough of Gilberton, Pa., about 50 miles southwest of Scranton. Kessler, who has signed the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers pledge (see story, p. 12), made a national name for himself when he proposed a local ordinance that would require his borough to “enact any and all measures as may be necessary” to protect the Second Amendment.

“Our forefathers fought the English, almost to their demise, for the freedoms that so many now take for granted,” Kessler wrote in a January letter to the Gilberton Borough Council. “I am requesting that you show your American Patriotism and support the 2nd Amendment. If no action is taken, it will only be a matter of time before the remaining Amendments are also denied.”

Of course, it remains to be seen just what will become of Kessler's militia — if it will grow or dissolve amid the ever-tendentious fight to pass gun control legislation. But in the meantime, the CPF has attracted widespread attention, and support, from a growing faction on the radical right.

—Ryan Lenz



Linn County, Ore., Sheriff Tim Mueller wrote Vice President Joe Biden to say that any gun control measure he deemed unconstitutional “shall not be enforced by me or my deputies.”

and “any attempt to register gun owners or their firearms.”

In many cases, it is not altogether clear whether the sheriffs simply are voicing political opposition to new gun regulations, or whether they are taking the stand that they will refuse to enforce them. Linn County, Ore., Sheriff Tim Mueller, however, did make himself clear in a letter to Biden, in which he accused the government of trying to “exploit the deaths of innocent victims by advocating for laws” that would take guns away.

“Any federal regulation enacted by Congress or by executive order of the President offending the constitutional rights of my citizens shall not be enforced by me or my deputies,” Mueller wrote. “I refuse to participate, or stand idly by, while my citizens are turned into criminals due to the unconstitutional actions of misguided politicians.”

Others Disagree

Already, there has been a backlash from sheriffs who see fellow lawmen resisting the federal government as undermining the rule of law, and from lawmakers who have proposed legislation to remove from office sheriffs who refuse to enforce a law.

Even the White House has addressed the matter. On March 29, when asked about the growing body of sheriffs saying they would buck federal law, press

secretary Jay Carney said: “There is not a single measure in this package of proposals the president has put forward that in any way violates the Constitution. In fact, they reflect the president’s commitment to Second Amendment rights.”

While these sheriffs may believe they are upholding their oaths, the undisputed fact remains that the legal authority they cite, the U.S. Constitution itself, established a court system to interpret the law and decide which statutes violate its provisions. It does not grant that authority to sheriffs, and they have no legitimate legal basis for their belief otherwise.

Salt Lake County Sheriff James Winder chose to address a letter to constituents explaining why he did not stand with all of other Utah sheriffs against new gun laws. Undersheriff Scott Carver, who spoke to the *Report*, said the sheriff’s decision was about maintaining law and order. “A sheriff individually or collectively cannot interpret the Constitution and speak for everyone,” Carver said. “It would be total anarchy.”

Already, anarchy seems to loom. The CSPOA, while purporting to speak for all law enforcement, is attacking sheriffs who won’t sign the pledge. Those who refuse to take Mack’s hard-line stance are added to the “The Red Coat List.”

“As sheriffs and peace officers across the nation have risen up to defend the



Larry Pratt, whose Gun Owners of America is considerably to the right of the National Rifle Association, has called on local sheriffs “to stop federal authority in the counties” — an entirely unconstitutional proposal.

rights of the people ... others have gone on the offensive, attempting to undermine the power of the sheriff in any way they can,” Mack wrote on March 20. “Thus we present to you the list of red coats ... because they are coming.”

What CSPOA seems intent on creating is what Larry Pratt has dreamed about. As head of Gun Owners of America, Pratt once called for dozens of militias modeled after the death squads in Guatemala and the Philippines. Now, he wants sher-

iffs to create their own militias of deputized citizens to fight the feds.

“The county sheriffs need to act and make new deputies to stop federal authority in the counties,” Pratt said. “This is a defensible idea. ... A lot of citizens would stand up for their Second Amendment rights if they were protected by the sheriff.”

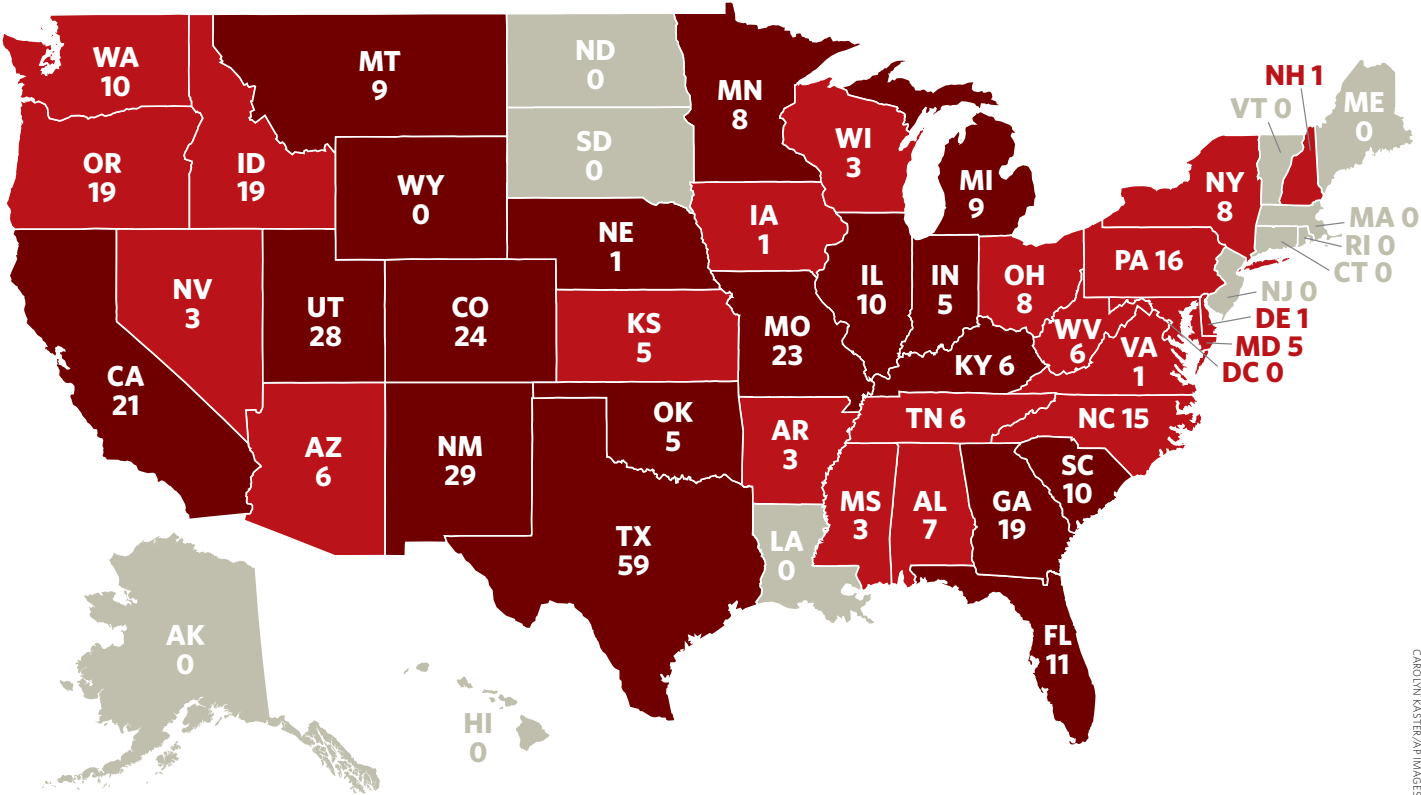
In letters to the White House, some sheriffs have portrayed the conflict in terms of life and death. The Utah Sheriffs’ Association letter to Obama says: “[A]s the duly-elected sheriffs of our respective counties, we will enforce the rights guaranteed to our citizens by the Constitution. ... We, like you, swore a solemn oath to protect and defend

the Constitution of the United States, and we are prepared to trade our lives for the preservation of its traditional interpretation.”

It is that Wild West mentality that has prompted some lawmakers, including Texas state Rep. Yvonne Davis, a Democrat from Dallas, to propose a bill that would allow for a state to remove an elected official not enforcing the law.

“We don’t want our elected officials who are sworn to uphold the Constitution to be able to decide when they’re going to be able to enforce the laws of our land,” Davis said. “We want them to be committed to their oaths.” ▲

Close to 15% of America’s 3,080 sheriffs have signed Richard Mack’s pledge to “oppose and disallow” any new federal gun control legislation. The highest numbers have come from gun-heavy Western states like Texas, New Mexico and Utah. State sheriffs’ associations have also signed the pledge in states depicted in dark red.



CAROLYN KASTER/AP IMAGES



BEHIND THE WALLS

A convicted con man says he's planning a major walled Idaho city for right-wing 'Patriots.' Is there anything behind the hype?

BY BILL MORLIN

They call it III Citadel, and they say they've already lined up "hundreds" of extreme-right gun lovers to join them in the walled city they're planning for a lonely tract in northern Idaho. The end game, they say, is an ideologically pure settlement of 7,000 "Patriots" built around a

huge arms factory.

But there's no sign that the latest fantastic plans from antigovernment extremists will ever come to much. Dave Resser, the sheriff of sparsely populated Benewah County, calls the whole thing a "scam."

They say they're not racists and wel-

come any and all comers, so long as they promise to follow the rules and they're devoted and well-armed defenders of the Constitution — "liberals, Marxists and blue voters" need not apply.

But in practically the same breath, the man who with others recently purchased the land enthusiastically described how

Latinos and Muslims will be “purged” and “culled” by “fed-up Americans” in the not-so distant future.

They say their project is a serious one, not merely the latest windmill-tilting from hard-line extremists seeking to create an independent society divorced from the increasingly multicultural world around them.

But outside of the purchase of the Benewah County tract and the pulling of a permit or two, there’s little to suggest the project could ever come close to the predictions its backers are making. Even other extreme rightists question the plan, some seeing it as the latest embarrassment from the fantasists among them. It hasn’t helped that the project’s chief backer is a convicted con man who, with his wife, has started a whole series of unsuccessful businesses and consulting services.

It’s hard to say if anything at all will come of the project described by its backers as a kind of extreme-right Disneyland — a destination for a certain type of tourist and a place where every person over 13 would own an assault rifle, and where the bulk of the population would work in an arms factory.

But even if it all comes to nothing, it won’t be for want of attention. In recent months, the latest talk of a major American right-wing compound has gotten attention around the country and even in the foreign press, despite the fact that its promoters won’t give interviews and rely on their websites instead. One thing does seem eminently clear. “The Citadel,” as its backers say on a website promoting their Alice in Wonderland plans, “is not the best housing solution for everyone.”

Housing for ‘Patriots’

The prime promoter of the Citadel project — ultimately pictured as a one-square-mile enclave — is Christian Allen

Kerodin, who with his associates recently purchased 20 acres of a mountaintop south of St. Maries, Idaho, in Benewah County. Kerodin and the others say their purpose is to build a remote home and defensible redoubt for “3 percenters” — the minority of the population that they believe will be ready “in the event of a national economic implosion.” The site is 3,500 feet above sea level in an area known for heavy snow during frigid Idaho winters.

“This will become the initial factory location for our firearms company and will be developed into a Showcase for the larger Citadel concept,” the III Citadel website says. Improvements to the site, it adds, are slated for this summer.

A key part of the plan is that the city’s inhabitants will have to remain ideologically pure, and could face expulsion or even trials for treason if they do not. That’s why they won’t be allowed to

own property, only to lease homes.

“One of the primary reasons for a lease paradigm versus private property inside our walls is our desire to make the community for Patriots only,” the Citadel website says. “[Our] model will be similar in many ways to that of Disneyland. It is a walled, gated private property with controlled access. People pay to enter and agree to the rules because they see value in doing so. It is all based on a voluntary agreement between the owners of the property and those who want to come inside.”

It’s unclear precisely who the “owners” would be, but public documents indicate that Kerodin and his wife are key players.

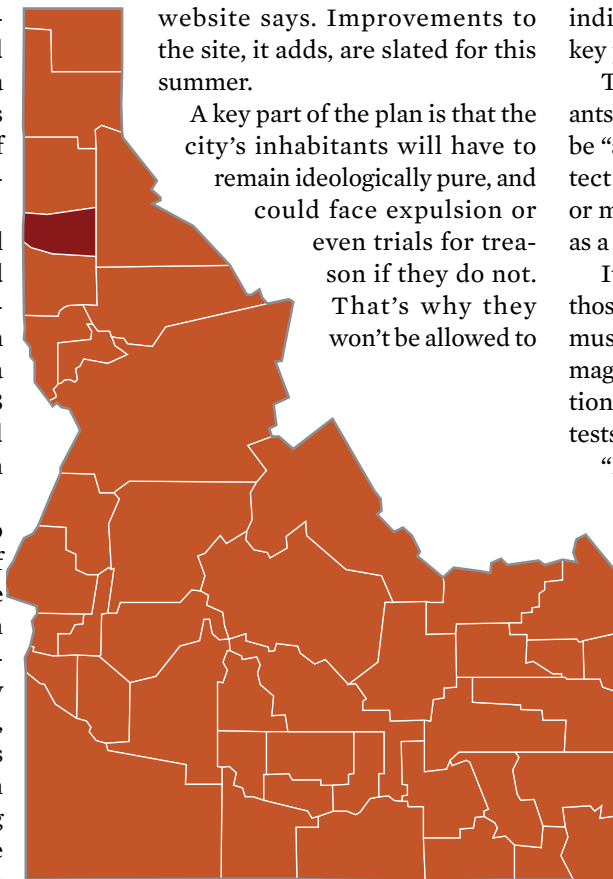
The “Patriot Agreement” that inhabitants will have to sign says the Citadel will be “a martial endeavor designed to protect Residents in times of peril (natural or man-made). The Citadel will be built as a fortified bastion of Liberty.”

It describes “able-bodied adults” as those 13 years old and older and says each must possess an AR-15 assault rifle, five magazines and 1,000 rounds of ammunition, and pass annual firearms shooting tests with a pistol and a rifle.

“Each household will provide ONE able-bodied Patriot (aged 13 or older) who shall muster one Saturday per month for Martial/Support Training for neighborhood-level training & musters, as set forth by the Militia Commanders of the Community,” it says. The Citadel’s militia “will hold an award/recognition ceremony on April 19th each year to celebrate Patriot’s Day,” it adds.

Kerodin and his crew already are accepting \$208 “application fees” from people interested in moving to III Citadel and claim they are fielding hundreds of inquiries. If applicants are rejected, they will only get \$175 refunded.

“We have many amazing folks who are just waiting for the last pieces to fall into place to head to Idaho,” a Citadel



Backers of the III Citadel project have purchased 20 acres in Benewah County, in Idaho’s Panhandle. The area was long known for radical-right activity, especially before the Aryan Nations compound near Hayden Lake was sold to satisfy a 2000 civil court judgment.

"Any man or woman who deliberately infringes upon my Rightful Liberty immediately gets green-lighted on my Targeting Matrix."

promoter identified only as "Vernon" posted in January. "Machinists, IT specialists, ex military, medical, education, farmers, a successful professional land developer — the list is awesome and growing daily," he wrote. "The extensive knowledge and experience of those who are ready to go is impressive. We will have everything we need to make a thriving community."

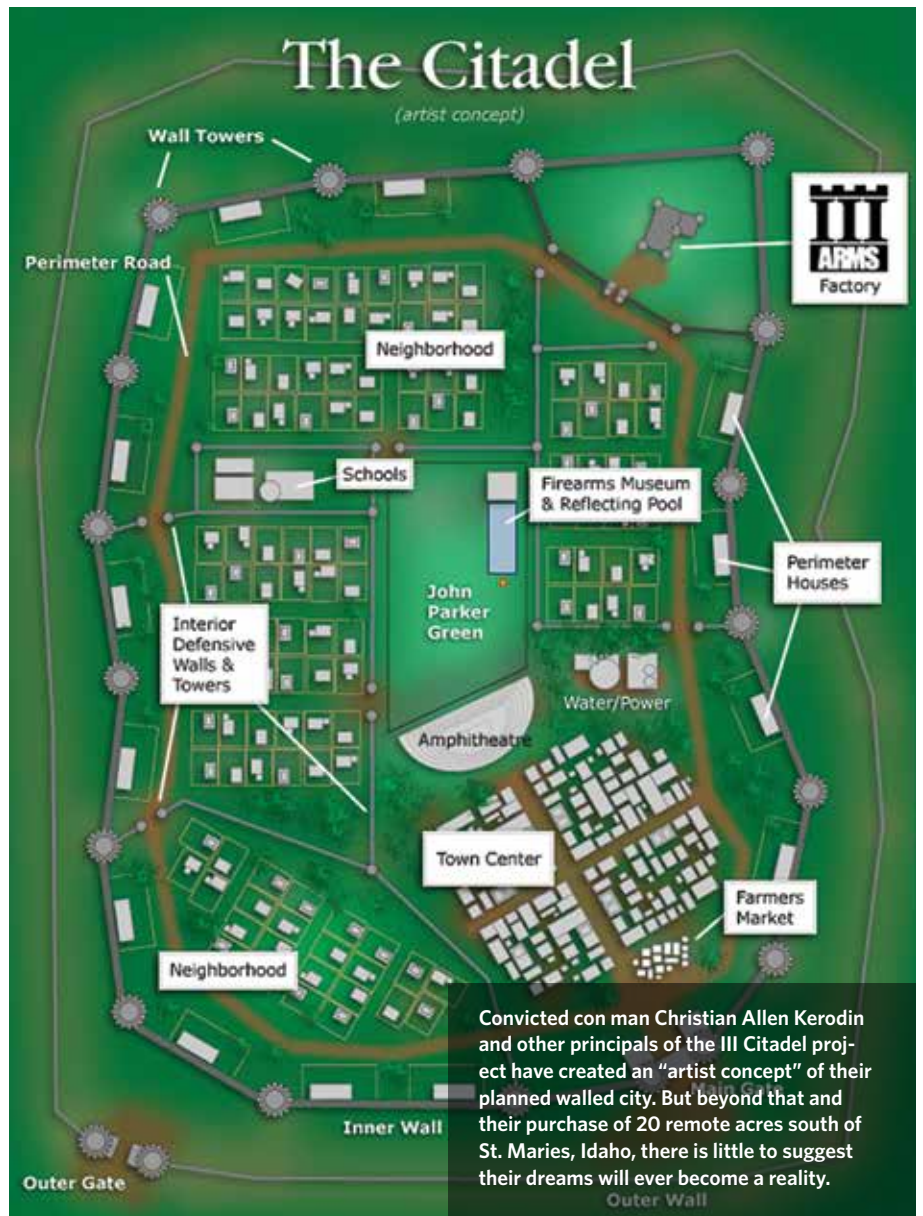
A Tangle of Companies

In January, at around the same time as the land was purchased, a federal firearms permit was issued to James L. Miller Jr. of Inwood, W. Va., for a company called III Arms, which is to be the owner of the planned firearms factory. Miller's firm, Millerized LLC, applied for the license, doing business as III Arms Co., public records show. Kerodin's wife, Holly Kerodin of Gaithersburg, Md., is listed in Idaho public records as the principle of III Arms.

On the III Arms website, Miller is depicted with the permit in one hand and a middle finger extending from the other. In October, Miller appeared at a Patriot gathering in Tarboro, N.C., and discussed III Arms' plans to manufacture AR-15 semi-automatic assault rifles and 1911-style handguns.

"The III Arms Company, [with] current facilities located in West Virginia, was founded to act as the economic cornerstone of the Citadel," the III Arms website says. "Forty-plus American Patriots pulled together to get this company off the ground to serve two purposes: To build solid fighting arms to defend our Liberty and our fellow Patriots, and to raise revenue to build the Citadel."

III Arms isn't the only firm related to the Citadel in a confusing array of corporate ties. The Kerodins, who still live in Maryland, have started a com-



panion company, III Gear. The firm focuses on gun show and Internet sales and offers everything from T-shirts and coffee mugs to 30-round clips for AR-15 assault rifles and tomato seeds. Then there's III Construction, owned by Jake and Elizabeth Marrujo of Mission Viejo,

Calif., that apparently intends to build homes and other buildings inside the planned walled city. And, finally, Citadel Land Development LLC, controlled by Holly Kerodin and the Kerodins' "Rightful Liberty Project."

Who are all these people? In many

cases, it's not clear what their backgrounds are or how they relate to one another. But in the Kerodins' case, some key background facts are known.

Christian Kerodin, who changed his name from Christian Hyman, is a three-time felon who served time in federal prison for extorting shopping centers near Washington, D.C., and possessing an illegal firearm about a decade ago. He and his wife have had a series of business ventures over the years that have fizzled — including furnace and air conditioner repair, rape safety counseling, publishing and charity consulting.

Now they seem to be trying to cash in on the fears of doomsday preppers, antigovernment Patriots, Second Amendment diehards and others.

But not all others.

In various blog posts, while extolling the virtues of III Citadel, Kerodin says “blue voters” are Marxists and “active traitors” who are “seeking the violent overthrow” of the country and its constitution. He describes as “traitors” those who support Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, gun control and other social welfare programs. At the same time, Kerodin says, “Rightful Liberty,” which will be the cornerstone of III Citadel, gives him the right to take “preemptive action” or seek forced deportation of those who don't agree with his views. “Any man or woman who deliberately infringes upon my Rightful Liberty immediately gets green-lighted on my Targeting Matrix,” he wrote last year in a blog post.

“It is MY Rightful Liberty. It is MY duty to defend it. If you

try to take it, if you play any role in trying to take it, you are guilty of trying to deprive my Rightful Liberty given to me by Natural Law,” Kerodin wrote. Natural law is a term sometimes used by white supremacists and white separatists to justify racial superiority and separation, but III Citadel's promotional material



James L. Miller Jr. recently obtained a federal firearms permit for III Arms, a company that is supposed to be the owner of a gun factory at the heart of the III Citadel project. Miller, who wears a tattoo bearing the firm's name, plans to manufacture AR-15 semi-automatic assault rifles and a “1911-style” semi-automatic pistol.

says “Rightful liberty knows no racial barriers. We care not from which part of the globe you or your ancestors originated. We care only that you adhere to the Patriot Agreement.”

When the “impending chaos” he predicts hits the United States, Kerodin expects bad things: “The Southwest will be purged of Latinos, and no one will be checking papers. Enclaves of Muslims such as in Detroit will be culled, one way or another. March north or die. There will be massive migrations as people flee judgment by fed-up Americans looking for some payback.”

Skepticism Abounds

Kerodin and his friends aren't getting much support — even from those who might be



expected to show some sympathy.

“I share some strong reservations about the Citadel community plan and the group’s leadership. (Namely, Mr. Kerodin),” survivalist and antigovernment “sovereign citizen” blogger James Wesley, Rawles wrote in February. (Rawles’ bizarre use of a comma in his name is typical of some sovereigns.) Credited with first promoting the idea of a fortified “American Redoubt” community for Patriots in the Pacific Northwest, Rawles made it clear he has nothing to do with Kerodin or the others promoting III Citadel.

“I don’t think that the current Citadel plan has much chance of success,” Rawles wrote on his blog.

Other far-right criticism came from Patrice Lewis, a columnist for the conspiracy-minded WorldNetDaily “news” website. Lewis lives in Benewah County and describes herself as “a practical constitutional conservative stay-at-home gun-toting homeschooling cow-milking rural-living Christian mom.”

“Truth be told,” she said of III Citadel, “it’s something of a regional embarrassment, the nagging feeling that the rest of the nation will (as usual) regard Idaho as a collection of tinfoil-hat-wearing nut jobs holing up in the mountains against an economic collapse.”

One thing’s for sure, Lewis said, “There is no community-wide welcoming sign for the concept. While our county has reasonably relaxed building regulations, it’s not the place of anarchy some people would like to think, and the Citadel will find itself subject to all the rules and regulations everyone else must obey. If participants in the Citadel think they’re going to find the mythical western frontier where they are not bound by any laws except their own, they’re in for a surprise.”



Far-right columnist Patrice Lewis

Department of Critical Culture, Gender and Race Studies at nearby Washington State University, told the *Intelligence Report* that III Citadel “fits a long pattern among Patriots, neo-Nazis, sovereigns and those with antigovernment agendas to prize the Pacific Northwest as an ideal location to escape from modern America.”

“On a deeper level, I think it reminds us of the breakdown of an older social order and anxieties associated with emergent patterns and relations – a black president, globalization, majority minority nation, concentration of wealth and

“Truth be told, it’s something of a regional embarrassment, the nagging feeling that the rest of the nation will (as usual) regard Idaho as a collection of tinfoil-hat-wearing nut jobs holing up in the mountains against an economic collapse.”

Christina Crawford, president of the Benewah Human Rights Coalition, said that many in her community question if the Citadel backers can find enough land and meet necessary water-rights, sanitation and other environmental requirements.

Although the Citadel backers claim they already have several hundred families planning to move to their dream city, there’s zero evidence to back that up. In any event, Crawford said, reports of the planned project have “alerted – I won’t say alarmed – people who live here.”

Tony Stewart, a longtime human rights activist and political scientist who lives about 50 miles from the proposed Patriot fortress, said those attracted to the III Citadel concept appear to be driven by fear, anger and frustration – a brand of paranoia that pushes them to seek isolation from the larger society.

Richard King, chairman of the

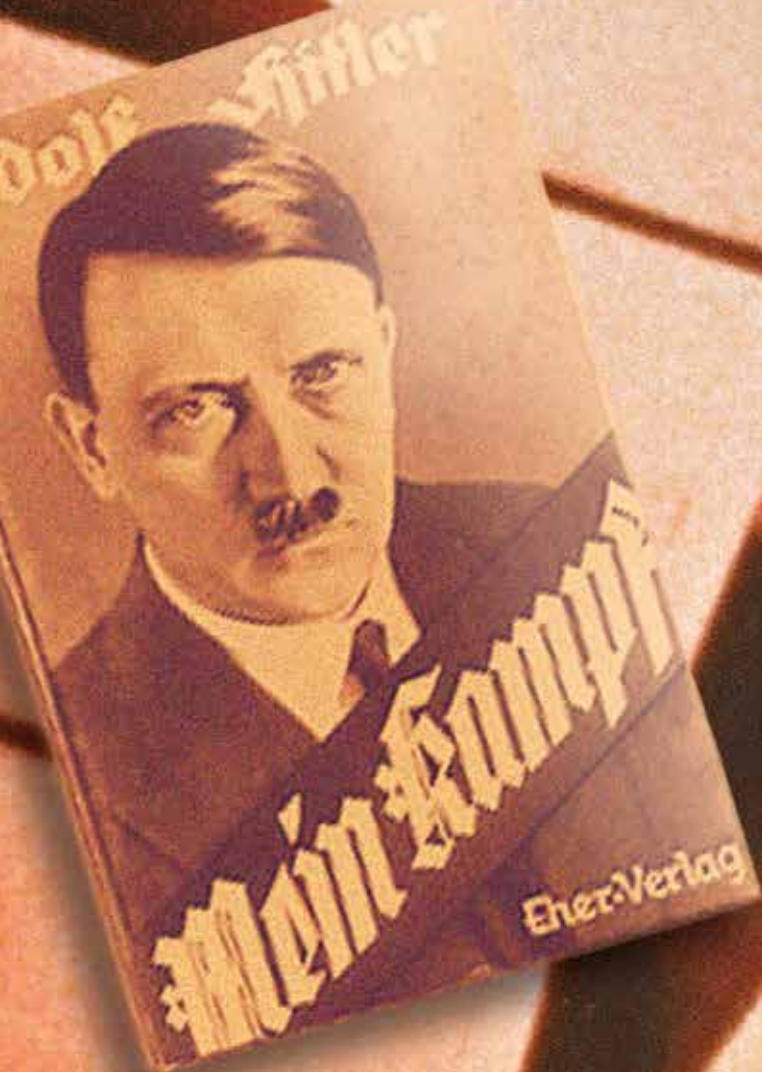
class inequalities, shifting norms around gender and sexuality, and so forth.”

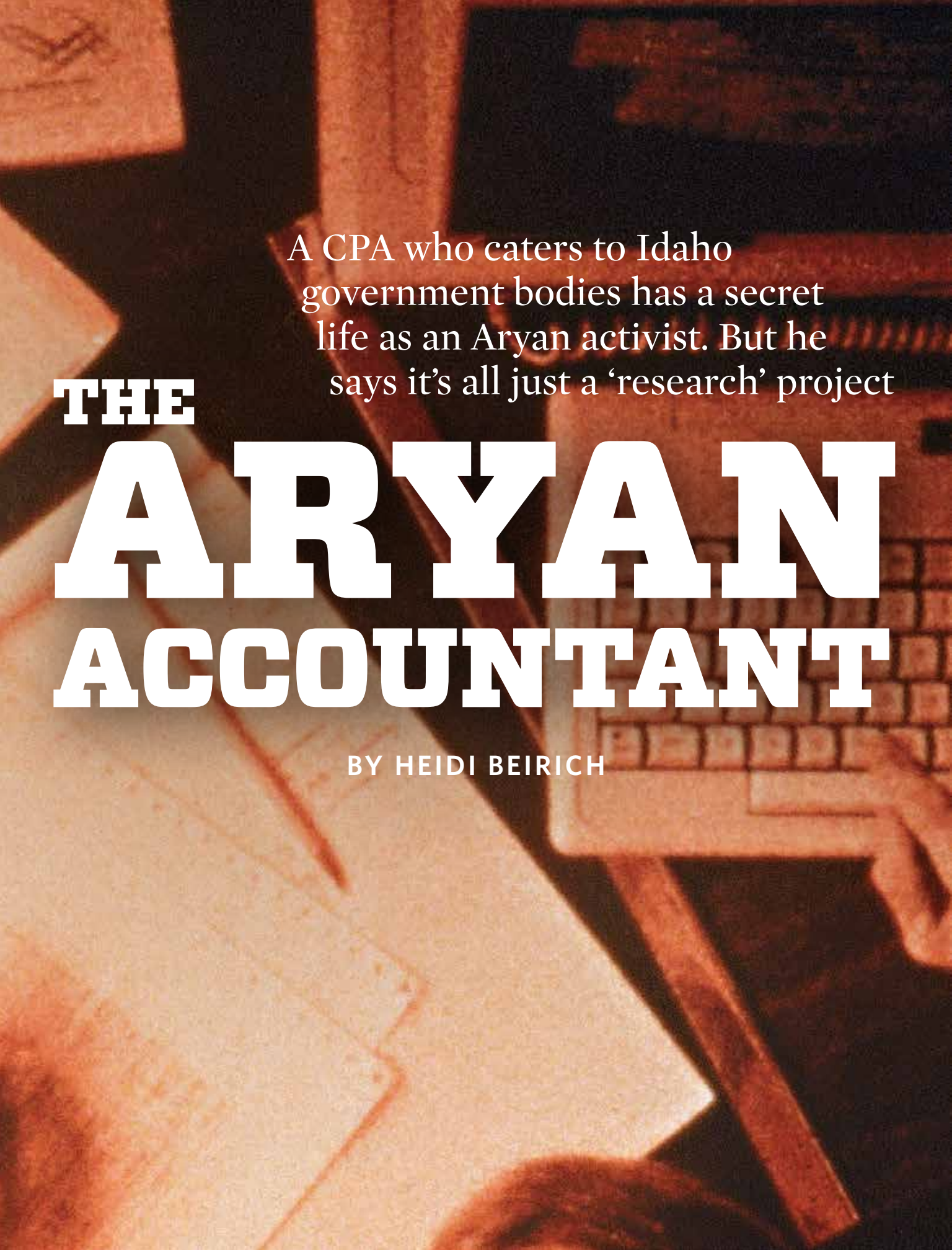
Those lured by III Citadel, King said, may be experiencing “a sense of an endangered way of life, anchored in a sense of imperiled whiteness, especially as inflected by class, gender and sexuality.”

At the Andrus Center for Public Policy at Boise State University, director David Adler also expressed doubts “the project will get off the ground.”

“In a larger frame, it’s difficult to imagine that the creation of a castle, really a medieval fortress, will find much appeal,” Adler told the *Report*.

But if the paranoia-fueled campaign is successful among Patriots who believe in the “inevitability of a violent clash with the government,” Adler said the “prospect of a small army living within a fortress will generate concerns about its intentions and purposes.” ▲



A warm-toned, slightly blurred photograph of a desk. In the background, a typewriter is visible. In the foreground, there are papers and a pen. The overall aesthetic is vintage and moody.

A CPA who caters to Idaho
government bodies has a secret
life as an Aryan activist. But he
says it's all just a 'research' project

THE

ARYAN ACCOUNTANT

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

It is rare indeed to find a middle-aged, respected CPA who is also a Hitler-worshipping Holocaust denier intent on building an all-white Aryan homeland. Yet that is exactly what Timothy Stephen Folke, an accountant whose firm in Payette, Idaho, audits many of Idaho's public schools and other government entities, appears to be. In secret. And with the personal advice of Hitler.

Folke, who runs Folke CPAs, P.C., with his son Kurt, writes that Hitler speaks to him. In an autobiography appended to his racist fantasy novel, *Hyperborean Home*, Folke, using his "Farnham O'Reilly" pen name, describes how, while walking his dog one day, he heard the voice of Hitler talking to him. Another time, Folke says Hitler spoke to him at 2 o'clock in the morning. He identifies this voice as a "spirit" that he has heard "repeatedly down through the years."

Folke has written dozens of racist and anti-Semitic tracts under his O'Reilly pseudonym, which he describes as "the pen name of a businessman, farmer, and investor. A family man, his home is in the Pacific Northwest." A longtime member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance (NA) who attended the group's "leadership

conference" in 2009, Folke's fascination with organized Aryanism, according to his autobiography, reaches back to the late 1970s when he visited the Alliance's original Arlington, Va., headquarters, where he claims to have met a successor of American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell.

But Folke, confronted by the *Intelligence Report*, now says it was all a hoax. In a bizarre series of E-mails, Folke — who on his CPA website describes himself and his family partners as "easy to work with," having "good senses of humor" and known for their "tactful" ability to "hold items of trust in strict confidence" — said that his years of racist and anti-Semitic writings were all part of a research "project." His book was only written, he said, to gain access to peo-

ple who seemed to live close to nature — "part of my effort to both illustrate a nature-based world and gain entrance into a closed society for the purposes of my research." He said he wanted to understand "why human beings don't 'fit in' with the natural world."

"I prize truth above all else," he wrote in one of the E-mails. "I desire it with all my heart, and will pursue it no matter what roads I must trod to do so."

It's hard to tell from Folke's E-mails how writing racist tracts to gain favor with neo-Nazis was going to help him answer his purported questions. It is true, however, that the original Nazis thought of themselves as close to nature, which they pictured as governed by a cardinal rule: The powerful will always rule the weak.

'Our Aryan Values'

Tim Folke's apparent devotion to the National Alliance, whose late leader William Pierce's writings inspired Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, is far from a new thing. His numerous racist and anti-Semitic writings appear to have begun with a 2007 piece in the Alliance's chief journal, *National Vanguard*. In a piece entitled "Our Aryan Values," Folke, writing as O'Reilly, meditated on how "thinking" is "the Aryan's finest pastime" and how Hitler thought of Aryans as the "good race" and all the other races as "chaff." The following year, he published a short essay, "Internal Strength," in the *National*

Editor's Note

In April, after this story was completed, Timothy Folke again contacted the *Intelligence Report* to say that he had "experienced the loss of my wife and family" and had "withdrawn from all activities dealing with the public, as well as all aspects of my previous profession and business." His CPA firm's website was taken down, as were his own website and some of his racist writings. The *Report* contacted his son, Kurt Folke, who said that his father had only informed his family of his "deeply disturbing" secret life the previous weekend, and confirmed that his parents were divorcing and his father had "retired from the firm." His father, he said, "is out of the picture and out of our family and our lives." Kurt Folke added: "He needs to reflect on what he's done. He's going to retire and reflect on what he's done."

“How the Aryan delights in private visual imagery — entertainment, sensationalism, drama, and pornography! And the Jew is there to offer it, 24/7, for he knows that is his key to world dominion.”

Alliance Bulletin, the group’s internal newsletter. It stressed the need to financially support the NA.

In past years, in addition to paying monthly membership dues of \$130 and up (several times the monthly minimum required by the Alliance), Folke has purchased hundreds of dollars in items from the neo-Nazi outfit. And he is one of only three men specifically thanked in the pages of the *Bulletin* for donating \$1,000 or more to support the posthumous publication of Pierce’s final work on the white race, *Who We Are*. The book is meant to be a prime recruiting tool for the organization.

Although he did not dispute his authorship of his novel and various racist essays, Folke told the *Report* that he had made no such donation and knew nothing of *Who We Are*. He blamed the mention of his name on “identity theft.”

Folke’s literary tour de force is surely his multi-part series on creating thriving white homelands, “What Will Work,” which ran between 2010 and this January on a racist website, The Occidental Observer. The site is devoted to “White Identity, Interests and Culture,” and publishes the work of prominent anti-Semites including Kevin MacDonald, a psychology professor at California State University, Long Beach, whose work has been denounced by his colleagues and administrators.

In nearly 20 installments, Folke lays out what amounts to a “how to” guide for building successful Aryan homelands, as he calls them, covering everything from finances and employment, to secession, to such things as culture and Aryan values. The series is infused with racism and anti-Semitism. In it, he writes that “Colored” people are “Mother Earth’s own proverbial ring around the collar” and then goes on to discuss Jews. “The Jew has found the chink in our armor — our enthrallment with visual imagery,” he writes at one strange point. “How the

Aryan delights in private visual imagery — entertainment, sensationalism, drama, and pornography! And the Jew is there to offer it, 24/7, for he knows that visual imagery delivered via mass media — be it TV, movies, videos or internet — is his key to world dominion through brain-hacking the only people that pose a real threat to him.” (Alliance founder Pierce also often complained of “Jewish pornographers.”)

Repeatedly in “What Will Work,” Folke cites variations of the white supremacist motto known as “The 14 Words” — “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children” — as his motivation. Interestingly, the cover art for Folke’s



In a bizarre racist fantasy novel published in 2011 under a pseudonym, Timothy Folke pits a light-skinned race called “The Fairest Ones” against “evil” multiculturalists. In an autobiographical appendix, Folke describes hearing the voice of Hitler speaking to him repeatedly over the years.

novel, *Hyperborean Home*, was designed by Ron McVan, who collaborated with Katja Lane in establishing 14 Words Press (both live in the Pacific Northwest). Katja Lane is the widow of David Lane, who coined The 14 Words and who was sentenced to 190 years in prison for his part in a 1984 assassination carried out by the white supremacist terrorist gang The Order. He died in 2007.

Folke published his novel in March 2011. The story is set three millennia in the future and, perhaps unsurprisingly given Folke’s profession, has a long section on accounting practices. (One befuddled racist reviewer remarked: “It does seem odd that the author wanted to teach about race and the New Order and he uses a lesson in accounting to do it.”) The novel features a race called “The Fairest Ones,” beautiful light-skinned people who have their own homeland and live long lives as the result of natural selection and eugenics, or the selective breeding of humans. They are stalked by “Evil Ones” who seem to basically be what modern racists call “multiculturalists,” or supporters of multiracial societies. The book says it “indicts the current system and gives hope for a better world to come.”

The novel also gives quite a bit of insight into what are apparently Folke’s other views. In it, Folke calls Jews “Urban Men.” He mocks the World War II Holocaust as the “Calamity©.” He calls Hitler “Nature’s Witness” and uses the term “Natural Selectionism” for National Socialism. The text oozes with adulation for Hitler, who Folke describes like this: “His face, not unhandsome, sug-

gested strength and manliness. He had large, pale blue eyes. His voice, probably as a result of injuries received in war-time, was harsh and raspy on occasion. His hair was a luxurious brown, greying only in his last year under the enormous pressures of the war. In his early years he sported a large, bushy mustache, later keeping it trimmed in the style so popular in his day and in that part of the world.”

Folke does not merely fantasize about the future; he seems to be all about building it. Another of his projects, the website familyhomenorthwest.com, laid out practical advice to Aryan activists ready to relocate to his area — until, that is, the *Report* asked him about it mid-March, after which the entire site was pulled down. With the basic theme of acting locally, the site had discussed in practical terms the employment and cultural opportunities for white couples ready to move to the great Northwest. In a Summer 2012 article in a racist journal, *The Occidental Quarterly*, Folke advertised his website and talked about the importance of building a National Socialist economy now if an Aryan ethno-state is the desired end game.

“Adolf Hitler did not get into power or win the hearts of his people through a racist platform, but rather by putting people back to work, which in turn put pride in men’s hearts, food in the wife’s pantry, and warmth and joy in the family,” Folke wrote. White people, he added, have forgotten that “cash talks.”

‘Pragmatic Deception’

Folke is not the first apparent white supremacist to offer up his views on how to build a brighter future for the Aryan race. But he may be the first to simultaneously earn his living by auditing public corporations set up by a government that any contemplated Aryan state would presumably have to eliminate in a massive bloodbath. Folke’s CPA firm, in addition to doing taxes for individuals, has audited nearly a dozen Idaho public school districts, several charter schools, various Idaho cities, sewer districts, and other governmental bodies.

When asked by the *Report* about his views, Folke avoided any direct mention of his “Aryan” propagandizing. “The postings you refer to, as well as the web-

“Adolf Hitler did not get into power or win the hearts of his people through a racist platform, but rather by putting people back to work, which in turn put pride in men’s hearts, food in the wife’s pantry, and warmth and joy in the family.”

site, were part of a research project that I hoped would provide me information I was seeking” on “animal rights, people working together, religious issues, rural versus urban living, and so on.” Folke said he pulled down his website on creating a white community in the Pacific Northwest after being contacted by the *Report* because it had “served its purpose.” He added that his “research” effort “was not successful insofar as getting the information I sought.”

An attempt by the *Report* to seek further clarification about Folke’s reasoning produced a second bizarre E-mail from Folke saying that his research project had failed and had made him many “enemies” among white nationalists, and claiming that his real commitment was to animal rights. It’s hard to know what Folke really thinks, but in his “What Will Work” series he advocates a technique to fellow white supremacists — something he calls “pragmatic deception.”

“Pragmatic deception means that we listen more than we talk, that we keep our thoughts to ourselves when not amongst friends, that we still keep our thoughts to ourselves when amongst loquacious friends, that we use pseudonyms when possible, and that we never, ever announce our plans or the weapons in our possession ahead of time to our enemies,” Folke wrote in April 2012. This type of deception serves another purpose, he added. “The greatest blessing accruing to those of us who perfect the fine art of deception,” he says, “is that (when used responsibly as a weapon) it lifts from our shoulders all fear of reprisal for publicly advocating the interests of our own folk.”

Folke has taken his own advice, at least as far as using a pseudonym and working to avoid identification. None of

his racist or anti-Semitic work appears anywhere under his own name, apart from a 2005 letter to the editor he wrote to the *Weiser (Idaho) Signal American* complaining about Jewish neoconservatives who he said were controlling President George W. Bush’s Middle East policies. Nowhere in the Alliance’s publications or on racist websites does his real name appear.

It does seem that Folke has taken some concrete, on-the-ground action in furtherance of the dream of creating an Aryan homeland. At least that’s what he said in August 2011, when he wrote about finding low-cost mortgages for whites wanting to relocate to his area and claimed to already have “two families in place.”

Folke’s tale and, especially, his explanation for his writings, are certainly strange — but they are not entirely unique. In 2006, a year after he was fired from his post as a Fairleigh Dickinson University history professor following the discovery of his membership in the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM), Jacques Pluss published a remarkable screed entitled, “Now It Can Be Told: Why I Pretended to Be a Neo-Nazi.” In it, he claimed he joined the NSM, and became a spokesman for the group, only to research a book on “the wacky White Power movement.” But a year later, Pluss admitted that he really was a neo-Nazi, and four years after that, in 2011, he was arrested for threatening the head of the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish human rights group. He ultimately pleaded guilty to a weapons charge. ▲

For more details on the National Alliance, see <http://sp.lc/hy8TmD>

A BETTER WAY

A bloody battle near Chicago highlights violence between white supremacists and anti-racists. It could have been different

BY DON TERRY



he affable skinhead slings ink at a college town tattoo parlor in Indiana. But he doesn't use his real name with strangers.

It's just too risky given the decades-long blood feud with the boneheads. Now he has a family. So, he calls himself Nomad, a fitting nom de guerre for someone who's been battling racist street crews all over the Midwest since he was 14. At 36, his Doc Martens are still laced up tight, ready for combat.

Nomad is a founding member of Hoosier Anti-Racist Movement, or HARM, which is part of a loose, nationwide network of mostly far-left-leaning activists of various ideologies, sexual orientations and colors under the battle flag of Anti-Racist Action (ARA). If the United Colors of Benetton had a military wing of flawed freedom fighters it would probably look a lot like ARA. Since its birth in Minneapolis, Minn., in 1989, ARA has been chasing, confronting and clashing with white power skinheads, neo-Nazis and their hooded allies – an axis of hate they call “boneheads.”

On the other hand, boneheads call “race traitors” like Nomad and his crew antis, baldies, politically correct scum who pretend to be righteous and tolerant yet are as quick as any Aryan warrior to resort to violence and throw a “boot

party” for an unsuspecting fascist dumb enough to wander solo into the wrong punk show with his swastikas showing. A boot party is a beating with as much kicking, using steel-toed Doc Martens boots, as possible before the cops arrive.

“Dude, one of the biggest things I hate is being compared to boneheads,” Nomad says. “I’m looking for a viable solution to better my community. These guys are trying to install the final solution.”

The struggle the antis and the boneheads are engaged in – on the streets, in music venues and across cyberspace – goes back decades. So does the violence both sides sometimes use, with stitches and coffins to prove it. Indeed, race and reason don't often mix well.

The Rough Game

Generally, their brawls and battles go unnoticed by the rest of us. For the most part, it is an underground civil war. Occasionally, however, it explodes into public view in spectacular fashion, such as the Greensboro Massacre. In 1979, before most of today's race warriors were born, five leftist activists and labor organizers were gunned down by a heavily armed alliance of neo-Nazis and Klansmen who arrived in a nine-car caravan at an anti-Klan march and labor rally in Greensboro, N.C. Incredibly, no one

was ever convicted of the killings, caught in gory detail by a television news crew.

In 2002, scores of ARA and neo-Nazi skinheads beat each other up during a day of running street battles in York, Pa., a confrontation that resulted in at least 25 arrests and legendary status as the Battle of York. But York was a minor skirmish compared to the Battle of Cable Street. On Oct. 4, 1936, more than 100,000 anti-fascists confronted 6,000 mounted and on-foot police officers, trying to clear a path for 1,900 members of the British Union of Fascists to march through a heavily Jewish neighborhood in East London, historian David Renton writes in his book *This Rough Game: Fascism and Anti-Fascism*.

The anti-fascists blocked the main street with barricades of wood and trash and a passenger tram. Unable to break through, the police and the fascists tried Cable Street where they were met with a “flurry of missiles,” Renton writes, “beginning with water and rags, then bric-a-brac, clothes, bricks, possibly a piano.” Soon the Blackshirts gave up and went home and the “victory celebrations began that evening.”

But the event that most rattled this generation of anti-racists, causing some of them, as one middle-aged skinhead put it, to grow their hair out and throw away

Taking it to the streets: Bloody confrontations between racists and “anti-fascists” go all the way back to the 1936 “Battle of Cable Street” in London, when fascist leader Oswald Mosely marshaled his troops (top right). Later clashes included a 2001 attack on neo-Nazi Billy Roper at a Washington, D.C. rally (below, with glasses), the so-called “Battle of York,” Pa., in 2002 (below, bottom and bottom right); and a confrontation at a Memphis, Tenn., Klan rally this March that did not involve bloodshed but did include one anti-racist with a bandana emblazoned with images of brass knuckles (left).

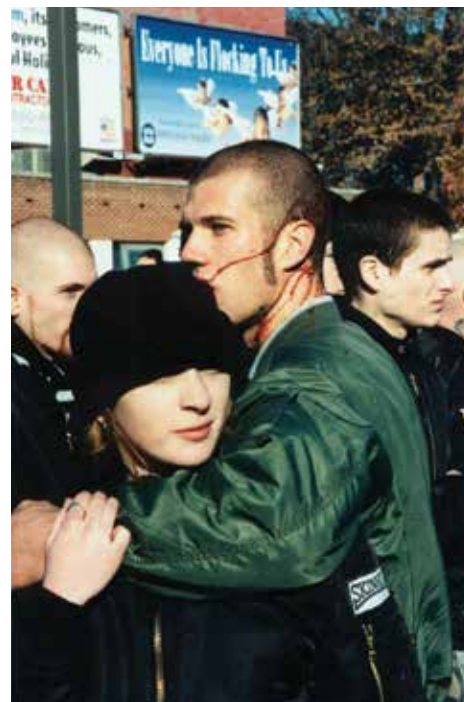
their boots, occurred on July 4, 1998. In the desert, just outside of Las Vegas, two anti-racist skinheads — one black, one white — were shot to death. The leader of a neo-Nazi skinhead gang was sentenced to death in the case. The sentence was later commuted to life. The case was seemingly as dead as the murdered antis, when the Justice Department announced last year three more indictments in the killings. Two of the suspects, a brother and sister, could face the death penalty. Their trial is scheduled to begin in November in federal court.

“The players may change, the groups may change, but the conflict itself has a life of its own,” says Pete Simi, a criminology professor at the University of Nebraska and co-author of *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Hidden Spaces of Hate*.

The first tenet of ARA is to go to those “spaces of hate” and shut them down before anyone has a chance to utter even a single word, no matter what the Constitution says. Their justification is simple. All Hitler did was talk — at first. Their battle cry, “Never let the Nazis have the street.”

So disrupt and deny was the plan on Saturday afternoon, May 19, 2012, when up to 18 mask-wearing antis, some armed with batons, baseball bats and chair legs, fast-walked single-file into the Ashford House restaurant in the Chicago suburb of Tinley Park. Through the glass doors, they headed straight for a table towards the back where eight to 10 suspected white nationalists were having a lunch meeting of something called the Illinois European Heritage Association.

The gathering had been noted on Stormfront, the largest neo-Nazi forum



on the web. One of the participants later told police the lunch was “the white nationalist May meeting.” Whatever it was, it was not a good day for the antis, also called antifas, for anti-fascists. No one was seriously hurt. But their image took a hard hit. Five of Nomad’s Hoosier homeboys went to prison. The young men are known as the Tinley Park 5 and have become a symbol of a good cause clouded by bad choices.

As the confrontation began, according to a police report, someone shouted, “OK, bitches, ARA is here.”

A Constructive Force

As a young skinhead, Nomad was a “hard-core” member of the militant anti-racism movement in Indiana. He was a SHARP (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice). “This is a hotbed of racist activity,” he says. “Multigenerational hate groups, dude.” In the 1990s, the state saw what Nomad describes as an “explosion” of neo-Nazi street crews. “They’d come to shows eight, 10 deep, in brass knuckles, steel-toed boots, laying waste,” he says. “It was rampant. Us crewing-up was the only way we could protect ourselves.”



Prosecutors last May charged (from left) Jason Sutherlin, Cody Sutherlin, Dylan Sutherlin, Alex Stuck and John Tucker with felony mob action after the attack on diners at the Ashford House Restaurant in Tinley Park, Ill.



The Indiana antis followed the ARA script. Wherever the boneheads went, they followed, most of the time with chants and curses. But the specter of violence always hung in the air like mist rolling over a cornfield. Eventually, the scene simmered down. “It was through a lot of hard work, dedication and bloody knuckles,” Nomad says. The passage of time helped, too. Both sides were getting older, having families, bills, American Dreams that would not come true in a cell or a grave.

“I was calming down,” he admits. So much so that he thought his fighting days were finally over. So much so that he was happy about it. The Nazis were gone. The clubs were safe. Then about three years ago, his 13-year-old son came home from a punk show with a Nazi propaganda flyer in his back pocket. A bonehead was distributing them outside the show. They were back. “Actually, they’ve been coming back since President Obama got elected,” Nomad says. “There’s still a lot of deep-seated racism in this country.”

The Nazi flyer in his son’s pocket shook him to the soles of his Doc Martens.

“It really hit me,” he says. “My job was not done. We couldn’t allow these people to talk to our children.”

He and some old comrades started organizing again, crewing-up one more time. They called themselves HARM and quickly allied themselves with ARA. Most of the people in today’s ARA are not skinheads. “There are a lot of anarchists,”

Nomad says. “I am not an anarchist. As messed up as the system is, I still believe in it.”

But the Hoosier antis didn’t want to just “head hunt Nazis” like the old days of their youth. They wanted to be a constructive force in the community. They opened chapters in Bloomington, Indianapolis, Terre Haute and West Lafayette. They volunteered at homeless shelters. They provided security at a gay pride event. They organized a food and clothing drive. Plying his trade, Nomad, free of charge, covered up a gang tattoo for a juvenile offender sent over by the probation department. For another young offender, a budding racist, he covered a swastika with a rose.

“We’ve got our hands in so much good, socially conscious community work,” he says. “But if you Google HARM, the only thing that is going to come up right now is the Tinley Park incident.”

Call to Action

A group of Chicago antis found out about the Tinley Park meeting through a tip or during their constant trolling of white supremacy websites. They issued a call to action, seeking volunteers for a Saturday afternoon of heckling and harassing the enemy. Nomad could not make the two-hour trip. But five of his HARM comrades – brothers Jason, Cody

and Dylan Sutherlin, their cousin, John Tucker, and friend Alex Stuck – piled into a red Dodge Neon and set out for the southern suburbs of Chicago.

As it turns out, they were headed toward ancient battlefields. Chicago played a pivotal role in the earliest days of the great Bonehead-Anti War. It was home to perhaps the country’s first true racist skinhead gang, Romantic Violence, also known as CASH (Chicago Area Skinheads). “Because the city is so segregated, it was really easy for the racists to recruit people,” says Tiffini A. Travis, a former skinhead-turned-University of California librarian and co-author of *Skinheads: A Guide to an American Subculture*.

Chicago was also home to a pugnacious band of anti-racist skins that included several African Americans such as Marty W. “As things became more polarized in the larger society, the kids got caught up in it,” he says. “In a few short years, there were all these Nazis sprouting up. In a few short years, it was all-out gang war.”

Christian Picciolini was one of those new Nazis. A high school football player from a blue-collar Chicago sub-

Cyber Commandos

The battle between hard-line anti-racists and neo-Nazis is raging on the Internet, where 'doxing' is often the weapon of choice

Anti-Racist Action (ARA) monitors white supremacist websites like the CIA monitors Al Qaeda.

"Stormfront, White News Now, they can't organize on the Internet without us finding out about it," says Telly, a founding member of ARA's Indiana affiliate, Hoosiers Anti-Racist Movement (HARM), referring to two large white nationalist Web forums. "We have trolls all over their servers. It's really not that hard, because they're really not that good at it."

But he's not taking any chances. That's why he doesn't use his real name. He's afraid of getting doxed.

To "dox" someone is to find and publish a person's personal details on the Internet – home address, workplace, telephone number, E-mails, family photos and anything else available. It's virtual intimidation. Both sides do it with relish. Indeed, more than anywhere else these days, anti-racists and their white nationalist and neo-Nazi enemies try to hunt and hurt each other on the Internet. It's gang war, using keyboards instead of knives. Less bloody, but still dangerous.

After five anti-racists were arrested for storming a restaurant where a group of white nationalists were having a lunch meeting last spring just outside of Chicago, HARM created a Twitter account to raise funds and awareness about the jailed activists known as the Tinley Park 5, or TP5. The account only had 20 to 30 followers and none of them were organized anti-fascists, Telly says. "The majority were just activists or friends of the TP5," he adds. "Several of the others were journalists trying to get an interview with HARM or anyone related to TP5 story."

But users on Stormfront, the world's largest white supremacist Web forum, tried to dox everyone following the

account, Telly says. "When we saw this, we started notifying all the people on Twitter that they were being labeled 'anti-white terrorists' by the fine folks at Stormfront," he says. "Well, it turns out a couple of the activists that were following the TP5 twitter account were also in Anonymous."

It was, as Telly puts it, the beginning of a real "shit show."

Soon, Anonymous, the loosely knit Internet hacking collective, launched an attack on Stormfront. So-called hacktivists "went through the Stormfront thread and doxed several of the Stormfront users who had made threats or posted addresses," Telly says. Stormfront users and supporters fired back. He says Hungarian nationalist hackers came to Stormfront's aid and forced one ARA website to shut down for several hours.

Telly says South Side Chicago Anti-Racist Action is especially aggressive when it comes to doxing. "There are a lot of people who don't know how to be on the Internet safely, so they just put themselves out there," says Rocky of the South Side ARA. "A lot of them get arrested for doing dumb stuff. The Internet leaves a pretty good paper trail."

As a result, Rocky says, Chicago-area white supremacists have been trying to keep a lower profile. They have been holding fewer public events and trying to keep the ones they do have secret for as long as possible. "They're trying to stay a little more on the down low," he says.

Rocky says anti-racists often attempt to infiltrate the other side online by pretending to be racists. "We read so much Nazi crap online that it's easy," he says. "Not only do we get information that way, we plant seeds of mistrust. It raises a certain level of paranoia."

When the *Intelligence Report* reached out for an interview with one

of the people at the white nationalist lunch, the man said he wanted to talk and tell their side of the story. But first, he wrote in an E-mail, "I need to feel comfortable you're not an antifa member setting me up for another attack."

He never called back.

Daryl Lamont Jenkins, an ARA ally on the East Coast, is the founder of One People's Project, which monitors and confronts hate groups on the Internet and in the street. He has doxed more than his share of white supremacists over the years. He says he started using the tactic only when the courts ruled that anti-abortion activists, who were continually posting names and addresses of abortion providers, were constitutionally protected. "We said fine, why are we doing this with one hand tied behind our backs," Jenkins says. "We haven't seen anybody use our information to do anything that led to anything stupid. We've been doing it for 13 years."

Still, it worries him that some day, someone might indeed do something stupid.

"My feeling now is it's distracting," he says. "It's not the first and foremost thing we look to do. We are concerned that people will view us in a less than responsible light."

For Telly of HARM, doxing and outing racists is a better alternative than a physical confrontation in a crowded restaurant. After all, he says, the authorities do it when they post warnings and photos of sex offenders moving into a new neighborhood. "Some racist moves to town and we get him to lose his job, tell his girlfriend about his criminal record and Nazi dealings," he says. "All of a sudden another Nazi group doesn't get set up and nobody got beat up."

— Don Terry



urb, Picciolini took over leadership of Romantic Violence when he was just 17. Later, he became a co-founder of the Northern Hammerskins, part of the Hammerskin Nation, one of the most violent racist skinhead organizations in the country. “Nearly every kid either belonged to our skinhead white power crew or the anti-racist crew,” he remembers. “It was a gang mentality. They were just as violent and ignorant as we were. The agenda wasn’t anti-racism. It was just opposing us. These days, I think, the organizations are more mindful of what anti-racism means.”

He is, too. He left the Hammerskins and racism behind in the mid-1990s. A few years ago, he helped create a new non-violent anti-racism organization, Life After Hate. He has also written a gripping, yet-to-be published memoir he calls *Romantic Violence*. “My feeling is that violence is never the answer,” he says. “It doesn’t matter which side it comes from, it’s still violence.”

But Marty W. says if he wanted to stay on the skinhead scene, a scene free

“The clowns made the Nazis look like fools. I must have called eight to 10 people and said, ‘Dude, you’ve got to see this video.’ It was absolute genius.”

of racism, if he wanted to be able to go to a punk show without constantly looking over his shoulder, especially as a black skin, he had no choice but to fight for his few feet of earth. “You couldn’t reason with them,” he says. “You couldn’t get in a dialogue with someone who believes you’re subhuman and you’re not worthy of life. To me, the Tinley Park 5 should be congratulated.”

The Confrontation

When the men from HARM arrived in the Chicago area, they got a few hours’ sleep, joining more than a dozen fellow antis squatting in an abandoned grocery store. Then the group had breakfast at a Mexican restaurant and headed for the Ashford House restaurant in a six- to

seven-vehicle caravan. In the parking lot of a big box store, the group discussed its next move. It was almost lunchtime. “Let’s kick their asses,” someone suggested. But others, including Alex Stuck and John Tucker, said it should be a peaceful protest.

“Stuck stated that the protest plan was for them to enter the restaurant and shout anti-racist slogans,” according to a police report.

Stuck also told investigators “that he usually protests and does not get violent.”

Unfortunately, the other antis didn’t listen to him.

Moments later, the group hurried through the doors of the Tinley Park restaurant.

Tucker and Stuck brought up the rear.

According to a police report, Steven Speers, who had traveled to Chicago from North Dakota by train for the lunch, saw the antis coming when they were still in the parking lot. He jumped up from the table and warned Beckie Williams, the organizer of the event, to get ready for a fight.

Others at the lunch had come from Maryland, Florida and Wisconsin. Some of them were connected to the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM) and the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). Afterward, they insisted they were simply meeting to discuss economic development for European Americans.

As Speers wrestled with an anti, his lunch-mate, Brandon Spiller, 29, was hit in the head. It took seven staples to close the wound.

The confrontation was fast and furious. Most of the antis were in and out of the restaurant in less than a minute. They left behind overturned tables and chairs. Broken dishes, silverware and food were scattered across the floor. "It appeared that numerous struggles had occurred in this area of the restaurant," a police investigator wrote in an incident report.

Terrified restaurant patrons, who had nothing to do with either side, dove for cover under tables. A man, celebrating his daughter's graduation from a local university, picked up a chair to defend his family. He was hit in the head with a baton.

The restaurant owner chased the antis outside and jumped on the slightly built Stuck's back, dragging him to the ground. Stuck's friends punched and pulled the owner off and the five Hoosiers fled in their car. "They didn't care who got hurt," the owner, Mike Winston, says. "Going to prison is exactly what they deserve."

According to a police report, a "heavy set" bald man, "bleeding from the head" ran across the parking lot and shouted, "I'm going to get the gun."

Before that could happen, the police arrived. Later, they found a legally registered and properly transported, unloaded .40-caliber Glock pistol in a closed gym bag on the floor of Spiller's car. In the glove compartment, "within the driver's reach," according to a police report, were two magazines with 14 rounds each.

The police also found an illegal semi-



12 TIPS for Law Enforcement

When hate groups hold marches or rallies, the potential for violent clashes is ever-present, particularly when anti-racist organizations with a history of violence show up as counter-protesters. Here are tips to help law enforcement prevent a bloody confrontation:

Research the group holding the event — its history, beliefs, leaders. Do the same for any counter-protest groups that plan to attend or that have shown up at the hate group's events in the past.

Encourage citizens to stay home and ignore the event. Or, recommend that civic and religious leaders hold an alternative community event at the same time but well away from the hate group rally.

Stay in contact with the leaders of hate groups and counter-protesters — before, during and after the rally.

Require members of the media to have police-issued press passes. Watch for unauthorized people posing as media personnel.

Establish a command post away from the epicenter of the event. Make sure all officers and relevant government officials are fully briefed, and keep state intelligence fusion centers informed.

Use all available resources for security — K-9 units and bomb squads to conduct a pre-check of the area, and helicopters for surveillance before and during the event.

Assign officers to photograph and videotape the event.

Establish a buffer zone and/or recognizable barrier to cordon off event participants from counter-protesters and spectators.

To reduce face-to-face confrontations, restrict counter-protesters to a specific area only as close to the event as legally required. Try not to allow hate group members to march past counter-protesters.

Designate a hard entry point and a specific time for hate group members, and a separate area for any counter-protesters, to gather so they can be escorted to the rally location. Participants can be screened for weapons here if certain legal requirements are met. No backpacks should be allowed.

Offer to bus hate group members to the event location, reducing the possibility of confrontations.

Don't allow anyone to join the event, or leave and come back, once it has begun.

automatic handgun in the van of Francis Gilroy, 65, who had traveled from Florida for the lunch. It was loaded. Inside a light blue cooler, officers recovered an assortment of live rounds of different makes and caliber. Also in the van, “A large black wooden baton was observed on the right side of the driver’s door,” according to a police report, “and a metal baseball bat up against the passenger side door of the vehicle.”

Gilroy was arrested and charged with unlawful use of a weapon, a felony. Steven Speers was arrested on an outstanding warrant from Texas on child pornography charges.

As reports of the Ashford House incident crackled over police radios, an off-duty officer stopped the Hoosiers’ Neon shortly before 1 p.m.

“I approached the vehicle and observed all the subjects were sweaty and tired,” the officer wrote in her report.

Inside the car were a black baton, a green baseball cap with the words Anti-Racist and a black scarf with red letters spelling out HARM.

Reconsiderations

In early January, against the advice of their lawyers, the Tinley Park 5 pleaded guilty in a courtroom in suburban Chicago to three counts of armed violence. They had been locked up in the overcrowded Cook County Jail since May 19. Now they were headed to prisons scattered across the state. Jason Sutherland, the oldest at 33, received the longest sentence: six years. His brothers, Cody, 23, and Dylan, 21, got five years each. Their 26-year-old cousin, John Tucker, and Alex Stuck, 22, received 42-month sentences.

Their lawyers were disappointed that the men did not go to trial. They thought they could win. They thought they had sympathy on their side. Sara Garber, who represented Alex Stuck, solicited letters of support from charities Stuck volunteered for in Indiana. One supervisor called him “sweet, genuine, and caring.” Another, who worked with Stuck at a battered women’s shelter, said she could “always count on Alex to make a space feel safe and supportive for women and children.”

No one else who poured into the Ashford House that May afternoon was ever arrested or charged in the case. The Tinley Park 5 refused to say who their comrades were.

Nomad was in the courtroom as the sentences were announced.

“I haven’t cried that hard in a long time,” he says. “Regrets? Hell, yeah. Jason has a son. Three of them are brothers. One is their cousin. The blow and the impact to that family alone is staggering.”

He regularly puts aside part of his paycheck and sends it to his imprisoned comrades. Every two weeks, someone around town hosts a letter-writing party. E-mails of support have come in from Europe to Russia, from Philadelphia to Portland, Ore. “It sucks that those boys were martyred,” Nomad says, wearing his bomber jacket with a patch of a swastika with a slash through it. “But the level of networking we’ve done because of it, it’s made our community a lot more cohesive.”

Still, he can’t help wondering whether maybe there was a better way to have handled that particular anti-racist action. “I keep telling myself that maybe if I had been there, I would have said, guys let’s handle this in a different way, but in the heat of the moment, you never know,” he says. “Morally and ethically, I can never see myself running up into a crowded restaurant and laying waste to some boneheads.”

Recently, he watched a video of more than 100 demonstrators, protesting a rally held by the National Socialist Movement and a batch of Klansmen in Charlotte, N.C., last November. Many of the demonstrators, who outnumbered the Nazis, were dressed as clowns, with rainbow-colored wigs and big red noses. They honked horns, rattled noisemakers, blew whistles, threw flour — “white flour” — in the air every time a Nazi shouted white power.

“The clowns made the Nazis look like fools,” Nomad says. “I must have called eight to 10 people and said, ‘Dude, you’ve got to see this video.’ It was absolute genius.”

No one got hurt. No one went to prison. No one heard the Nazis.

The people were too loud. ▲

Roots of the ARA

Before Anti-Racist Action, a small group in Minneapolis called the Baldies laid the groundwork for bare-fisted anti-fascism

Before there was an Anti-Racist Action there were the Baldies, a now legendary multiracial band of seven teenagers looking for adventure in 1980s Minneapolis, Minn. There was Mic Crenshaw, a black kid originally from Chicago, Gator, a mix of Native American and Latino, and five working-class white kids. They hung out together, skateboarding, drinking beer, listening to Public Enemy and punk music. They passed around copies of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *Seize the Time* by Bobby Seale and Nick Knight’s book of photographs, *Skinhead*.

They saw themselves as skinheads — real skinheads — the true descendants of the tough white and black working-class kids who together created the skinhead style and substance in the streets of England in the late 1960s. But in the States, says the now 42-year-old Crenshaw, the media fixated on the heretics, the fake skins, the snarling Nazis who broke Geraldo’s nose with a flying chair on national television. The Nazi skins and their adult Svengalis like Tom Metzger, the former California Klan leader, were hijacking the culture. The Baldies were determined to take it back. “We knew we had to assert we were skinheads and we were not racists,” he says.

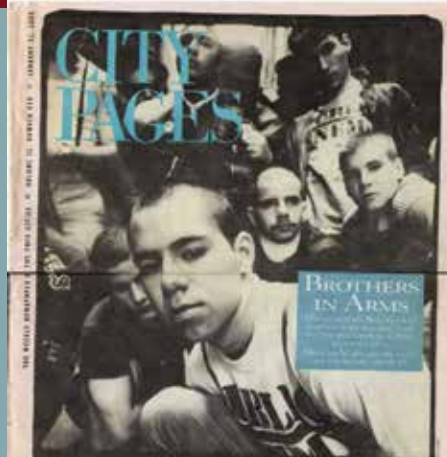
Vicious brawls broke out at punk rock shows, house parties and other youth hangouts in Minneapolis when

a racist skinhead crew from across the Mississippi River in St. Paul, the White Knights, began appearing on the scene, shouting “White Power!” as they beat up people of color and anti-racists. If they had the slightest inkling that someone was gay, that person got stomped too. Harder. That’s when, Crenshaw says, “We decided it was our responsibility to organize ourselves into a fighting force to make sure they didn’t feel comfortable coming around and acting like Nazis in our city.”

Anywhere the White Knights showed up, the Baldies followed. As the violence increased, so too did the pressure on the young antis from teachers and older political activists they looked up to. “They would pull us aside and ask us what was going on and tell us we were being stupid, macho, suicidal and that no good end would come out of retaliation or vengeance,” Crenshaw says. “We felt a moral obligation to meet violence with violence at the time.”

Similar struggles and debates were taking place across the country as racist skinheads began appearing in significant numbers. In 1988, racist skinhead violence erupted across the United States, with scores of violent attacks and murders over the next four years.

Still, says Kathleen Blee, a professor of sociology at the University of Pittsburgh and author of *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate*



A 1990 issue of the Minneapolis alternative newspaper *City Pages* included several photos of the Baldies and their anti-racist friends. “We felt a moral obligation to meet violence with violence at the time,” one of the original Baldies says now.

Movement, in the early days at least, ideology and politics had little to do with the conflict for most of the warring skins. They were more like street gang members, lost and lonely youth, attracted to the excitement, the violence, the sound of sirens, the sight of blood. They were the Sharks and the Jets, the Antis and the Boneheads. Which side someone belonged to often depended on who their friends were or the parties they attended. Blee says the boundary between racist skinheads and anti-racist skinheads was “often permeable.”



“Political commitment for these young kids was really paper-thin,” she says.

By 1989, the Baldies had declared Minneapolis a Nazi-free zone and put the word out to anti-racist skins and their allies throughout the Midwest to come to Minneapolis to party and organize. “There was a lot of debate,” Crenshaw says. “We were very self-critical every step of the way. But we were very clear we were a political force and organization that was very consciously anti-racist.”

Even though it was January in Minnesota, more than 100 people from Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and other cities showed up and agreed to form a new anti-racist movement that would share information and ideas, and put boots on the ground in places battling the Nazi surge. They also agreed the movement would be, as Crenshaw says “rooted in action, not theory.”

“It wasn’t just skinheads any longer,” says Crenshaw, now working as a musician and labor organizer on the West Coast. “Once we started to branch out beyond Minneapolis we ran into all kinds of different people who wanted to work with us. There were anarchists and communists and people who thought they were patriots, almost right-wing. But the common thread was a commitment to anti-racism.”

Thus ARA was born.

— Don Terry





PRISON BREAK

A member of a Colorado white supremacist prison gang is blamed for the murder of the state's corrections chief

BY DON TERRY



COLORADO DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS; FILE/AP IMAGES (FELIX); WISE COUNTY MESSENGER; JIMMY ALFORD/AP IMAGES (CAR CHASE)

The killer rang the doorbell. Tom Clements, 58, head of Colorado's prison system was shot dead as he opened his front door shortly before 9 P.M. on March 19 in a well-to-do neighborhood near Colorado Springs. He was a husband and father of two, who spent his career in public service overseeing prisons and advocating for their reform in Missouri, and since 2011, Colorado.

The authorities didn't have much to go on that night as the massive manhunt began. No motive. No suspect. What they did have was a devastated widow and a vague description of what might

Soon investigators were trying to determine whether the prison director's killer was simply a disgruntled ex-con acting alone, or someone following orders, an assassin carrying out a hit. "It's not uncommon to hear about fantasy hit lists, but it's extremely rare for prison gangs to act on something like that because they don't want to draw the heat on themselves," said Mark Pitcavage of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and an expert on prison gangs. "In my records the highest ranking prison official that an extremist had ever killed before was a warden and that was decades ago by the Black Liberation Army."

Pitcavage was referring to the 1973

squeezed off several shots before crashing into a gravel-hauling 18-wheeler. The Deville spun out and ended up on the side of the highway, a mangled mess. The driver emerged from the wreckage, blasting away with a 9 mm Smith & Wesson.

He reportedly fired off more than a dozen rounds. The deputies returned fire, striking the driver in the head. Although mortally wounded, the man lingered a few hours on life support. The questions continued to pile up.

The man had no identification on him, but was later identified through fingerprints as Evan Spencer Ebel, 28, a 211 Crew gang member who had been



Remembering Tom Clements

have been the getaway car. So, it wasn't long before every cop and deputy sheriff west of the Mississippi was on the lookout for a boxy black car — a Cadillac or a Lincoln — last seen idling on the street where Clements lived and died.

Two days later and about 700 miles away in Texas, the authorities caught a break that cast suspicion, scrutiny and renewed heat on Colorado's largest extremist group, a violent white supremacist prison gang with up to 1,000 members on both sides of the wall called the 211 Crew.

Fresh out of prison, racist 211 Crew gang member Evan Ebel apparently murdered the chief of Colorado's Department of Corrections in March. Two days later, Ebel led police in North Texas on a wild chase that ended with Ebel (top, left) wrecking his car and dying in a subsequent shootout with police.

stabbing death of a Pennsylvania warden and deputy warden by two inmates during a meeting in the warden's office.

"These people are predators," he added. "But they usually prey on other inmates."

The break in the Clements' case came on March 21 when a Montague County Texas sheriff's deputy pulled over a black Cadillac, a '99 Deville with Colorado plates. It was about 11 a.m. but instead of producing his license and proof of insurance, the man behind the wheel drew a gun and opened fire, hitting the deputy in the chest twice and also grazing his head. His protective vest saved him.

Then the Caddy took off, flying down the Texas highway at drag race speed. Soon a passel of squad cars was in pursuit, pushing close to 100 mph. The driver stuck his gun out the window and

paroled from a Colorado prison after eight years about two months before Clements was killed. As it turns out, Ebel, the son of a Denver-area lawyer, should not have been free. According to media reports, he was paroled four years early, thanks to a mistake in his Colorado prison records.

The Smith & Wesson recovered after the gunfight was later determined through ballistics to have been the same weapon used in Clements' murder. Ebel is also a suspect in the murder of a pizza deliveryman, Nathan Leon, 27, the hardworking father of three young girls, two days before Clements was gunned down. In the back seat of the Deville, authorities found a pizza delivery box and a Domino's shirt. Some investigators suspect Ebel used



211 Crew members Thomas Guolee (far left) and James Lohr were arrested and questioned in the murder of Colorado's corrections chief. But neither man was charged in connection with the assassination.

the uniform and pizza box to allay Clements' suspicions when he rang the prison chief's front doorbell.

Two weeks or so after the shootout in Texas, police in Colorado picked up two ex-cons who belonged to the 211 Crew for questioning. Authorities said the men had been in contact with Ebel since his release. Before being taken into custody, one of the men, James Lohr, 47, reportedly led police on a brief car and foot chase in the early morning hours of April 5.

The authorities said he also tried to ditch a gun during the chase, but it was eventually recovered and its history is being traced. Lohr was being held on \$250,000 bail for eluding police and other charges. Neither, Lohr, nor the second man picked up for questioning, Thomas James Guolee, 31, has been charged with Clements murder.

The 211 Crew was started in a Colorado county lockup in 1995, as a kind of jailhouse protective society for white inmates. In its early days, white power

and chauvinism were its main recruiting tools. Most of its initial members gave each other Irish-related nicknames. The founder and still undisputed leader, Benjamin Davis, was christened "Leprechaun" or "Lep."

But it wasn't long before 211 went the way of most prison gangs. Ideology quickly took a backseat to criminal pursuits — drugs, assaults, prostitution, identity theft, telemarketing scams, credit card fraud and anything else to make a buck.

"They're very inventive," Pitcavage said. "The 211 Crew has smuggled a bunch of heroin and meth into the prisons. But they've committed a lot of crimes out on the street as well as behind bars."

In recent years, the gang has been under withering pressure from state and federal authorities. In 2005, 32 of its members were indicted on an array of charges, including robberies, assaults and drug trafficking. Davis, the founder, who was already serving a 30-year term for burglary, was sentenced to another 108 in prison in connection with the case. He

appealed and in early April that sentence was affirmed.

"He has developed no respect for the law or for his fellow human beings and has no regard for the sentence he was serving," the presiding judge reportedly said of Davis at his appeal hearing. "Nobody is safe from him, either people in the Department of Corrections or people walking on the street."

Pitcavage said the 211 Crew is part of what he called "the third wave of racist prison gangs" and "each generation has gotten bigger."

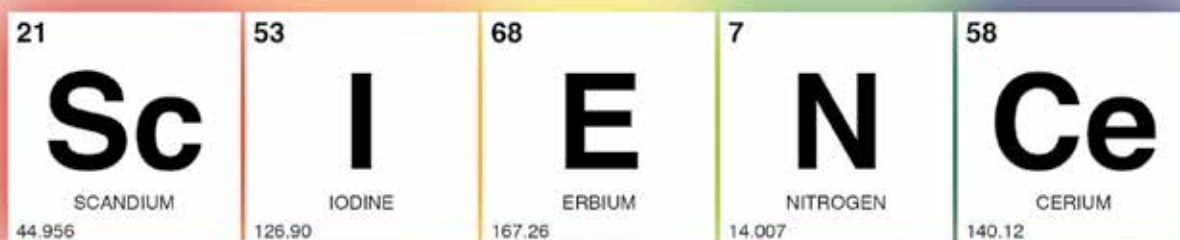
The first wave crashed ashore in the 1960s with the birth of the Aryan Brotherhood in California. The second wave came in the 1980s with the creation of the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas and the Aryan Warriors. The third wave started in the 1990s and continues to the present day and is characterized by an increased presence of the prison gangs out on the street. "Today," Pitcavage said, "there are a number of racist prison gangs that have just as many members if not more on the street as behind bars. The 211 Crew has had a street presence for at least a decade or more." ▲



Hundreds of police officers and others, including Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper, attended a memorial service for Tom Clements, who was remembered as a forward-looking prison reformer.



S U S P E C T



A new study, now being used as a cudgel by the right, suggests LGBT people make bad parents. But it's rife with problems

In July 2012, the journal *Social Science Research* published a study by University of Texas at Austin sociology professor Mark Regnerus that seemed to indicate that the children of LGBT parents are more likely to get involved with self-destructive behaviors like using drugs and to suffer from depression than those raised by heterosexual parents, despite many studies that have indicated otherwise. The Regnerus study was immediately trumpeted by anti-gay groups as proof that children are in danger in LGBT households. Just a day after its release, for example, it was cited in an amicus brief by the American College of Pediatricians, a tiny anti-gay breakaway from the main pediatricians' professional association, that was filed in support of the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). At press time, the U.S. Supreme Court was weighing arguments on DOMA's constitutionality.

“When we talk about Regnerus, I completely dismiss the study. It’s over. He has been disgraced.”



But the study also engendered serious criticism. More than 200 other sociologists signed a letter to journal editor James Wright that decried the study’s allegedly faulty methodology, and major medical and psychological associations criticized it for similar reasons. Regnerus himself subsequently conceded that his study had problems (key reasons are detailed in the interview below), and he also said his analysis did not conclude that “gay or lesbian parents are inherently bad.” But at the same time, he has continued to defend the study’s results and to push them in anti-LGBT circles. This summer, he is to speak about it to a gathering sponsored by the anti-marriage equality National Organization for Marriage (NOM).

Questions were also raised about Regnerus’ motives, seeing as how he’d accepted almost \$700,000 for the study from the Witherspoon Institute, a think tank that opposes same-sex marriage and includes fellows like Robert George, one of the founders of NOM. The Bradley Foundation, another conservative think tank, gave over \$60,000. Most recently, documents obtained by the *American*

Independent suggest that Regnerus’ funders choreographed the timing of the study’s release to influence “major decisions of the Supreme Court.” The court this spring heard both the DOMA case and another involving an anti-gay marriage California referendum.

Darren Sherkat, professor of sociology at Southern Illinois University and a member of the editorial board of *Social Science Research*, was tapped by journal editor Wright to conduct an audit of the process of publishing the Regnerus study. Sherkat was given access to all the peer reviews and correspondence connected with the paper, and was told the identities of the reviewers. What he found, he says, was a study that is deeply methodologically flawed and a peer-review process that failed to identify significant problems. Sherkat also says that the story of the study’s publication is part of a much larger trend in academia and the social sciences: the rise of conservative ideologues in academia whose tendentious studies are paid for by private sources and think tanks with a specific ideological axe to grind. *The Intelligence Report* spoke to Sherkat about the Regnerus

study and its flaws.

Dr. Sherkat, we’ve heard criticism that Dr. Regnerus was somehow “bought off” by conservative money. Is there anything to that?

I don’t think this is an ASA [American Sociological Association] ethics issue at all. What this is, is bad scholarship. We don’t have any ASA ethics rules about bad scholarship done for political reasons. It’s up to colleagues in departments as to whether or not people violate their own internal rules.

Regnerus hasn’t done anything not up to snuff with his grant money, and that’s all you’re required to do. You’re not required to accurately report what you did or what you found or interpret appropriately or anything like that. It’s unfortunate if you do that and it gets published. But the study was not bought and paid for. This is Mark Regnerus you’re talking about. He’s believed this since he was a child. He thought that because he was a brilliant young conservative Christian that he could save Christianity from the evil forces of secularism, that he would become a

prominent intellectual and slay the homosexual demons.

How did the study come to be published in a respected academic journal? Was the journal's editor, James Wright, somehow at fault?

The editorial process has changed a lot because of online publishing and pressure from the for-profit presses to increase content. Just two years ago, *Social Science Research* went from four issues to six issues a year. That's a 50% increase in content, and it sucked dry a lot of Jim Wright's backlog. A lot of journals are doing that. It means there's a lot of paper flying, and it reduces standards.

Talk about the peer review process for the Regnerus paper. There's been some

talk about that process being speeded up as part of some kind of anti-gay conspiracy, particularly because the same issue of the journal included a paper by Loren Marks, an academic who's testified in court against marriage equality. Marks' paper was basically an overview of earlier papers on LGBT families that took exception to those papers' findings that LGBT families don't hurt children.

That was even more flabbergasting, that the Marks article got published. Wright had accepted the Marks paper by about November 2011, and as a result Marks got held up in the pipeline for Regnerus, which had a "revise and re-submit." Regnerus got totally lucky. He got reviewers who went back and did their work really quickly. I don't think some of those reviewers should have been used. But it wasn't the editor's fault,

I don't think, for not getting an additional reviewer, given that he had accepts [of Regnerus' study] in his hand.

Why do you say certain reviewers shouldn't have been used for Regnerus' paper?

Potential conflicts of interest based upon prior relationships with the author. Let's just leave it at that. But there was one prominent reviewer who was a complete outsider, too. So Jim was sitting on three accepts basically — or accept with revisions — and while two of them may have had a sort of conflict of interest, they didn't think it was a big deal. That's what they told Jim and that's what he believed, so he went on to accept the paper.

An appointed scholarly reviewer says a controversial study of LGBT families by sociology professor Mark Regnerus (above) was deeply flawed and that Regnerus has been "disgraced" as a result.

I did think the reviewers generally did a slipshod job of assessing the data in question. But in this day and age, I hesitate to blame those people. I understand that people like them and people like me are reviewing five or six manuscripts every month. There's no reward for it. So people get in an airplane, they breeze through a paper, they pull out the laptop and slam out a review real quick.

In the reviewers' defense, Mark [Regnerus] did not disclose the specific technical aspects of this study. I believe two of those reviewers, though, knew damn good and well what it was, if they had been paying attention.

Peer review is not perfect. The majority of people don't do a bad job out of any kind of malicious intent. Having said that, Mark Regnerus is not alone. There are a large number of conservative Christian scholars in sociology, in political science, in family studies, and it's surprising how many now are rising up into the top ranks. I've watched Mark throughout his career rise up through those structures that help to elevate conservative idea creators who are committed to the ideology of the Christian right and who are bright enough and hard-working enough to establish themselves in secular education. Regnerus has contemporaries who came up with him who today are also at prominent universities throughout the country.

Let's get down to the details. What's wrong with the Regnerus paper?

Regnerus and other right-wing activists have been fond of claiming that the study is "population-based" or a "national probability study." As a scientist, I don't even know what "population-based" means, and the data used in this study are by no means a probability sample. Regnerus' data are from a large number of people recruited through convenience by a marketing firm — they are not a random, representative sample of the American population. Science requires random samples of the population, and that is not how this marketing firm collected their data.

BARD WISLEY



Several scholars also have pointed to incongruities and outlandish values in the Regnerus study, such as people claiming hundreds of sex partners in the prior week. The online collection of data makes the veracity of responses even more problematic. The state of the art in family research would use a random sample of households and follow up with parents and children to see whether or not parental couplings impacted child outcomes — controlling for other potential influences like income, education, ethnicity, relationship stability, and the like.

Isn't a key criticism also that the study doesn't actually address children growing up in households of self-identified LGBT parents?

The key measure of gay and lesbian parenting is simply a farce. The study includes a retrospective question asking if people knew if their mother or father had a “romantic” relationship with someone of the same sex when the respondent was under age 18. This measure is problematic on many levels.

Regnerus admits that just two of his respondents were actually raised by a same-sex couple, though I doubt that he can even know that, given his limited data. Since only two respondents were actually raised in gay or lesbian households, this study has absolutely nothing to say about gay parenting outcomes. Indeed, because it is a non-random sample, this study has nothing to say about anything.

Were there other technical problems with the study?

It failed to take into account normal family effects on wellbeing, to control for known sources of positive or negative outcomes. Indeed, since he only had two stable lesbian “couples” (or at least a young adult who said that, retrospectively, in a non-random, convenience sample), he instead just constructed differences from a group of people who were raised in unstable environments. Sexuality has nothing to do with that.

Additionally, Regnerus’ perfunctory analyses often take a very small number

of “gay” or “lesbian” parents and compare them with other groups on the basis of events that are quite rare, like child molestation. This is simply bogus given the non-randomly collected data and the extremely small size of the target groups — supposed children of gay or lesbian parents.

You mentioned what you see as a trend in academia, the rise of conservative ideologies in science and in funding for research. How widespread is that?

There is in fact a movement to change the intellectual and cultural climate of academics. This has been going on for over 30 years. Look at things like James Davidson Hunter’s *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation*, where he talks about the growth of these more intellectual conservative evangelical types in Christian colleges like Wheaton and Gordon and Calvin, which is Regnerus’ alma mater. They’ve actively courted the young, successful people in these colleges to become professors, to become intellectuals, and they support their careers.

One thing that’s disturbing to me about the Regnerus study is that Regnerus received a large amount of money from these foundations and this creates a very different scholarly and intellectual atmosphere. It creates a playing field that’s not level. Someone like Regnerus is now able to go out and buy his own data, if we’re to accept data of this quality.

Even if we were to say it’s high-quality data, he is able to get a million dollars’ worth of influence — he was able to generate that kind of funding from these conservative foundations in a way that other intellectuals are not able to do. All of the traditional sources of social scientific funding have dried up over the last 20 years and there’s nowhere to go to get money, but these guys have it. There are talks in Congress about cutting the entire social science budget at the National Science Foundation. That is chilling, because then we’ll be completely reliant on people like Mark Regnerus and Brad Wilcox [of the University of Virginia] and Christian Smith [of Notre Dame

University] and people like that for our information about potentially crucial or controversial issues.

Wouldn't questions come up about the amounts of money and whether a researcher is beholden to that money?

I think that it’s beyond that. With this group of intellectuals, this is their reward for intellectual fealty, and for adhering to what they had set out to do as conservative organizations in concert. Beginning in the 1980s, there was a movement to really re-forge intellectual culture by taking young evangelicals and turning them into idea producers, intellectuals. The intellectual foundation of the movement was back then. And they’ve successfully brought people like Regnerus and Wilcox through prestigious programs. They’re really the third generation of that project.

So it's less about science and more about fighting a culture war?

Absolutely. It’s a real coordinated effort to create a kind of separate culture, to change contemporary culture in broader society. What’s different now is that they are beginning to move into the world, as they call it, and they are adamant about having an impact in the public square. That’s a real change for some of those groups. And they’re enabled in that in a lot of different ways, with the deregulation of education and their ability to create their own educational institutions, to provide home-schooling and all kinds of other alternative educational institutions.

What does all this ultimately mean for Mark Regnerus?

When we talk about Regnerus, I completely dismiss the study. It’s over. He has been disgraced. All of the prominent people in the field know what he did and why he did it. And most of them know that he knew better. Some of them think that he’s also stupid and an ideologue. I know better. I know that he’s a smart guy and that he did this on purpose, and that it was bad, and that it was substandard. ▲

AGENDA 21 AND THE JEWS

Opponents of the environmental sustainability plan now include those who say it's part of a Jewish plot to rule the world

BY RYAN LENZ

The antigovernment “Patriot” right has long feared Agenda 21 as a blueprint for the “New World Order.”

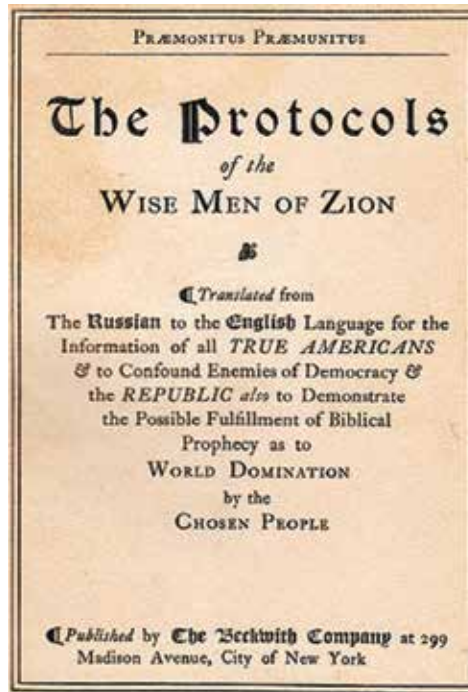
As the conspiracy theory goes, the United Nations plan for “smart growth,” adopted by 178 countries more than 20 years ago, outlines a manipulative program to strip away U.S. sovereignty, take away Americans’ freedoms and establish a communist utopia.

Fearing the “greens” have become pawns in a stealth march toward totalitarianism, right-wing activists have disrupted local planning meetings across the country to decry efforts under Agenda 21 to protect the environment.

Now the conspiracy theory has begun to evolve.

Anti-Semites have latched onto Agenda 21 with claims that the non-binding U.N. agreement is part of a Jewish plot to rule the world.

“Even though these ‘green groups’ are causing enormous problems in every facet of our lives and need to be stopped in their tracks, they are only a means to an end,” the website Nature Cons claims.



The mother of all Jewish conspiracies: *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, published in English after its initial release in 1903 in Russian, is a precursor to new anti-Semitic conspiracy theories about a UN “smart growth” plan.

Then the site adds, “Agenda 21 is a core element of the Satanic Jewish conspiracy to control and enslave the planet.”

A Satanic Jewish conspiracy? A planet enslaved?

If it sounds like fantasy, it is. But similar claims are popping up across the Internet as neo-Nazis and other anti-Semites are suddenly interested in what has grown to be a cause célèbre for the Patriot movement. For example, James Wickstrom, a firebrand preacher of the racist, anti-Semitic theology known as Christian Identity, recently dedicated an hour of online video to vilifying the Jewish “internationalists” behind Agenda 21.

Perhaps blaming the Jews is a natural evolution for the Agenda 21 theory. The radical right has long associated Jews with globalism and collectivism, and the U.N. agreement fits comfortably within the confines of conspiracy theories about Jewish plans for world domination. Also, anti-Semitism has always lurked in the background of the Patriot movement’s core ideology. It was central to the ideas of the movement’s forebears, figures such as Gordon Kahl, the Posse Comitatus leader who killed two U.S. marshals in 1983. Wickstrom himself is a former high-level evangelist for the Posse, a violent tax-resistance movement that caught fire in the



James Wickstrom

“Agenda 21 is very evil. It’s extremely evil because it comes from the dark side. You see, the light side is Yahweh the Christ, which is truth, always truth. Then you have the dark side, which is Jewish international communism.”

Midwest as a farm crisis gripped the region during the late 1970s and 1980s.

Ken Stern, an expert on anti-Semitism and extremism at the American Jewish Committee, told the *Intelligence Report* that the description of Agenda 21 as a Jewish plot is a direct descendent of the fear-mongering that surrounded the publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. When *Protocols* was first published in 1903, it purported to document meetings of a secret Jewish cabal plotting to rule the world. Despite having been thoroughly debunked as a hoax, the tract has fueled more than a century of anti-Semitism, leading historian Norman Cohn to suggest that Hitler used the book as a justification for the Holocaust.

“Anti-Semitism is basically conspiracy theory,” Stern said. “It’s Jews conspiring to harm non-Jews, and that conspiracy explains a lot of what goes wrong with the world.”

That is certainly the sentiment at RealJewNews, an anti-Semitic website that warns that Agenda 21 and President Obama are in the final stage of the “Jewification of Amerika.”

Despite all the fears surrounding the 300-page document, Agenda 21 is little more than a guidebook for local, state and national governments to consider when planning for economic development and the use of natural resources. The agreement, drafted in 1992 at the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, is entirely voluntary, and the U.N. lacks any mechanism to enforce it. President George H.W.

Bush, certainly no communist, was among the world leaders who signed on to it.

Still, to the radical right, it represents an ominous threat to the United States. These worries are encapsulated in what Tom DeWeese, founder of the American Policy Center, wrote in 2009: “It sounds so friendly. So meaningful. So urgent. ... But the devastation to our liberty and way of life is the same as if Lenin ordered it.”

Thanks to DeWeese, the John Birch Society and other activists in the Patriot movement, fears about Agenda 21 have now moved into the conservative mainstream, even as those on the fringes of the radical right use it to smear Jews as malevolent globalists seeking to install a totalitarian government.

Last year, the Republican National Convention adopted an anti-Agenda 21 plank in the party’s platform. That followed a Republican National Committee resolution that condemned the agreement as a plan for “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth” and “global political control” being “covertly pushed” in local communities. The Tennessee leg-



For raging anti-Semites like the late murderer Gordon Kahl (left) and James Wickstrom (top, left), Jews have always been seen as being behind globalism and “one-world” planning efforts.

islature passed a resolution against it, and Alabama’s legislature went further, passing a law barring local governments from enacting Agenda 21-inspired policies that interfere with property rights.

Dick Morris, the conspiracy-minded former Fox News pundit who once worked as an adviser to President Bill Clinton, last year published *Here Come the Black Helicopters: UN Global*

Attacking the Agenda: Although he has never implicated Jews, former Clinton adviser Dick Morris is a harsh critic of purported United Nations efforts to impose “global planning and control.”



Governance and the Loss of Freedom. In it, he excoriates Agenda 21 and vilifies environmentalists with the same sort of venomous language neo-Nazis sometimes use to describe Jews. “The modern-day globalist and greens use the cause of reversing climate change and ‘saving’ our planetary environment as their justification for global planning and control,” Morris wrote. “But what they end up doing is canceling out both free will for the individual and democratic determination of policies for the nation. Only their fetish has priority.”

Meanwhile, on Stormfront, an online forum popular among neo-Nazis and other white supremacists, one commenter wrote in language not that dissimilar from Morris’s that Agenda 21 “is totalitarianism on a scale and degree unimagined and unimaginable by most of us. 1984 [a reference to George Orwell’s dystopian novel] is just ahead.”

No one espousing this new, anti-Semitic take on Agenda 21 has called for violence. But there is no question that dark tales of

“The modern-day globalist and greens use the cause of reversing climate change and ‘saving’ our planetary environment as their justification for global planning and control. But what they end up doing is canceling out both free will for the individual and democratic determination of policies for the nation.”

Jewish conspiracies have inspired hate and violence for more than a century.

Wickstrom, perhaps the most extreme ideologue linking Jews to Agenda 21, said in 2004 that he wanted to see Jews tied up, beaten to death with baseball bats and thrown into wood chippers. His views are crystal clear, as are his warnings about what the U.N. sustainability agreement portends.

“Agenda 21 is very evil,” Wickstrom said in his online video. “It’s extremely

evil because it comes from the dark side. You see, the light side is Yahweh the Christ, which is truth, always truth. Then you have the dark side, which is Jewish international communism.”

A few minutes later in his diatribe, Wickstrom doubled down: “Lenin was a Jew. Stalin had Jew blood. All of them were Jews! And these are the same kind of Jews that are now screaming in your U.S. Senate and Congress to disarm the American people.” ▲

FOR THE RECORD

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUPS ACTIVITIES LISTED HERE ARE DRAWN primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the almost 260,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2013 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occurred annually between 2003 and 2011. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2013. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents.

CALIFORNIA

Davis • March 20, 2013

A gay man was allegedly beaten on the street by a man who yelled anti-gay slurs. Clayton Daniel Garzón, 19, was charged with battery with serious bodily injury, assault with means of force likely to produce great bodily injury and threats to commit a crime resulting in great bodily injury.

Sacramento • March 17, 2013

A man was allegedly attacked by two men who used anti-gay slurs. One of the men beat the victim with a baseball bat.

CONNECTICUT

Avon • Jan. 25, 2013

Racial and anti-Semitic slurs and threats against school personnel were written on bathroom walls at a high school.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Jan. 13, 2013

Two men were allegedly attacked on the street by three people who made anti-gay remarks.

FLORIDA

Daytona Beach • Jan. 23, 2013

A woman was allegedly attacked in a parking lot by a man who yelled anti-gay slurs. Adam Winterstein, 32, was charged with felony battery/hate crime, felony battery causing bodily harm and resisting an officer without violence.

Fort Lauderdale • Feb. 23, 2013

Swastikas were spray-painted inside a church that operates a day care center. The building was then set afire.

Land O'Lake • Jan. 2, 2013

A man was allegedly shot in

the face with a pellet gun by another man who asked if the victim was Muslim.

Pace • Feb. 3, 2013

Swastikas and anti-gay slurs were spray-painted on a gay man's trailer.

Winter Park • Feb. 21, 2013

A black student at Full Sail University was allegedly stabbed in the neck by another student who yelled racial slurs. Xavier Nunez, 29, was charged with aggravated battery with a deadly weapon.

GEORGIA

Atlanta • Feb. 8, 2013

Joe Rickey Hundley, a 60-year-old white man, was charged with simple assault for allegedly slapping a black toddler and calling him racial slurs during an airplane flight.

Covington • Jan. 21, 2013

Recruiting fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in the driveways of residences.

ILLINOIS

Niles • Feb. 22, 2013

Michael G. Green, 55, was charged with a felony hate crime, aggravated assault and disorderly conduct after he allegedly called a Latino man racial slurs and threatened to put a bomb in the man's car.

St. Charles • Jan. 6, 2013

Two men who were with a female friend outside a bar were allegedly attacked by a woman and two men who called the victims anti-gay slurs during the attack. On Jan. 28, Christopher M. Miner, 30, and Stephan C. Bolt and Susan V. Patton, both 31, were charged with aggra-

vated battery, battery, mob action, and hate crimes.

KENTUCKY

Louisville • March 23, 2013

A swastika was drawn on a gay rights activist's car, which was also sideswiped.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans • Feb. 23, 2013

A group of people allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs at a man who was walking hand-in-hand with another man. The man was then allegedly attacked by Jamie Hebert, 19, who was later charged with second-degree battery and committing a hate crime.

MASSACHUSETTS

Westport • March 2, 2013

A church was vandalized and its tabernacle was stolen.

Wilmington • Feb. 2, 2013

The word "brainwashing" was spray-painted on the outside of three churches.

MICHIGAN

Muskegon • Feb. 3, 2013

A gay man was allegedly attacked by four men outside a karaoke bar.

NEW JERSEY

Maple Shade • Feb. 27, 2013

The letters "KKK" were written in chalk on a black family's residence.

NEW YORK

East Garden City • Jan. 1, 2013

A swastika and an anti-Semitic phrase were written in lip balm on a door in a shopping center.

New York • Feb. 18, 2013

A man who was riding on the subway with his friend was allegedly attacked by three men and three women who used anti-gay slurs.

OHIO

Oakwood • March 8, 2013

Swastikas and the words "Go away Jew" were painted on a Jewish family's residence in the second incident in three weeks.

Oberlin • March 3, 2013

Homophobic and racist statements were written on posters at Oberlin College and there was a report of someone wearing a hood and robe resembling a Ku Klux Klan outfit near the college's African Heritage Center.

OREGON

Hillsboro • March 2, 2013

A man walking with his boyfriend and their pink poodle was allegedly attacked by a man who yelled anti-gay comments. George Allen Mason Jr., 22, was arrested for investigation of second-degree intimidation, second-degree assault, unlawful use of a weapon and reckless driving.

TENNESSEE

Memphis • Jan. 4, 2013

Ku Klux Klan recruiting fliers were left in driveways.

VIRGINIA

Chesterfield • March 15, 2013

Racial slurs were painted on a black family's house that was then set afire.

WISCONSIN

Green Bay • March 5, 2013

A convenience store owned by a Sikh American was set afire on the seven-month anniversary of a deadly shooting at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek. James Parrish, 53, faces charges of arson with a hate crime modification, first-degree recklessly endangering safety and carrying a concealed weapon. ▲

HATING ON HOLLYWOOD

A white supremacist pens a guide to help ‘our people’ avoid ‘Jewed’ films. Trouble is, he doesn’t leave much to watch

BY LEAH NELSON

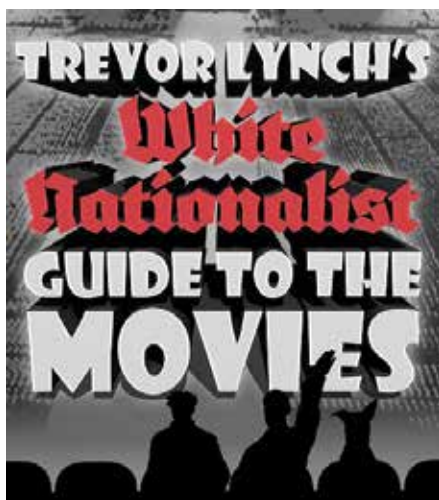
You know what’s the *worst*? Getting home from a long day at the office, settling down with some Jiffy Pop and a glass of Chablis (or whatever European single-origin varietal suits your fancy), popping in the DVD you’ve been waiting all week to watch — and then realizing that you were suckered into renting yet another piece of poisonous, Jew-inspired, multiculturalist propaganda.

Trevor Lynch hopes you’ll never have this experience again. That’s why he produced *Trevor Lynch’s White Nationalist Guide to the Movies*, a collection of essays devoted to helping white nationalists get the most out of recent American cinematic offerings.

As Lynch sees things, “the film industry in the United States ... is controlled by an alien and hostile people, the Jews” who, he writes, “use movies and movie theaters as tools to destroy their enemies.” His book, which features on its cover rear silhouettes of movie-goers — including one whose arm is raised in an unmistakable Hitler salute — is meant to remedy this by arming white nationalists against the supposed Jewish propaganda machine.

Nothing bums Lynch out as much as white movie heroes who strike him as defenders of multiculturalism. Viewing films through his swastika-colored lenses, he sees them everywhere — not least in Batman, whom he characterizes as a failed Nietzschean *Urbemensch* “enslaved by the sentimental notion that every human life has some sort of innate value.”

Rather, Lynch prefers supervillains, describing the Joker as portrayed in recent Batman films as a “Nietzschean philosopher” who has “gone beyond egalitarian humanism” and become “morally free from the yoke of serving his inferiors” (the highest of high crimes, in Lynch’s reading of morality).



Howling about Hollywood: “Trevor Lynch,” aka Greg Johnson, offers the world a vigorous “thumbs down” when it comes to films made by an industry that is “controlled by an alien and hostile people, the Jews.”

Lynch also loathes Quentin Tarantino, who, while “not a Jew,” “is the product of a thoroughly Jewed, decadent, cynical popular culture” and who “[f]rom a racial point of view ... is a disaster.”

Despite his gripes, Lynch manages to find at least a few films worthy of praise. Chief among these is the “Lord of the Rings” trilogy, which Lynch — tipping his cap to Hitler’s lieutenant — gives a “Goebbels Award” for “contain[ing] not a shred of Jewish propaganda.” Rhapsodizing about his favorite of the trilogy, Lynch writes, “I urge every White Nationalist to see ‘The Two Towers’ for a glimpse, in the here and now, of the white civilization that we have lost, and that we are working hard to create again.”

Speaking of fantasy, “Trevor Lynch” is not precisely a real person himself. Rather, he is the alter-ego of a tiresome and self-important fellow named Greg Johnson who runs a vastly pretentious

website called Counter-Currents.com, on which many of the essays that comprise his *Guide* originally appeared.

The *Guide*’s foreword is by Kevin MacDonald, a professor of psychology at California State University, Long Beach, who is famous for hanging out with ex-Klansman David Duke and for opining that anti-Semitism, far from being an irrational hatred for Jews, is a logical reaction to Jewish success in societies controlled by other ethnic or racial groups. It was published by Lynch/Johnson’s imprint, Counter-Currents Publishing Ltd., whose other offerings include a collection of “non-Semitic psalms” by Savitri Devi, an Axis spy and National Socialist “philosopher.”

Lynch/Johnson — who also shows an affinity for so-called esoteric Nazism — might be considered shocking, if only he weren’t such a bore. A consummate nerd and self-described “LOTR [Lord of the Rings] fanatic,” he’s the kind of guy who finds himself at parties at which “Pulp Fiction” is described as a film about “greatness of soul at the end of history,” and who complains as lustily about “lowbrow” appropriation of the term “postmodern” as he does about the supposed Jewish scheme to undermine “higher morality” by putting “dangerous truths” “in the mouths of monsters” like the racist skinheads of “American History X.”

Lynch/Johnson dreams of a world “after the revolution” in which whites have “our own mass media.” He’s willing to be part of that battle — and movie reviews, he says, are the most valuable thing he can contribute. “Imagine a young man who stumbles across one of my reviews because he is reading up on a movie he wants to see,” he writes. “[W]e can teach our people to see *through* the propaganda. ... This is asymmetrical cultural warfare at its best.” ▲

The SPLC *Intelligence Report* Offers Online Investigative Resources

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



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Hatewatch.org

intelligencereport.org/blog

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Interactive Hate Map

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