CONSPIRACY ACT **RICHARD BELZER'S PARANOID STYLE**

Intelligence Report

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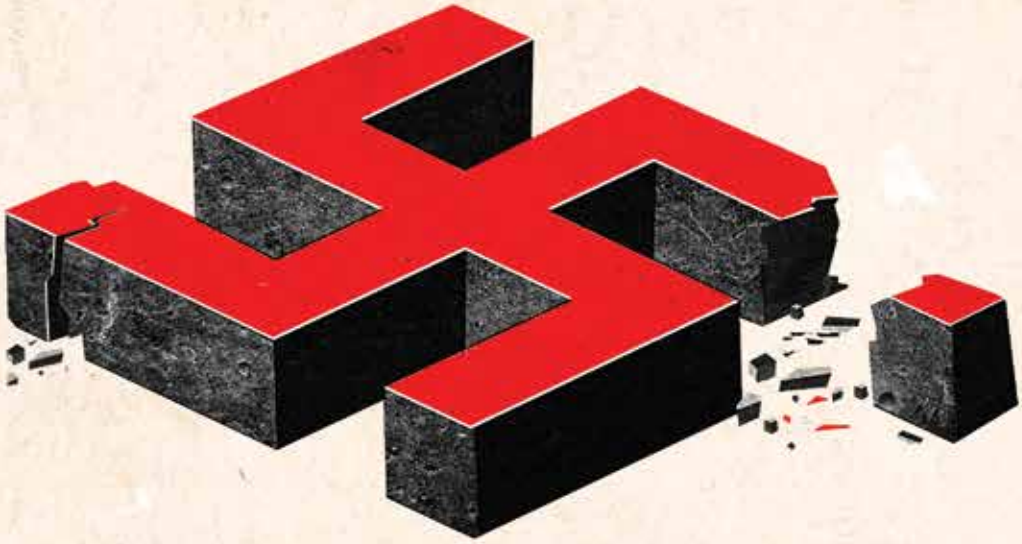
THE END *of* VOLKSFRONT?

AS THE OREGON-BASED RACIST SKINHEAD GROUP APPROACHES ITS 20TH BIRTHDAY, ITS U.S. AND EUROPEAN OPERATIONS HAVE COME TO A HALT



As Volksfront Teeters, a Movement in Disarray

BY MARK POTOK

Is this really the end of Volksfront?

That's the question we pose with this issue's cover story, which takes a look at one of the most violent neo-Nazi skinhead groups in the country and one with a global network of affiliates in at least two other continents.

The group, formed nearly 20 years ago in Portland, Ore., shut down all 17 U.S. chapters last year and founder Randal Krager retired. Now, as we report here, Volksfront's European and Australian chapters may have crashed as well as a consequence of our exposure of their personnel and operations.

Our question is impossible to answer as yet. As we went to press, the overseas chapters had gone silent, essentially disappearing from the Internet and public activism, after we contacted key players about their activities.

What's certain is that Volksfront's troubles are symptomatic.

In the last dozen years, many of the country's leading neo-Nazi organizations have essentially collapsed. The World Church of the Creator was largely destroyed when its leader went to federal prison for soliciting the murder of a federal judge. The Aryan Nations went belly up after a damaging Southern Poverty Law Center lawsuit and the death of its founder. And now, as we detail in this issue, the National Alliance, once the most important hate group in America, is nearly dead.

Softer-line white nationalist groups are not exactly thriving either. The Council of Conservative Citizens, a once relatively influential descendant of the segregationist White Citizens Councils of the 1950s and 1960s, has begun to atrophy as its leader, Gordon Lee Baum, grows old. The neo-secessionist League of the South, which in recent years began speaking of armed resistance, has gotten so far out that its leader, Michael Hill, recently tried to dial back its vitriol.

Even American Renaissance, an anti-black organization led by the still-energetic Jared Taylor, seems to be waning in importance and regularly sees its events denied meeting venues thanks to anti-racist agitation.

Who's left of any importance on the racist scene?

It's not the most impressive lineup. There's Jeff Schoep, whose National Socialist Movement is currently the largest neo-Nazi formation in the country. Schoep is known for leaving his wife after she developed breast cancer for a younger woman, burglarizing a home while one of his children was left waiting in a getaway car, and dressing up in ridiculous Nazi and, more recently, Italian fascist outfits.

There's Craig Cobb, the raving mad neo-Nazi who's taken on the near-hopeless task, detailed in this issue, of trying to turn tiny Leith, N.D., into an all-white homeland — a town he wants to rename Cobbsville.

There are a batch of Klan groups, typified by the United Klans of America (UKA), now trying to convince the world that they are actually anti-racist organizations. The UKA even met with the NAACP to make that dubious point.

And there is Crew 41, a neo-Nazi skinhead group like Volksfront that is also described in this issue. The tiny organization was virtually unknown until this summer, when its leader allegedly kicked in the skull of a man in Kearney, Neb., and two South Carolina members told police they murdered a man and his wife because the man was a registered sex offender. It turns out that the leader of the group's Colorado chapter was the very same thing.

Mike Lawrence, a top leader of Volksfront, exemplified what many racists are feeling. Renouncing his group recently, he charged that "the so-called 'movement'" is thick with "pedophiles, sociopaths, misfits and retards."

None of this means that hate groups today aren't dangerous.

First of all, there are more of them — along with the huge number of antigovernment "Patriot" groups that have sprung up since Barack Obama became our first black president. Second, the lack of strong group leaders often fosters, rather than retards, violence from "lone wolf" attackers. And, third, the fact that the organizations are weak does not mean their ideas are not spreading. After all, the forces driving them, most importantly changing demographics, still exist.

That can be seen in several cases mentioned in this issue. Radical propaganda clearly influenced Tamarlan Tsarnaev, the alleged Boston Marathon bomber killed in a confrontation with police; Frank Taafe, the self-appointed defender of the killer of Trayvon Martin; and even Richard Belzer, the TV actor who plays Detective John Munch and has become an antigovernment conspiracy theorist of late.

Violence from the radical right, in fact, seems to be growing, even as the foreign and domestic jihadist threats diminish — facts attested to in numerous expert studies summarized in the pages that follow. One such study even claims the 2000s experienced levels of far-right violence four times higher than the 1990s.

Our country still faces major challenges as it transitions to a nation not dominated by any single racial group over the next 30 years. Right-wing terror is very much alive and we certainly could face another Oklahoma City bombing. But the organized radical right, for all the very real threats it poses, does seem to be weakening, at least for the time being, and in the end that will be a good thing for all of us. ▲

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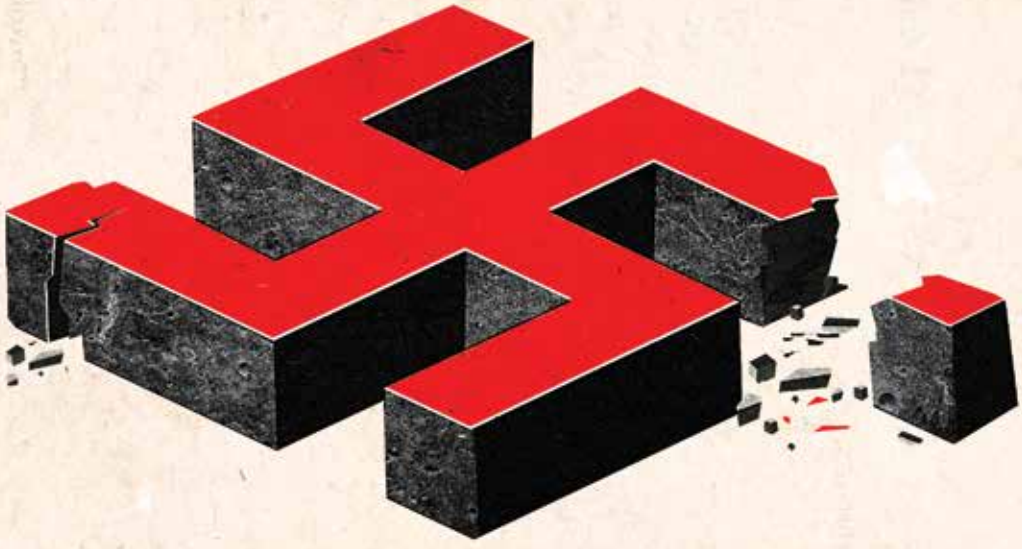


12 Conspiracy Act

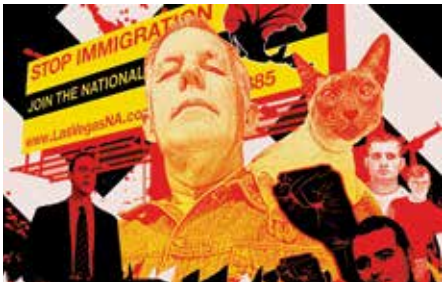
Richard Belzer is known to millions of Americans as television's John Munch, an acerbic detective in almost a dozen different shows over 20 years. But the popular actor is also an increasingly florid conspiracy theorist and author who recently has come to describe the United States as a "fascist" country ruled by "sociopaths."

24 The End of Volksfront?

As the Oregon-based neo-Nazi skinhead group Volksfront approaches its 20th anniversary, revelations of its activities in the United Kingdom and other countries appear to have brought its international operations to a screeching halt. The apparent collapse of Volksfront's global network follows the official dissolution of its 17 U.S.-based chapters last year, meaning the Volksfront era may now finally be over.

35 'Village of the Damned'

When Craig Cobb showed up in the near-ghost town of Leith, N.D., a few years ago, he told his new neighbors that he was looking for a quiet place to live. But he was lying. Instead, Cobb was quietly buying up lot after lot as part of a plan to create a "Pioneer Little Europe" — an all-white community he hopes to rename Cobbsville.



45 End Game

The National Alliance, which once dominated the U.S. neo-Nazi scene, has fallen on increasingly hard times in the last decade. Now, with the announcement that it is no longer a membership organization, it could be sounding its death rattle. The move may also have been an attempt to short-circuit litigation over a Canadian bequest.

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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.

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DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Boston Bombing Suspect a Jihadist, But Influenced by U.S. Radical Right

Tamerlan Tsarnev (left inset), who with his younger brother, Dzhokhar, allegedly carried out the Boston Marathon bombings, clearly saw himself as an Islamist warrior. But he was also influenced by a range of American extremists, including Texas conspiracy-monger Alex Jones and a variety of anti-Semites.

As investigators continued to seek insight into the radicalization of Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the apparent perpetrators of the April 15 Boston Marathon bombing, it emerged that Tamerlan Tsarnaev had consumed a smorgasbord of very American white supremacist and conspiracist publications popular on the domestic far right.

There is little question that the Tsarnaev brothers, ethnic Chechens who with their parents in 2002 relocated to the Boston area from the war-torn North Caucasus, were primarily motivated by a radical, violent interpretation of Islam. Tamerlan, who was killed in a police shootout on April 19 and is thought to have masterminded the attacks, was reportedly a fan of a variety of radical jihadist websites and figures, including Al Qaeda's online English-language magazine *Inspire*. And Dzhokar, who has been charged with using a weapon of mass destruction resulting in death, reportedly told law enforcement officials that he and his brother were influenced by Anwar Al-Awlaki, a radical, U.S.-born jihadist who in 2011 was killed in Yemen by a U.S. drone attack.

In recent months, however, it has come to light that despite his jihadist ideology, Tamerlan's worldview was also, in a sense, highly Americanized. Notably, he was a fan of Alex Jones, a prominent Texas-based antigovernment conspiracy theorist best known for his obsessive claims that domestic terrorist events, including the Sept. 11 attacks, are "false flags" executed by the government as an excuse to implement martial law. (Ironically, Jones now says that the Boston Marathon attacks were themselves "false flag" events.)

In a remarkable Aug. 6 article, *The Wall Street Journal* showed just how far down the conspiracist rabbit hole Tamerlan Tsarnaev had gone. Apparently influenced by an elderly man he helped his mother care for, Tamerlan in the time leading up to the bombing was steeping himself in far-right and white supremacist propaganda.

Among the publications he reportedly read were *The First Freedom*, an Alabama-based tabloid that claims to promote "equal rights for Whites" and brags of having its *own* NAACP — a "Nation of Aryans Against Commie Putrefaction" — and *The Sovereign*, which recently claimed the U.S. military is building a robot army to wage war against Americans on behalf of Israel.

Ryan Lenz, Mark Potok and Don Terry contributed.

RICARDO MAYNARD/CORBIS IMAGES (JONES); JULIA MALAKIE/AP IMAGES (TSARNAEV); FBI/AP IMAGES (TSARNAEV)

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

"Good people do stupid things sometimes."

—Former Arizona Senate President **RUSSELL PEARCE** (R), to a KTVK reporter on **June 16** about the arrest of his friend, Minuteman Chris Simcox, for child molestation

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"I would rather take a chance and resist what is our enemy than just give up and embrace these foreign cultures."

—University of Central Florida Professor **JONATHAN MATUSITZ**, who in the same lecture, published on YouTube on **June 17** by the Council on American-Islamic Relations, said Muslims are taught to hate "from the cradle"

"There's a reason we have the Second Amendment."

—Anti-immigrant activist and Kansas Secretary of State **KRIS KOBACH**, reacting in a **June 17** Fox News interview to reports that immigration reform supporters had rallied outside his house while he was away

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"I don't think they have Republican inclinations at all. They're running an illegitimacy rate that's just about the same as blacks are."

—Ultra-conservative commentator **PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY**, commenting on **June 17** on California's KERN 1180 about why the GOP shouldn't bother to court Latino voters

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"[W]e should send all Muslims back to their native land and be extremely careful about which of them we allow to come back."

—Local op-ed contributor **GERRY ALLEN** in a **June 19** column for Vidalia, Ga.'s *The Advance*, in which he also said the U.S. should "sell or give" Muslims "small arms and explosive material" so they could wage war on each other

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"Guess who is going to enlist in the military just so they can have gay marriages and force chaplains to do that?"

—Christian nationalist author **DAVID BARTON** on the consequences of a U.S. Supreme Court decision striking down the Defense of Marriage Act, during the **July 1** edition of his "Wallbuilders Live" talk radio show

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"Trayvon had no reason not to attack, because it was the standard thug thing to do."

—Rock star-turned-rabid rightist **TED NUGENT**, in a **July 18** column for the conservative website Rare, in which he also described the unarmed Florida teen shot dead by a neighborhood watch volunteer as a "dope smoking, racist gangsta wannabe."

"For every one who's a valedictorian, there's another 100 out there who weigh 130 pounds — and they've got calves the size of cantaloupes because they've been hauling 75 pounds of marijuana across the desert."

—U.S. Rep. **STEVE KING** (R-Iowa), in a **July 18** comment to Newsmax about why he opposes a path to citizenship for children brought to America by undocumented immigrants

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

Tsarnaev subscribed to the *American Free Press*, an anti-Semitic weekly that promotes antigovernment conspiracy theories and Holocaust denialism, and was so taken by *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, a notorious forgery that describes a vast Jewish conspiracy to rule the world, that he told his landlady she should read it, too.

Tsarnaev is not the only American extremist to have blurred the lines between far-right, white supremacist beliefs and radical jihadism. In 2011, a 22-year-old Pennsylvania man named Emerson Begolly, who was accused of using the Internet to encourage Islamic fundamentalists to launch terror attacks against U.S. targets, was dubbed the "Nazi Jihadist" after it emerged that he'd once been a member of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM). And in the mid-2000s, ex-Klansman and Aryan Nations bigwig August Kreis claimed (without any basis) to be forging an alliance between neo-Nazis and Muslim jihadists based on their common hatred of Jews.

MUSLIM EXTREMISM

Rapping American Jihadist Reportedly Killed by Other Islamists

Over the years, reports of the death of Omar Hammami, the rapping jihadist from Alabama, have been greatly exaggerated. Numerous times since 2007, the American propagandist for Al Qaeda has been rumored to have been gunned down or blown to bits in Somalia, only to appear alive and well a few weeks later while releasing yet another anti-U.S. video filled with rap lyrics and hip-hop music.

But a recent report of Hammami's death in Somalia at the hands of his fellow jihadists in the brutal al-Shabaab terrorist organization appear accurate, according to The Associated Press, which quoted a Somalia-based Islamic center and a U.S. terrorism expert who closely follows the inner workings of al-Shabaab.

Hammami, who was 29 and grew up in the small Alabama city of Daphne on

Omar Hammami was once a popular high school student in Alabama. But then he dropped his Christianity for radical Islam, took a nom de guerre, and moved to Somalia. Now he has reportedly been killed by fellow Islamists annoyed by his criticism of their lavish lifestyles.

the Gulf Coast, was reportedly killed in an ambush in southern Somalia on Sept. 12. Hammami, who adopted the name Abu Mansoor al-Amriki — meaning "the American" — had reportedly been on the run from his fellow jihadists for several months after a falling-out with al-Shabaab's leadership. He had accused the leadership of living extravagant lifestyles on taxes collected by the group's fighters from Somalis.

He was also on the run from U.S. authorities. He was on the FBI's Most Wanted list with a $5 million reward for his capture.

His life and violent death in Somalia was a long way from his upbringing in Daphne, Ala., where he dated one of the prettiest girls in town, was class president of his high school as a sophomore, and was compared by a classmate to the mischievous, coming-of-age movie hero Ferris Bueller.

His father was a Muslim immigrant from Syria, his mother a Southern Baptist. Hammami was a Christian. But the popular, intellectually gifted Hammami grew increasingly disenchanted with America and its foreign policy after visiting Syria around his junior year in high school. By 2007, he had moved to Somalia and joined the ranks of al-Shabaab, a group so barbaric that its members in 2008 stoned to death a 13-year-old rape victim in a stadium filled with spectators.

FARAH ABDI WARSAMEH/AP IMAGES (HAMMAMI); PHELAN M. EBENHACK/*MIAMI HERALD*/GETTY IMAGES (TAAFFE)

ANTI-BLACK PROPAGANDA

Report: George Zimmerman's Biggest Defender Is A Racist

Among the talking heads to emerge as "experts" on racial tension in the aftermath of the killing of Trayvon Martin last year, perhaps none was so surprising as Frank Taaffe, a neighborhood watchman who volunteered with George Zimmerman.

On CNN, Taaffe contemplated the implications of witness testimony and the meaning of forensic evidence. He fought with attorneys about criminal law and disagreed with forensic experts over whether the small quantity of THC in Martin's blood made him violent. But according to an investigation published by *Mother Jones* magazine last month, Taaffe brought something more.

A 56-year-old New York native, Taaffe has a lengthy criminal record and a history of racist views. He has appeared regularly on "The White Voice," a website and podcast advertised as "a pro-White Voice for the Silent Majority." During one appearance there in late July, Taaffe argued that whites and blacks have no business intermingling.

"They don't want to be with us and we don't want to be with them," he said, according to *Mother Jones*. Later, he accused blacks of committing "self-genocide" by failing to address the "ills and diseases that are festering" in black America, and chastised white women who date black men because, he said, they will ultimately wind up as single mothers. By the end of the show, he sounded as if he were one of the leading voices of the racist radical right.

"This trial is waking up white America, man," Taaffe said. "I'm fed up with the bullshit and the glad-handing to this one group of people who now control what we do and say. Come on, man, wake up America!"

In other race-infused remarks during the trial of Zimmerman for the February killing of Martin in Sanford, Fla., Taaffe told *The New York Times* that his and Zimmerman's gated community had been burglarized by "Trayvon-like dudes with their pants down." (The irony, *Mother Jones* reported, is that Taaffe was himself arrested in 2000 for burglary.) On HLN's "Dr. Drew On Call," he said affirmative action was "slavery for whites."

When *Mother Jones* contacted Taaffe for comment, he was defensive. "There is a thing called First Amendment speech," Taaffe said. "I'm merely echoing the suppressed voices in this country that have been beleaguered by affirmative action and crimes committed by that particular group of people."

In a September follow-up article, *Mother Jones* reported that Taaffe had teamed up with "The White Voice" co-

Frank Taaffe, an acquaintance and oft-quoted defender of the killer of Trayvon Martin, says black and white people shouldn't mix, adding that the murder trial of George Zimmerman "is waking up white America."

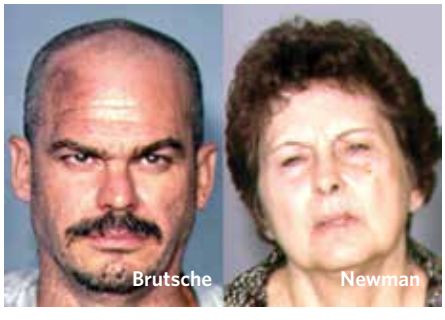
host Joe Adams to produce a "weekly white-power podcast" called "Standing Our Ground." In a discussion of white women who marry black men on that podcast, Taaffe — who said earlier that "[w]e might be white separatists, but we're not white supremacists" — commented, "You lie down with dogs, you're going to get fleas — especially if they're black dogs."

'SOVEREIGN CITIZENS'

Two Nevadans Charged in Alleged Plot to Kidnap, Kill Police

Law enforcement officers have often been the target of violent attacks by "sovereign citizens," antigovernment extremists who believe they don't have to obey most laws or pay taxes and have been known to react murderously to perceived incursions on their freedom. Seven American law enforcement officers have been killed by sovereign citizens in the past decade.

Now, Nevada law enforcement officials may have headed off yet another deadly attack. In August, following a four-month investigation, Las Vegas police arrested convicted sex offender David Allen Brutsche, 42, and a woman described as his roommate, 67-year-old Devon Campbell Newman. The pair allegedly planned to randomly encounter an officer during a traffic stop, abduct him or her at gunpoint, and take the officer to their house. There, police say they intended to conduct a bogus "common law" court trial before executing the officer, using acid and plastic bags to dispose of the body.



Police have described both Brutsche and Newman as sovereign citizens, and allege that Brutsche in July told an undercover police officer, "I will kill anyone that tries to stop the cause of liberty," adding, "I have no qualms about it." Following more than six hours of testimony from an undercover detective, who said the pair believed police officers are guilty of treason, a judge ordered Brutsche and Newman to stand trial on one count each of conspiracy to commit kidnapping.

The problem of sovereigns is not confined to U.S. borders. In recent months, Canadian papers have increasingly reported on instances of sovereign activity. Though the setting is different, the tactics of Canadian sovereigns seem largely the same.

In Septemer, the tale of an elderly landlady whose tenant changed the locks and filed a bogus property lien against the Alberta house she'd rented him, then declared it the property of "The First Nations Sovran Embassy of Earth," made national news. So did a report by Alberta's justice minister that he and a fellow official had been the object of baseless lawsuits demanding "$1,000 quadrillion" — a favorite game of sovereign citizens who drag perceived enemies (often government officials) to court on imaginary charges and sue them for outlandish sums. Sovereign citizens in Canada, like their counterparts in the U.S., were also said to commonly face arrest for tax evasion, fraud, contempt of court, and driving without valid identification.

In September, *The Globe and Mail* reported that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police were developing training material to help Canadian law enforcement deal with the threat posed by sovereigns, also referred to in Canada as "Natural Persons" and "Freemen-on-the-Land." Canadian authorities estimated the movement has about 30,000 adherents, compared to an estimated 300,000 in the U.S.

ANTI-WHITE RACISM

Secret Extremist Life of Homeland Security Employee Exposed

For years, Ayo Kimathi lived out his double life of federal employee by day and ranting racist by night while working for one of the nation's largest law enforcement agencies.

Since 2009, Kimathi spent his workdays at the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in a unit that procures, among other items, bullets and guns. His nights and weekends were spent much differently as the Irritated Genie, an ultra-militant, anti-white, LGBT-hating black nationalist.

As the Genie, he operated a website — War on the Horizon — and gleefully predicted a coming race war, advocated the "ethnic cleansing" of "black-skinned Uncle Tom race traitors," and declared that if black people are to survive the 21st century then "we are going to have to kill a lot of whites."

Remarkably, he did little to hide his after-hours activities, which he calls "race work." He appeared, without mask or shadow, in numerous YouTube videos as the Irritated Genie, denouncing

LAS VEGAS METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT/AP IMAGES (BRUTSCHE AND NEWMAN); FROM YOUTUBE (KIMATHI)

After Ayo Kimathi was exposed as the Internet's white- and gay-hating Irritated Genie, DHS officials suspended the man who called on black people to "kill a lot of whites."

"crackers" and "fags" — with a straight face.

"Everybody on the job knew," Kimathi said during a recent self-produced call-in radio show to explain his side of the story. "The whites knew. They ain't said a peep. They just watched."

But a few days after the Southern Poverty Law Center blog Hatewatch first reported on Aug. 21 about Kimathi's racist ranting and unlikely day job, the DHS finally tried to put the Irritated Genie back in his bottle. Kimathi was placed on administrative leave, where he remained at press time. In the meantime, he was required to essentially re-apply for his job, including submitting fresh paperwork to prove his "suitability" to work for the DHS.

He was also removed from the DHS website. The War on the Horizon Facebook page is gone, too, but not before the Irritated Genie or one of his comrades declared on the page shortly after Kimathi was put on leave that "[t]he war is on! The smallhats (white so-called jews) have stepped it up."

Kimathi also took his cause to a call-in radio show. "All right brothers and sisters, the jig is up," he said, chuckling. "Our Super Hero has been unmasked. No more walking around under the cloak of apparent secrecy."

He said he had met that morning with the Secret Service after his double life was publicly revealed. "They grilled me and everything like that," Kimathi said.

"I must be a very important person these days," he added. "A lot of my friends are calling pretty regularly, but a lot of my enemies are calling a little more regularly."

Kimathi said he was flooded with racist telephone calls and E-mails from "spirited Europeans."

"I've been called more N-words than a rap video," he chuckled.

He read some of the E-mails on the air, including one from a man who said: "I agree with everything you say about the gay agenda. But the sodomites are not just trying to turn black men into faggots. They are doing the same with white males. What we are seeing is a war against men, no matter what color."

The Irritated Genie said "this cracker shook me a little bit."

"Quite frankly," he added, "I don't know exactly how to disagree with that aspect of it. I don't like none of these crackers. But he has a point."

It is unknown what Kimathi did after the show. Maybe he went home to fill out his suitability papers to make sure he held on to his old job. At the DHS, he was making $115,000.

ANTI-SEMITISM

Neo-Nazis Behind Leo Frank Propaganda Sites

Just over a century ago, on Aug. 25, 1913, a Georgia jury found factory superintendent Leo Frank guilty of the horrific murder of 13-year-old Mary Phagan, whose strangled corpse was found in the basement of Atlanta's National Pencil Company, which Frank ran. Frank, who was 29 at the time, was said to have flirted with the young girl and was supposedly the last person to see her alive. A jury sentenced him to death for the crime.

In 1915, Georgia's governor, citing concerns about a miscarriage of justice, commuted Frank's sentence. Soon after that, a mob calling itself the "Knights of Mary Phagan" kidnapped Frank from prison and lynched him.

The Frank case reawakened the Ku Klux Klan, sparking its so-called "second era," and inspired a wave anti-Semitic sentiment. And though Frank was posthumously pardoned in 1986, 100 years after the fact, his case remains a cause célèbre among American anti-Semites. In August, *The Jewish Daily Forward* published a groundbreaking article exploring the modern Leo Frank propaganda industry and the websites it has produced.

As the *Forward* noted, most anti-Semitic sites dedicated to Frank are registered anonymously. On the 100th anniversary of Phagan's death, The American Mercury, a resurrected and deeply anti-Semitic online version of H. L. Mencken's defunct magazine of the same name, published an article by the apparently pseudonymous Bradford L. Huie titled, "100 Reasons Leo Frank is Guilty," which has been widely reposted

Most serious historians of the period have concluded that Leo Frank, a Jewish man who ran an Atlanta pencil factory, was innocent of the 1913 murder of a 13-year-old girl for which he was lynched. But that hasn't stopped websites run by neo-Nazis from pronouncing him guilty — and typical of the Jewish "race."

on white nationalist Internet forums.

Other anti-Frank propagandists are all too happy to take credit for their efforts. The *Forward* identified Kevin Strom, a bookish neo-Nazi with a fondness for child pornography, as the brains behind LeoFrank.info, one of the more polished anti-Frank sites. A former deputy to the late William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, Strom broke away to form his own radi-

BETTMANN/CORBIS IMAGES

cal group, National Vanguard. Later, in 2007, he was indicted for possession of child pornography and eventually convicted. His group dissolved as a result, but Strom since his release has continued to work behind the scenes.

Two of the sites noted by the *Forward* are run by John de Nugent, a self-styled ombudsman for the "responsible white separatist community" who claims, among other things, that "Whites descend from Nordic Aliens, and this is why we are NOT from this planet and are VERY different from other races." De Nugent's LeoFrank.org is more obviously anti-Semitic than Strom's site, but still polished enough to fool a naïve young student. His other site, MaryPhagan.info, is more blatant, featuring, among other things, a music video for a song by neo-Nazi punk band "Achtung Juden" ("Beware Jews") called "The Knights of Mary Fagan," whose first comprehensible line is, "String up the Jews."

'EX-GAY' MOVEMENT

Major Group Devoted to 'Curing' Gay People to Shut Down

The anti-gay movement, which has faced a series of legal and public relations defeats in recent years, was dealt yet another blow on June 19, when Exodus International, a prominent religious-right group devoted to so-called "conversion" therapy (meant to help individuals "overcome" their "unwanted same-sex attraction"), announced it would be shutting its doors.

"Exodus is an institution in the conservative Christian world, but we've ceased to be a living, breathing organism," Exodus President Alan Chambers wrote on the group's website. "For quite some time, we've been imprisoned in a worldview that's neither honoring toward our fellow human beings, nor biblical."

Speaking at a conference at the same time his online statement went up, Chambers said, "We are not going to control people any more. We're not going to tell them how to live." He continued: "We fought the culture, and we've lost. ... We believe it's time for the church to open its doors and let the marginalized in."

Exodus had been struggling for some time. It was forced to cut its staff in 2010, and in November 2011, Chambers called together Exodus' leaders, religious supporters and lay people to discuss ways of keeping the organization financially solvent and socially

AUG. 17, 2013 • GILBERTON, PA.

Mark Kessler (at left in photo), the police chief of tiny Gilberton, Pa., who became infamous in July for his videos lambasting "fucking libtards" (liberals) and the "fucking pussies" who insufficiently support gun rights, met and befriended another foul-mouthed backer of gun rights — James Yeager, a former small-town police chief who is CEO of the firearms and tactical training center Tactical Response in Camden, Tenn. Kessler, a self-described "libertarian" and "constitutionalist" whose video rants included him shooting at a target representing Democratic House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, was fired by his town's Borough Council the following month. For his part, Yeager had his limelight moment in January, when he warned in his own expletive-laden, video rant that if President Obama used executive orders to ban assault weapons, "I'm going to start killing people." Yeager, whose forearms are tattooed with spent shell casings, had his gun permit taken away from him briefly, but continued to teach firearms courses. Kessler, who earlier this year formed a gun-rights militia called the Constitution Protection Force, had predicted that he would be fired — an outcome that was urged in a billboard put up by the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, where Kessler and friends rallied in an Aug. 24 show of defiance (inset photo). Later, Kessler started a radio show with Pete Santilli, who said last May on his own radio show that he wanted to "shoot Hillary Clinton in the vagina" and then watch her slowly die.

FROM FACEBOOK.COM (KESSLER AND YEAGER); CHRIS KNIGHT/THE MORNING CALL (GROUP SHOT)

THE BLOTTER

Updates on Extremism and The Law

JUNE 5 A **Chicago** federal judge sentenced Brian J. Moudry, a **white supremacist** with the words "Blue Eyed Devil" tattooed on his shaved scalp, to 10 years in prison for burning down a black family's **Joliet, Ill.**, home in 2007. Judge Robert Gettleman admonished Moudry, 36, that the example of his appointed counsel, who is black, should show him that "race doesn't matter."

JUNE 6 Police in **Concord, N.H.,** arrested Matthew Peters, 22, for allegedly robbing and beating a man in February. Peters and Daniel Boothby, 25, who was arrested earlier in the attack along with Margo McNair, 37, are linked to the **Brotherhood of White Warriors**, a racist New Hampshire street gang. Peters' girlfriend, a former Concord elementary school teacher named Peggy Sinclair, 50, was arrested almost three months later for allegedly conspiring with Peters to smuggle drugs into prison.

JUNE 14 Corey Wyatt, 28, and his wife Kimberly Wyatt, 32, of **Springfield, Ore.**, were indicted for allegedly buying a gun for **white supremacist** ex-convict David "Joey" Pederson before Pederson and his girlfriend embarked on a 10-day killing spree in three northwestern states. If convicted, the Wyatts could each face three to 15 years in prison and fines of as much as $250,000.

JULY 3 Chris Simcox, co-founder of the **Minuteman Civil Defense Corps**, a now-defunct group of armed vigilantes who patrolled the **Arizona-Mexico** border looking for undocumented immigrants, pleaded not guilty to charges that he molested

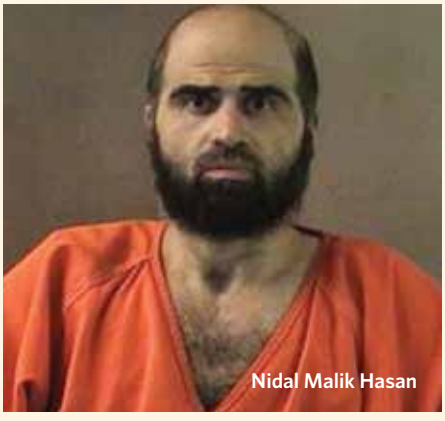
Chris Simcox

three girls under the age of 10, including his own daughter. Prosecutors in **Maricopa County, Ariz.**, reportedly offered Simcox, 52, a 10-year sentence in exchange for a guilty plea. If he declines, he is set for trial on Feb. 27 and could face up to life in prison.

JULY 12 **Ventura County, Calif.**, sheriff's deputies shot and killed Daniel Curtis Houfek after he allegedly led them on a chase, then stopped his car, stepped out and aimed a gun at them. Houfek, 42, was a leader of the **Deadline Family Skins**, a **California** racist skinhead group. The chase began after a suspicious-looking man identified as Houfek was reported sitting in a parked car near a Girl Scouts lodge.

JULY 23 **San Antonio, Texas**, police arrested John Pugh, a 19-year-old member of the **Aryan Brotherhood of Texas**, on charges of compelling prostitution and trafficking of persons younger than 18 by allegedly forcing a 16-year-old boy to have sex with men for money. Two days later, Billy Frank Weatherred became the ninth member of the racist prison gang to plead guilty of the 36 who were indicted in an unrelated federal racketeering conspiracy that involved murders, kidnappings, robberies and drug offenses.

AUG 9 A **Trenton, N.J.**, federal judge sentenced Christopher Ising, a 31-year-old member of the racist skinhead group **Atlantic City Skins**, to 33 months in the 2011 beating of two Egyptian-American men in **Sayreville**. Two members of the **Aryan Terror Brigade**, Michael Gunar, 29, and Kyle Powell, 24, earlier pleaded guilty in the same attack, in which the threesome brandished a knife and used brass knuckles and bare fists. Gunar received 33 months in prison while Powell was handed 15 months.


Nidal Malik Hasan

AUG 28 A military jury in **Killeen, Texas**, sentenced Maj. Nidal Malik Hasan to death by lethal injection for killing 13 people and wounding 43 in a November 2009 shooting spree at **Fort Hood**'s Soldier Readiness Center. A psychiatrist who was about to be deployed to Afghanistan, Hasan, who was convicted in the killings five days earlier, was born and raised in Virginia and is the son of Palestinian immigrants. Officials had mixed views on whether Hasan's spree was based on **Muslim extremism** or was, as the Department of Defense said before his court martial, workplace violence.

KHAMPHA BOUAPHANH/AP IMAGES (SIMCOX); BELL COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT/AP IMAGES (HASAN)

relevant. During a January 2012 panel discussion sponsored by the Gay Christian Network, Chambers admitted that so-called "conversion therapy" is all but useless, saying, "The majority of people that I have met, and I would say the majority meaning 99.9% of them, have not experienced a change in their orientation."

A few months later, respected psychiatrist Robert Spitzer repudiated his own controversial 2001 study, which for years had been cited by anti-gay groups as "proof" that sexual orientation can be changed. In May 2012, after years of declining attendance, Exodus canceled its annual "Love Won Out" conference, citing lack of registration.

While LGBT rights advocates celebrated Exodus' admission of defeat, the group's erstwhile allies wept and gnashed their teeth. Responding to Exodus' closure, Focus on the Family President Jim Daly (who actually has been moving his organization in a more moderate direction) compared same-sex attraction to "lust, adultery, [and] pornography addiction," and said Focus still has "hope for those who struggle sexually." The National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality, a prominent source of anti-gay junk science, distanced itself from Exodus with a press release seeking to "affirm" the value of ex-gay therapy and describing Exodus as nothing more than a "public relations voice and referral clearing house." And Christopher Doyle, president of the ex-gay group Voice of the Voiceless, called on Chambers to apologize for throwing "daggers ... at the ex-gay community."

Exodus wasn't the only "ex-gay" group to suffer in recent months. Voice of the Voiceless declared July 2013 to be the "First Annual Ex-Gay Pride Month," but despite enthusiastic fliers and the announced expectation that "thousands" would participate, it was reported that fewer than 10 people showed up for a July 31 "Ex-Gay Pride" event in Washington. (The group has since rallied — sort of — and declared September 2013 to be Ex-Gay Awareness Month.)

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Two Members of Notorious Kehoe Family Arrested Again

It had been a long time since the world heard from the Kehoes.

The notorious family of white supremacists was big news back in the late 1990s, when brothers Chevie and Cheyne Kehoe went to prison in connection with their Aryan Peoples Republic, a terrorist cell that sought to violently carve out an all-white nation within the United States.

The Kehoe brothers burst into the headlines on Feb. 15, 1997, when they opened fire on two police officers who pulled over their Chevrolet Suburban for expired plates in Wilmington, Ohio. In subsequent weeks, the officers' dash-cam video was shown repeatedly on national TV, fueling a nationwide hunt that ended with the Kehoes' arrests in June of that year.

The leader, Chevie Kehoe, was captured while a fugitive in 1997 and ultimately sentenced to life in prison in connection with his pipe-bombing of the Spokane, Wash., City Hall, ordering the murder of a romantic rival, shooting it out in a televised confrontation with police officers in Ohio, and, most remarkably, carrying out the torture-murder of an entire Arkansas family. Kehoe killed William Mueller, then taped plastic bags over the heads of his wife and her 8-year-old daughter and used cattle prods to torture them in a fruitless search for gold Kehoe believed the family had hidden.

Kehoe's brother, Cheyne, who had participated in the shootout and was a fugitive with his brother and their wives in Gunlock, Utah, turned the bloodthirsty Chevie in after he began talking of killing their parents and his own wife, and also taking a sexual interest in Cheyne's wife. Cheyne was sentenced to 24 years in prison despite cooperating with authorities. That was later reduced to 11 years, and he was released in 2008.

The brothers' father, Kirby Kehoe, was sentenced to more than four years in prison for possession of weapons stolen from the Muellers, who had lived mainly by selling guns to antigovernment militants.

This October, the Kehoes, adherents of the racist and anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity, were suddenly back in the news.

It turns out that when Kirby and Cheyne Kehoe got out of prison they left the family's long-time haunts around Colville, Wash., and ended up in Arizona. Recently, authorities received a tip that they were hoarding what the *Arizona Republic* described as "dozens of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition" — a crime for convicted felons.

At press time, they were being held in Flagstaff on one weapons charge each. However, they were awaiting a federal grand jury indictment that could well bring additional charges.

Chevie Kehoe

Cheyne Kehoe

There was no information about what the father-and-son team were up to, but that didn't stop law enforcement from exercising

FROM YOUTUBE (SHOOT OUT); MIKE WINTROATH/AP IMAGES (CHEVIE KEHOE); YAVAPAI COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE/AP IMAGES (CHEYNE KEHOE)

extreme caution in preparing to raid the remote Ash Fork, Ariz., ranch, about 140 miles north of Phoenix, where they were staying. A spokesman for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives told the *Republic* that officials had earlier surveilled the pair and taken other precautions before exercising their search warrant "due to the violent nature of the family's past."

Kirby Kehoe, now 65, was arrested on the property, while Cheyne, 37, was seized later in Prescott, court documents show.

The Kehoe brothers were raised in the Christian Identity faith by their parents, who also took them to such places as the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations compound in Idaho and Elohim City, a remote settlement of polygamous Identity believers in eastern Oklahoma. But their mother, Gloria Kehoe, shocked by the violence of her offspring, ended up testifying against Chevie Kehoe.

ANTI-LGBT

U.S. Pastor Celebrates Role in Russian Anti-Gay Legislation

In recent months, Russia's president, Vladimir Putin, has enacted a series of draconian laws targeting LGBT people and the so-called "homosexual agenda." He's outlawed "homosexual propaganda" in terms so vague that nearly any statement about LGBT people that falls short of outright condemning them may be prosecutable; banned the adoption of Russian children by couples in any country that permits same-sex marriage; and allowed for foreign nationals suspected of being gay or "pro-gay" to be arrested and detained. At press time, the Duma, Russia's legislative body, was debating a bill that would enable the government to remove children from the homes of gay and lesbian parents.

In Russia, openly gay individuals report fearing for their jobs and lives in an environment in which, they say, violence against LGBT people is broadly accepted. Abroad, the laws have provoked condemnation from world leaders, including the United Nations' Human Rights office and President Obama, as well as calls to boycott the 2014 Olympic games in Sochi, Russia.

But those same laws have made Pastor Scott Lively — who helped lay the groundwork for Russia's anti-gay laws in 2007 with a 50-city tour where he characterized the "homosexual political movement" as a "fast-growing social cancer" and explicitly called on the Russian government to "criminalize the public advocacy of homosexuality" — very happy.

Lively is a Springfield, Mass.-based anti-gay activist best known as the author of *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*, a discredited 1995 revisionist "history" which says the Holocaust was masterminded and carried out by gay men. In recent years, failing and often reviled at home, he's taken his anti-gay crusade abroad. His influence has been evident in Belize, where American anti-gay activists are battling to keep a colonial-era law criminalizing "buggery" on the books. And, in 2009, Lively encouraged Ugandan authorities in drafting some of the world's most draconian anti-gay legislation, including provisions that would have subjected people who had gay sex more than once to the death penalty.


Lively

An LGBT rights group called Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMU) is now suing Lively in U.S. federal court, saying that, with his allies, he "devised and carried out a program of persecution" and "strategies to dehumanize, demonize, silence, and further criminalize" LGBT Ugandans. Condemnation — including the words of a U.S. district court judge who wrote, in refusing to dismiss the case, that "widespread, systematic persecution of [LGBT] people constitutes a crime against humanity that unquestionably violates international norms" — has not discouraged Lively.

Russian President Vladimir Putin's outlawing of "homosexual propaganda" and other anti-gay moves have prompted condemnation around the world, including at an August protest in Berlin. But American radicals like Scott Lively have done their best to portray Putin and his ilk as noble warriors battling LGBT "missionaries of evil."

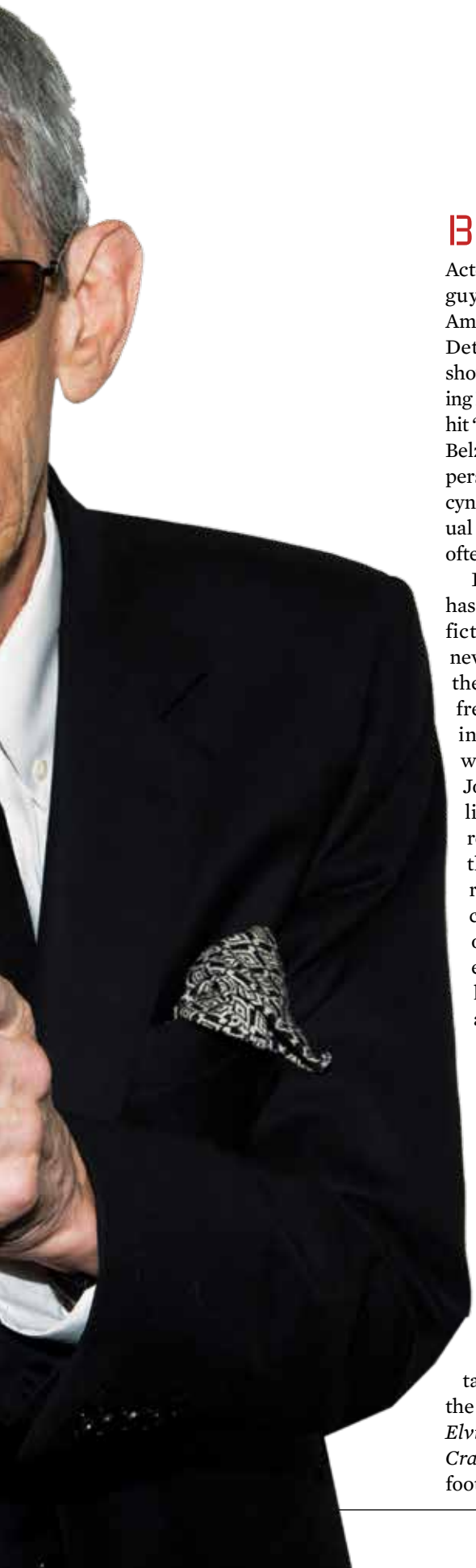
On July 22, Lively wrote an open "Letter to the Hungarian People" in which he said LGBT "missionaries of evil ... follow the same strategy everywhere to homosexualize cultures." First, they lay the groundwork with "heterosexual pornography" and propaganda devised to weaken marriage and social mores. Next, they spread the idea that people do not choose their sexual orientation ("a lie," Lively says). Finally, they implement "sexual orientation regulations (SORS)" outlawing discrimination against LGBT people.

"These SORs are the seed that contains the entire tree of the homosexual agenda with all of its poisonous fruit," Lively wrote. The only way to stop it is through "resolute and unapologetic discrimination" — where Russia, as he wrote, "is a model for the rest of the world." ▲

FLORIAN SCHUH/PICTURE-ALLIANCE/DPA/AP IMAGES (PUTIN); MARK MURRAY/SPRINGFIELD UNION NEWS/AP IMAGES (LIVELY)

DETECTIVE JOHN MUNCH THRILLS TV AUDIENCES WITH HIS RELENTLESS SEARCH FOR TRUTH. BUT THE ACTOR WHO PLAYS HIM IS ANOTHER STORY

CONSPIRACY ACT



BY MARILYN ELIAS

Actor Richard Belzer is a familiar, good-guy cop to millions of TV-watching Americans after a 20-year career playing Detective John Munch on 11 different shows and series. Best known for depicting Munch for 15 seasons now on the NBC hit "Law and Order: Special Victims Unit," Belzer appears the archetypical detective personified: an acerbic, slightly paranoid cynic who, since the show focuses on sexual crimes against children and women, often proves disturbingly correct.

In recent years, though, Belzer, 69, has gone far beyond anywhere even the fictional Munch would, into a never-never land of florid political conspiracy theories that are doubtful at best, and frequently without the slightest basis in fact. Starting with a fascination with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy that is shared by millions of Americans, Belzer has now reached the point where he describes the United States as a "fascist state" run by "sociopaths," regularly makes conspiracist claims about a vast array of alleged plots, and even heartily endorses Alex Jones, arguably the loudest and most unhinged conspiracy theorist in America.

The latest blast from Belzer came this April, with the release of his book *Hit List: An In-Depth Investigation into the Mysterious Deaths of Witnesses to the JFK Assassination*, co-authored with Bogota, Colombia-based journalist David Wayne. That followed last year's *Dead Wrong: Straight Facts on the Country's Most Controversial Cover-Ups*, which was also co-written with Wayne.

Belzer has been interested in tall tales for a while. But his 1999 debut in the field, a book entitled *UFOs, JFK, and Elvis: Conspiracies You Don't Have to Be Crazy to Believe*, was conspiracy lite — footnote-free and sprinkled generously with humorous asides. In contrast, the two new books are more serious in tone and larded with footnotes and descriptions of (mutually contradictory) Byzantine "secret government" cover-up plots. Both have made The New York Times Best-Seller List, though Belzer doesn't take full credit for that; he attributes much of their success to his recent spate of appearances on Jones' Austin, Texas-based radio show.

Alex Jones may be the nation's most vocal promoter of the far-right, antigovernment "Patriot" movement, providing it with an endless series of claims and "documentaries" supported by dubious or nonexistent evidence. He says the government was behind the Oklahoma City bombing, the Al Qaeda attacks on the World Trade Center, and this April's Boston Marathon bombing. He assures his listeners that the Federal Emergency Management Agency has secretly built a

When he's not on TV, Richard Belzer keeps himself busy spinning conspiracy theories and lionizing wild-eyed conspiracists like Alex Jones.

CHARLES SYKES/AP WIDEWORLD (BELZER); NICK ANSELL/AP WIDEWORLD (JONES)

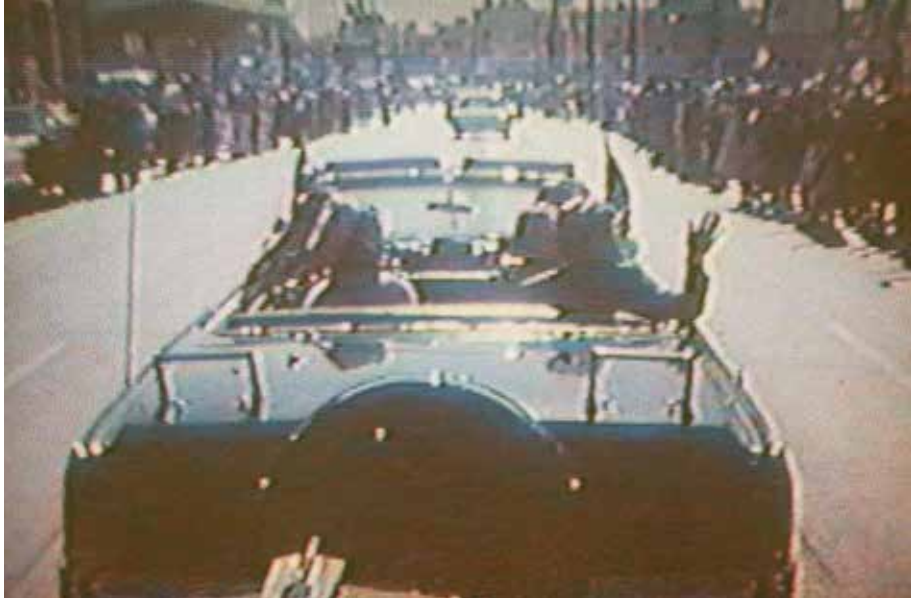
whole complex of concentration camps intended for liberty-loving Americans. He asserts that global corporate elites are planning to depopulate the planet using a variety of poisons, all in service of the coming "New World Order." When U.S. Rep. Gabrielle Giffords was badly wounded in a 2011 shooting, Jones said it was a government-run "mind control operation" using "geometric psychological-warfare experts."

None of this bothers Belzer, whose books have been warmly endorsed by Jones and are sold on Jones' websites. Indeed, they've become close comrades in the last year and a half. "Your work has thrilled and astounded me for years. ... You're doing great work, Alex. We're brothers now," Belzer assured Jones on his show last year. For his part, Jones makes clear that he's overjoyed to have Belzer on board — "We're just flattered to have you here" — and keeps on inviting him back.

All this might not amount to much were it not for Belzer's celebrity.

Richard Jay Belzer has played the wise-head Munch on almost a dozen TV shows, ranging from "SVU" to such huge successes as "The X-Files," "30 Rock," "The Wire," "Arrested Development" and even "Sesame Street." That's a record for any single fictional television character, says an NBC spokeswoman.

"He's been omnipresent over the past 20 years," says Robert Thompson, the director of the Bleier Center for Television and Popular Culture at the Newhouse School of Public Communications, Syracuse University. "He's always Munch. That tends to solidify his identity and makes him seem less fictional as someone who's got the ability to figure things out." And that helps him sell his theories to enormous numbers who are inclined toward conspiracist thinking. "He's got a megaphone, no question about that," says Thompson. "And, as a mainstream actor, he enhances the credibility of someone like Alex Jones by appearing on his shows."



Like millions of other Americans, Richard Belzer first came to conspiracism through doubts that President John F. Kennedy was assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald without help from others.

ASSASSINATION RECORDS REVIEW BOARD, DAVE POWERS/ AP WIDEWORLD (JFK MOTORCADE); AP WIDEWORLD (OSWALD)

Recycled Allegations

Jones, whose show is streamed online five days a week and carried by more than 60 radio stations, is known for his bellowing presentations, infamously melting down on Piers Morgan's CNN show earlier this year as he literally shouted about gun control. This June, he appeared on the BBC's "Sunday Politics," where the normally calm presenter Andrew Neil ended the interview early, telling viewers that Jones was "an idiot" and "the worst person I've ever interviewed."

Belzer cuts quite a contrast with his new friend. Coming across on Jones' shows as soft-spoken and gentlemanly, he often expresses pride that stores shelve his conspiracy tomes with the history books. But despite their differences in style, Belzer is clearly veering into Jones' territory with his latest JFK book.

The book purports to offer savvy, "here's what *really* happened" postmortems on the deaths of 50 people, nearly all linked to the assassination of President Kennedy. Although the official causes of death are typically illness, accidents or suicide, Belzer is sure they are part of murderous efforts to cover up the conspiracies that really led to the president's murder. It is conspiracies plural because there's a dizzying array of devils cited here — a CIA cabal, FBI plotters, anti-Castro activists hired by the John Birch Society, mob bosses in Chicago and New Orleans, a dirty Chicago cop and Dallas police, among others. Belzer even argues that Lee Harvey Oswald and Dallas patrolman J.D. Tippit, who most people know was shot down by Oswald on a city street, were actually comrades on a military intelligence team attempting to prevent the assassination of the president.

One of the book's peculiarities is that Belzer and Wayne seem to have no problem floating apparently contradictory stories. That's no surprise to Gerald Posner, the author of *Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK* who has spent years debunking

bogus JFK conspiracy theories. While most books being published in this 50th anniversary year of the assassination offer single-plot theories, Belzer's is more like a compendium of older claims. "It's a blast from the past, a redo of 'the greatest hits,'" Posner told the *Intelligence Report*. "They've published a rehash of previously unproven and discredited information."

Still, the book is well written, anchored by abundant footnotes and filled with the words of allegedly impeccable sources all pointing to the conclusion that Oswald could not have been alone. The "mysterious" deaths investigated range from those of Oswald and Jack Ruby to CIA and FBI agents, well-known gangsters, journalists, an X-ray technician said to be aware of purportedly phony autopsy findings, an alleged lover of JFK, and exotic dancers at Ruby's Dallas nightclub. What they supposedly all had in common was knowledge of the assassination or its cover-up.

Curiouser and Curiouser

But a close look at the book reveals a number of problems.

Take, for example, the authors' treatment of Jack Ruby, who is depicted as a key conspirator. They never mention the clear testimony that Oswald's assassin gave to the Warren Commission denying any plot and saying he killed Oswald on impulse to save Jacqueline Kennedy the pain of returning to Dallas for a trial. Or look at how they focus on a man who told the commission that he heard shots coming from a different spot than the book depository where Oswald was ensconced. Although he died after testifying, many others who also thought they heard shots from the grassy knoll lived on for decades. In a similar way, they portray as suspicious the deaths of columnist Dorothy Kilgallen and other journalists skeptical of the official story, but say nothing of many other doubting reporters who lived on unmolested.

One of the long-lived conspiracy theories Belzer and Wayne adopt is the claim that Kennedy's wounds were surgically altered prior to his autopsy in order to make the bullet tracks support a one-assassin theory of the killing. Citing researcher Allan Eaglesham of Ithaca, N.Y., they suggest that a Navy X-ray technician who was about to blow the whistle was killed and his death made to look like a suicide. But Eaglesham told the *Report* that he retracted that claim eight years ago, after additional research, and prominently updated his new thinking on the Internet.

Belzer and Wayne seem to have missed that entirely.

The authors repeatedly cite a website, www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk, run by British history teacher John Simkin, as authoritative. But in fact the site simply reproduces a host of conspiracy theories that first appeared elsewhere. "It's very shoddy, not well-sourced," says Arthur Goldwag, author of *Cults, Conspiracies, and Secret Societies* and *The New Hate: A History of Fear and Loathing on the Populist Right*. In fact, many of the books repeatedly cited in footnotes are other conspiracist tracts offering their own speculations — speculations that Belzer and Wayne elevate to ostensible facts by footnoting them as if theirs were an academic thesis.

Other examples of sources that are treated as credible in *Hit List* are Judyth Baker and William Robert "Tosh" Plumlee. Baker, who attests to a link

For Alex Jones, terrorist attacks in Oklahoma City, Boston and New York City were all "false-flag" operations carried out by a deeply evil government.

NICK ANSELL/AP WIDEWORLD (JONES); DAVID LONGSTREATH/AP WIDEWORLD (OK CITY BOMBING); CHARLES KRUPA/AP WIDEWORLD (BOSTON MARATHON BOMBING); MARTY LEDERHANDLER/AP WIDEWORLD (9/11)

"BECAUSE I'M FAMOUS I CAN PUT THIS BOOK OUT AND PEOPLE WILL READ IT THAT WOULDN'T IF MY NAME WASN'T ON IT."

between Oswald and purported New Orleans conspirators, claims to have had a torrid affair with Oswald and also to have worked on a "rapid cancer"-inducing vaccine intended for Fidel Castro but later used to murder Jack Ruby, who did die of cancer. Baker's story is so baroque that Marquette University political scientist John McAdams devotes 40 pages to meticulously picking apart its inconsistencies, contradictions and evident impossibilities. The analysis of Baker appears among a rich trove of JFK conspiracy-challenging material on his website, http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu.

McAdams, author of *JFK Assassination Logic: How To Think About Claims of Conspiracy*, also does a methodical job on Plumlee, a self-identified CIA pilot who claims he flew counter-conspirators into Dallas to try to halt the assassination. Belzer buys his story. But McAdams and others who have looked into it report that nobody can find a shred of credible evidence that such a thing ever happened. Plus, McAdams cites National Archives material on how law enforcement found Plumlee a frequent, unreliable crank who pestered them needlessly, along with FBI records indicating Plumlee had fabricated crime-related information in the past.

Belzer and Wayne repeatedly suggest that certain reported suicides are not plausible because the victims were on an emotional upswing before their deaths. But experts say that is often precisely when depressed people commit suicide — when they regain just enough energy to be able to go through with killing themselves.

Belzer and Wayne suggest that witnesses changed their testimony over time in ways that conformed to the official JFK assassination story for fear of retribution from various conspirators. But recent research suggests a plainer reason: People routinely conflate their memories with accounts, including media reports, after the event. "These new memories become as real as the original one," Posner told the *Report*.

Sometimes, these people didn't even die when Belzer and Wayne say they did. For example, there's Eddy Benavides, killed in a bar, the authors suggest, because he was mistaken for his look-alike brother, Dom, or in order to intimidate that brother. Dom Benavides, the authors say, "witnessed the escape of the actual killer of Officer J. D. Tippit" and said he wasn't Oswald. But McAdams points out that Dom Benavides actually testified to the Warren Commission 10 months *before* Eddy was killed in February 1965, a full year before the date given in *Hit List*.

The list goes on, but suffice it to say that it seems highly unlikely that conspirators could murder dozens of people to keep their plot secret. "If you're trying to cover something up and you kill people," McAdams points out, "then you have to eliminate the people who killed *them*, or *they* could spill the beans."

Folly Legitimized

Richard Belzer declined to speak with the *Report* about his books or his views. His spokesman, Joel Silverstein, promised to check with Belzer about an interview and phone back within a few days. He did not. Silverstein didn't respond to several messages left on his cell phone over the following two weeks.

But does any of this rampant conspiracy-stoking really matter? What's the harm? Michael Shermer, publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, founder of the Skeptics Society and self-proclaimed second to none in skepticism, worries about "the evil forces, shadow government" genre of conspiracy hyping, without solid facts, that people like Belzer and Jones engage in. It has a terrible impact on our democratic system, poisoning any kind of reasoned democratic discourse, Shermer contends. "It feeds into paranoia that makes you give up, since you can't have any effect, and not want to participate in public life, government or politics," he says.

Belzer himself may not see the endpoint. He joined "The Alex Jones Show" for its Nov. 6 Election Day broadcast last year and, when Jones intimated that he might not vote, seemed taken aback. Belzer had been talking about the importance of getting involved politically. He didn't argue with Jones, though.

Belzer does seem to have a grim view of the government that is at least somewhat in line with Jones'. "Our country now, I'm sad to say ... by Mussolini's definition, we are a fascist state," Belzer opines. As for our leaders, "The cabal of people with power in the U.S., they're sociopaths," Belzer told Jones this April.

It's not only Alex Jones who Belzer helps legitimize. Belzer and Wayne's publisher, Skyhorse Publishing, is allowing the *American Free Press*, an anti-Semitic periodical run by long-time Holocaust denier Willis Carto, to sell both *Hit List* and *Dead Wrong* to its audiences. In its June 10-17 issue this summer, the periodical even ran an excerpt from *Dead Wrong* claiming that it is "literally impossible" that Marilyn Monroe died of an overdose of pills, JFK was slain by Oswald, or Sen. Robert Kennedy was killed by Sirhan Bishara Sirhan.

In any event, however Belzer's theories and opinions are viewed, there's no doubt that he has the cachet to influence people. The actor is aware of that himself. "Because I'm famous I can put this book out and people will read it that wouldn't if my name wasn't on it." He added on the Jones show, with what seemed to be great sincerity, "I'm cashing in on my celebrity—for unselfish reasons, I hope."

Like it or not, Richard Belzer does not appear to be turning back. That became obvious in recent appearances on Alex Jones' show. Already, he said there, he's now working on a documentary timed to the 50th anniversary of the JFK assassination this November. And he has promised his legions of fans yet another dramatic book — this one a look at the "sociopaths" in government and why we tolerate them. ▲

ALTHOUGH THEY ARE FAR FROM PERFECT, MANY RECENT STUDIES ATTEMPT TO QUANTIFY AND EVALUATE DIFFERENT KINDS OF DOMESTIC TERRORISM

TERROR'S MEASURE

BY EVELYN SCHLATTER

SINCE SEPT. 11, 2001, numerous reports and studies have been released by a variety of institutes and organizations, in and out of the government, about American domestic terrorism, most often with a focus on homegrown jihadists. Other reports have taken into consideration the rise of domestic right-wing terrorism, especially since the 1990s, and attempted to include these incidents and individuals in their datasets. What many studies on domestic terrorism since 9/11 indicate is that although there have been homegrown jihadist plots and attacks, this threat has been overblown in the media, which leads to incorrect assumptions about American Muslims in general and may have contributed to a rise in anti-Muslim sentiment. Nor, as one analysis says, does the media report on the extensive and visible work Muslim-American communities have done in regularly speaking out against violence, organizing against it, and confronting Islamic radicalization.

The reports make a number of interesting points. Most tips to law enforcement about homegrown jihadists come from American Muslim communities, one said. Another focused on the fact that not all Muslims in this country come from Middle Eastern countries — a number involved in domestic terrorist plots are black, white or Latino citizens who converted to Islam. Overall, the studies seem to indicate that homegrown jihadist terrorism has been significantly less deadly than other forms of domestic terrorism, in particular that from the radical right. Indeed, several of them find that right-wing terrorism is a very serious threat. A 2005 report from the FBI, in fact, concludes that terror from the right is the most dangerous and prolific.

The studies come with their own sets of problems, however, and have to be used with caution. Mark Pitcavage, director of fact-finding for the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish civil rights organization, puts it like this: "Studies on

the state of various extremist or terrorist movements can often be quite useful in increasing knowledge and awareness for the general public, or specific audiences such as law enforcement. So can studies on emerging trends within such movements. Such projects, though, must be used carefully. Reliable quantitative data on extremist-related subjects is very difficult to come by and some studies have used datasets that are incomplete or otherwise flawed. Moreover, a few studies have been conducted by researchers without nuanced knowledge and understanding of the extremist movements they have examined, which can result in flawed analysis. Critical assessment is key to getting value out of extremist-related studies."

One of the reasons that it's difficult to define and count incidents of right-wing terrorism is that many right-wing extremists involved in incidents of terrorism are not prosecuted under terrorism statutes, but rather under other state and federal laws such as those governing weapons. There are also misunderstandings about what qualifies as terrorism, especially since the Department of Justice and the FBI do not publicly list domestic organizations involved in terrorism or terrorist plots, nor does any U.S. governmental agency release lists of terrorist incidents (although the State Department does compile a list of foreign groups judged to be terrorist). The United States might do well to take a lesson from overseas. Each year, Europol, the European Union's law enforcement agency, publishes a report on terrorism meant to aid law enforcement officials and policymakers as well as to inform the general public. European nations including the Czech Republic, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom also publish their own annual reports.

What follows are brief summaries of recent studies, organized in reverse chronological order (and, within years, alphabetically, according to the lead author's surname), that may help readers understand terrorism in America today.

MANY PATHS TO MUSLIM RADICALIZATION

Jerome P. Bjelopera, **"American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat,"** Congressional Research Service, 2013

This study from the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service defines what a "home-grown" jihadist terrorist is (terrorist activity or plots perpetrated within the U.S. or abroad by American citizens, legal permanent residents, or visitors who have been radicalized primarily within the U.S.) and provides an analysis of the phenomenon and an appendix listing 63 plots since 9/11. It says that radicalization can occur in the U.S. through the Internet, social networks, intermediaries and, to a lesser extent, prison, and emphasizes the difficulties in categorizing homegrown violent jihadist activity, since no "workable general profile of domestic violent jihadists exists." The author makes recommendations to combat the threat, such as developing closer relationships between law enforcement officials and American Muslim communities. He also notes an uptick in activity after 2009, but suggests that only a "tiny minority" of Americans is susceptible to jihadist ideologies.

JIHADISM LESS DEADLY SINCE 9/11

Peter Bergen, **"The Homegrown Threat: Right- and Left-Wing Terrorism Since 9/11,"** New American Foundation and Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Public Policy, 2012

Bergen examined cases of jihadist and non-jihadist terrorism in the United States between 9/11 and December 2012. His study concludes that Islamist terrorism since the catastrophic attacks of 2001 (when nearly 3,000 Americans were killed) has been less deadly in the U.S. than other forms and that Muslims are just as likely as non-Muslims to report possible extremism to authorities. It notes that 380 people were indicted on terrorism-related charges during the period, and, of those, 207 were jihadist and 174 were non-jihadist. In the latter category, the overwhelming majority (80%) were right-wing extremists. Since 9/11, at least 29 people have been killed by non-jihadist extremists while 17 have died at the hands of jihadists, the study concludes. The study includes an extensive list of terrorist incidents, which can be searched and sorted at the New America Foundation website (www.newamerica.net).

DOMESTIC EXTREMISM ON THE RISE

Jerome P. Bjelopera, **"The Domestic Terrorist Threat: Background and Issues for Congress,"** Congressional Research Service, 2012

This study provides an overview of domestic extremist ideologies, both right- and left-wing (including anti-government, animal rights and white supremacist activists) and exhorts Congress and counterterrorism policymakers to take these threats as seriously as jihadist terrorism. It says that domestic non-jihadist terrorists have been responsible for over two dozen incidents since 9/11 and that there has been a growth in antigovernment extremist activity in recent years, but notes difficulties in defining the scope of domestic terrorism due to the fact that federal agencies employ varying terminologies and definitions. The study also notes that there is a lack of uniformity in how domestic terrorists are prosecuted and that government agencies tend to define "threats" rather than "groups," and it adds that it's unclear how those agencies arrived at that list. The report does not include a list of incidents or individuals.

U.S. FAR RIGHT GROWS MORE VIOLENT

Arie Perliger, **"Challengers from the Sidelines: Understanding America's Violent Far-Right,"** Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 2012

Perliger's study provides an extensive social and historical overview of the

different ideologies and history of U.S. far-right groups and notes the rise of far-right violence in the 1990s. In a potentially controversial finding, Perliger asserts that the 2000s experienced four times the level of far-right violence than the 1990s did. The study defines three ideologies within the far right, including a racist/white supremacist movement, an anti-federalist movement, and a fundamentalist religious movement. It also provides an analysis of trends in far-right violence using a dataset constructed solely for the study that includes 4,420 violent incidents that occurred between 1990 and 2012 within U.S. borders. It links spikes in far-right violence to larger political and judicial currents, including anti-segregation legislation, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a series of abortion-related Supreme Court decisions in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and anti-gun legislation in the early 1990s. It also includes an overview of far-right violence by state, and an analysis of contributing factors. The top five states, according to the study, are California, Florida, Illinois, New York and Texas.

U.S. MUSLIM EXTREMISM NOT RISING

Alejandro J. Beutel, **"Data on Post-9/11 Terrorism in the United States,"** Muslim Public Affairs Council Policy Report, 2011

This study offers a statistical analysis of convictions in terrorism trials in the United States since 9/11 and an analysis of the Muslim Public Affairs Council's post-9/11 Terrorism Incident Database, a list drawn from government, conservative and progressive sources. That database includes Muslim and non-Muslim violent extremists and includes those who originate inside and outside the U.S., but it is limited to plots specifically against people. The study concludes that there has been a general rise in violent extremism across ideologies since 9/11, but argues that there is little evidence of rising ideological extremism among Muslim Americans. According to the MPAC dataset, there have been 93 plots against the U.S. by U.S.-originated non-Muslims since 9/11, compared to 46 plots from U.S.- and foreign-originated Muslims. The study found that American Muslims helped prevent more than two out of every five Al Qaeda plots that have threatened the U.S. since 9/11.

HATE GROUPS IN AMERICA OFTEN VIOLENT

Steven M. Chermak, Joshua D. Freilich and Michael Suttmoeller, **"The Organizational Dynamics of Far-Right Hate Groups in the United States: Comparing Violent to Non-Violent Organizations,"** National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Department of Homeland Security, 2011

Carried out by scholars for the Department of Homeland Security, this study finds that far-right American hate groups pose a "significant threat to public safety" and, based on the Extremist Crime Database, concludes that domestic far-right extremists have been involved in at least 330 homicide events that have claimed over 560 lives from 1990 to 2010. It also found that far-right extremists were linked to 60 planned and/or attempted terrorist plots between 1995 and 2005. The researchers used data from the Southern Poverty Law Center to create a sample of 275 far-right hate groups and developed an analysis of factors that it said help determine whether a domestic hate group or its members are likely to engage in violence.

AL QAEDA RECRUITMENT IN U.S. LOW

Brian Michael Jenkins, **"Stray Dogs and Virtual Armies: Radicalization and Recruitment to Jihadist Terrorism in the United States Since 9/11,"** RAND Corporation, 2011

This RAND Corporation study analyzes how effective Al Qaeda has been at recruiting homegrown terrorists in the U.S. and concludes that, so far, the number has been relatively small: 176 individuals arrested, indicted, or identified as jihadist terrorists or supporters since 9/11 out of a total population of several million American Muslims. The vast majority of America's Muslim immigrants, Jenkins finds, have assimilated into American society and overwhelmingly reject jihadist ideology. The study states that, overall, Somalis and Pakistanis are "heavily represented" among America's homegrown jihadists. Jenkins also suggests that Muslim diaspora communities in the U.S. that have links to war zones and are struggling with assimilation may be the most likely to produce homegrown terrorists. He recommends that law enforcement work closely with communities from which terrorists may emerge, providing assistance in assimilation, earning trust, and preventing discrimination. The study argues that needless alarm and exaggerated portrayals of the Muslim terrorist threat actually encourage terrorism, as do unrealistic expectations of a risk-free society and unreasonable demands for absolute protection. It includes a chronology of jihadist terror cases since 2002.

U.S. MUSLIM TERROR DOWN SINCE 9/11

Charles Kurzman, **"Muslim-American Terrorism Since 9/11: An Accounting,"** University of North Carolina: Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security, 2011

Kurzman's study aims to answer the question of whether Muslim Americans truly are "turning to terrorism." His most remarkable finding is that of 120 Muslims suspected of plotting terror attacks in the U.S. since 9/11, 48 were uncovered through tips to authorities from fellow Muslims. Since 9/11, according to the report, there have been 161 Muslim-American terrorist suspects and perpetrators and over 20 terrorist plots by non-Muslim Americans. (A spike of arrests in 2009 is described as an aberration, due to a group of 17 Somali-Americans who joined a terrorist group in Somalia.) Overall, the number of suspects dropped by half from 47 in 2009 to 20 in 2010. The number of individuals plotting against domestic targets also dropped, from 18 in 2009 to 10 in 2010. The analysis provides tables and graphs revealing percentages and numbers of terror suspects and perpetrators since 9/11 to 2010.

"RELIABLE QUANTITATIVE DATA ON EXTREMIST-RELATED SUBJECTS IS VERY DIFFICULT TO COME BY. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT IS KEY TO GETTING VALUE OUT OF EXTREMIST-RELATED STUDIES."

MUSLIMS IN AMERICA NOT RADICALIZING

Brian Michael Jenkins, **"Would-Be Warriors: Incidents of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization in the United States Since September 11, 2001,"** RAND Corporation, 2010

This study provides an overview and brief analysis of homegrown jihadism, arguing that there is no evidence that America's Muslims are becoming more radicalized. It reports that between 9/11 and the end of 2009, there were 46 publicly reported cases (involving 125 identified people) of domestic jihadist radicalization and recruitment in the U.S. In each case, an average of three people were accused, and half the cases involved only a single individual. The report says "mistrust of American Muslims by other Americans seems misplaced," given that the number of domestic jihadist recruits is "tiny" out of the total numbers of American Muslims. Jenkins' study also notes that the 1970s saw far more terrorist violence than what the country has seen in recent years, with 60-70 incidents (mostly bombings) on U.S. soil every year during the earlier period. The report includes a chronology of cases since 2002.

OFFICIALS STIR FEAR OF U.S. MUSLIMS

David Schanzer, Charles Kurzman, Ebrahim Moosa, **"Anti-Terror Lessons of Muslim-Americans,"** Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University, 2010

The primary findings of this study are that since 9/11, 139 Muslim Americans (including African-American, Latino and white Muslims) have committed violent terrorist acts, been convicted of terrorism charges involving violence, or been arrested with charges pending. Of those, fewer than a third were successful in executing violent plots and most of those incidents were overseas. The report also points to the media and statements by public officials as a source of unnecessarily ratcheting up fear of Muslim-American terrorism. About half the report focuses on the Muslim-American community's serious work in denouncing violence, policing potential cases of radicalization, and reporting to law enforcement officials, concluding that this is rarely reported in the media. The study includes an appendix of Muslim-American terrorists between 2002 and 2009 and concludes that the level of Muslim-American terrorism "is small compared to other violent crime in America, but not insignificant. Homegrown terrorism is a serious, but limited problem."

RECENT UPSURGE OF U.S. RADICAL RIGHT

Department of Homeland Security, **"Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment,"** Office of Intelligence and Analysis, 2009

This study noted an upsurge in domestic right-wing extremism and suggested that it was being driven by factors including the election of the nation's first black president and the worsening economy. It also compared the rise to the upsurge in the radical right that also occurred during the 1990s. The report concluded, among other things, that "lone wolves and small terrorist cells embracing violent rightwing extremist ideology are the most dangerous domestic terrorism threat in the United States." At one point, the study mentioned the interest among hard-right extremists in recruiting returning war veterans — one of the factors that caused several right-wing politicians and groups to complain that it unfairly targeted veterans and others as potential terrorists. Although this is not what the report in fact said, DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano essentially withdrew the study because of the criticism.

RADICAL RIGHT HAS GROWN SINCE 1990s

Federal Bureau of Investigation, **"Terrorism 2002-2005,"** undated

This study includes a foreword that details trends in terrorism since the early 20th century. The FBI differentiates between terrorism incidents (acts that actually occurred) and terrorism prevention (acts that were prevented). The report does not include incidents that the FBI classifies under criminal rather than terrorism investigations, which seems to limit its usefulness and skew the statistics it uses to make its points. From 2002 to 2005, for instance, animal rights and environmental rights extremist groups were responsible for 23 of 24 incidents that are listed by the FBI. At the same time, however, the report says that extreme-right individuals and groups were responsible for eight of the 14 recorded terrorist plots (preventions, as opposed to actual attacks). The report also says that in the mid-1990s, right-wing extremism began to overtake left-wing extremism as "the most dangerous, if not the most prolific, domestic terrorist threat to the country," after the threat from leftist groups receded by the late 1980s. The study provides detailed lists of incidents and preventions by year. According to FBI statistics, there were 318 terrorist incidents in the U.S. from 1980-2005, resulting in 14,038 people wounded and 3,178 deaths. ▲

First Blood

EVEN ON THE WHITE SUPREMACIST SCENE, **DIE AUSERWÄHLTEN** WAS ALMOST UNKNOWN. THEN CAME A RUSH OF BLOODY VIOLENCE

BY DON TERRY

Hardly anyone had heard of the neo-Nazi skinhead crew Die Auserwählten — "the chosen few" — before its cross-country coming-out party during a bloody weekend this summer. Then a 27-year-old man in Nebraska had his skull kicked in and a middle-aged couple in South Carolina were shot and stabbed to death in their home.

Until that violent Saturday and Sunday in July, the chosen few had been spewing their brand of white supremacy and racist Christian Identity theology for less than a year on small-town street corners and over the Internet, its members scattered across the country in seven tiny chapters. Several members of the gang — also known as Crew 41 — had met only virtually on the group's website and community forum, where an early thread of Internet messages encouraged crew members to "Introduce Yourselves."

Christine and Jeremy Moody help put their new neo-Nazi skinhead group on the map when they allegedly murdered a South Carolina man because he was a registered sex offender. Then, according to their statements to police, they killed the man's wife to eliminate a witness.

UNION COUNTY SC JAIL/AP WIDEWORLD

Crew 41 was essentially created and organized online, a pop-up gang. But in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, the group's president, Brandon Hoffpauir, 37, of Pride, La., said the crew was much more than "a flash in the pan," insisting "we are not Internet Nazis" or "keyboard warriors."

"We're American National Socialists," Hoffpauir said. "Which means, we are standing up for America. What true America used to be. What it was. What it can be without the filth."

Still, the crew's Internet forum offers insight into the making of a hate group. Over the course of its first year, the group's forum has included such topics — and misspellings, typos and aversion to punctuation — as "jews unite behind push for immagration reform," "obamas impeachment has begun...hit the streets

Gang leader Brandon Hoffpauir says his group is about implementing National Socialism and eliminating "the filth."

and help it pass," "Texas Teacher Claims She Couldn't Have Fondled Black Student Because She's Racist," "Dues and Why We Pay Them," and "Are You Battle Ready."

"If you are unable to own a weapon," the founder of the crew, Jonathan "Monster" Schmidt wrote in April, "I suggest yiu [sic] make your body and mind your primary weapon...be in shape and be prepared to dine in Valhalla 841!!!!."

Crew 41 is partial to exclamation points.

The gang had scheduled a Midwestern meet-and-greet in August, but the gathering was cancelled as the crew's legal troubles began to mount. Schmidt, 29, his face, bald head and beefy body covered in tattoos of hate, was accused of using his feet as a weapon. He faces up to 50 years in prison if convicted of dragging a man out of a car in Kearney, Neb., on the night of Saturday, July 20, and kicking him so hard in the head that the man's skull was fractured. The victim survived and picked Schmidt out of a photo lineup, according to police.

Schmidt swears he is innocent of the brutal assault that occurred during a popular car show and parade known as Cruise Nite through the heart of the college town. Schmidt says he is the victim — of mistaken identity. "I think he's been trying to get someone to take the fall for him," a Nebraska prosecutor familiar with the case told the *Intelligence Report*. "Unfortunately, this person he's blaming looks nothing like him. With Mr. Schmidt's appearance, it's hard to mistake him for someone else."

About 1,200 miles to the east of the bloodstained street in Kearney, Crew 41's entire South Carolina chapter, apparently consisting of just two people — Jeremy Moody, 30, and his wife Christine, 36 — was charged with the murder of Charles Parker, 59, and his wife Gretchen, 51. The Parkers were shot and stabbed to death in their home in Union County, S.C. on Sunday, July 21.

"I've been a skinhead for 16 years, and am completely dedicated and interested in furthering Crew 41 and its foundation," Jeremy Moody wrote into the forum on June 5. He identified himself as "JeremyCrew41" and his thread was titled, "My first post and introduction."

"Together," he continued, "it will flourish into something magnificent. I'm ordering my shirt today, they all look badass. I'm from South Carolina, and can't wait to get a chapter started here! Thanks John for giving me this opportunity."

The crew's sergeant at arms wrote back, welcoming Moody and "your ideas," and adding, "I for one look forward to seeing what you can do. 841!"

The sergeant's sign-off is typical of American neo-Nazi skinheads, who commonly use numbers to represent letters. In this case, the 8 stands for the eighth letter of the alphabet — H — which in turn stands for Heil (or, in English, Hail). In the same way, 41 is shorthand for Die Auserwählten.

When the Moodys were arrested three days after the murders, they practically bragged about killing the middle-aged couple. Moody told the authorities that he killed Charles Parker after finding Parker's name on a list of registered sex offenders, according to Union County Sheriff David Taylor. "Moody told us he targeted this individual because he was a child molester," the sheriff said, adding that Parker was actually on an offender registry, for having sex with a mentally challenged 31-year-old woman years ago.

As for why Gretchen Parker was killed, Taylor said Moody calmly explained she was simply "a casualty of war."

The sheriff said Moody's wife Christine was tight-lipped when first

FROM CREW 41 FACEBOOK

arrested but grew jealous of the media attention her husband was receiving. She too began to boast. She told authorities that she cut Gretchen Parker's throat. "She wants to get the glory," Sheriff Taylor said. "She's cold as hell."

If ridding the world of registered sex offenders was the Moodys' goal, they could have started their hunt within the ranks of Crew 41. At the time the Parkers were killed, the head of the group's Colorado chapter was on a list of registered sex offenders in Delta, Colo., apparently for having sex with an underage girl at a party. "He wasn't the only person that slept with the girl," crew president Hoffpauir said. "But he was the only one charged."

As for the Moodys, Hoffpauir said they were probationary members — "probates" — and had only been involved with Crew 41 for a few weeks before they were arrested. "So we still had a lot to learn about these people," he said.

But in a post on VK, a Russian version of Facebook, Schmidt, the group's founder, made Jeremy Moody sound like a full-fledged member. "I am out on bail, facing 50 years in prison," he wrote. "And our South Carolina chapter has been picked up on murder charges. Having a hard first year but hopefully things turn around for us."

On his Facebook page, Schmidt also wrote about the Moodys: "Though I can't blame them for their actions, this in no way was ordered."

Schmidt, who lives in Pleasanton, a small town in south central Nebraska, started the gang on Jan. 28, three days after resigning his position as national director of the Aryan Terror Brigade (ATB). He left ATB under a cloud of suspicion. Schmidt was accused online of being a police informant, a charge, Schmidt wrote on VK, that "makes me laugh and at the same time makes me sick."

By Feb. 20, Schmidt announced that the Die Auserwahlten group and its forum were up and running with a thread titled "The Balls Rolling."

"I know starting a new crew has its ups and downs but the ball is finally rolling...patches are at [the] print [ers].. we got our forum up and most of all we have a solid group of guys with one goal... preserving our race and protecting our nation... and white unity."

Apparently, white unity only goes so far. Both the man Schmidt is accused of stomping and the couple the Moodys are charged with murdering were white.

On Feb. 22, Schmidt returned to the forum and wrote, "...this crew is gonna go places.. i did not found this club to gain popularity or build a name.. i built it to bring those of us together thay [sic] are sick of the infighting and brothers wars.. i named it Die Auserwahlten ...'we the chosen few' because you are all hand picked to be amongst the best of the best... ."

The next day, the founder started a new thread, "DUES and WHY WE PAY THEM."

"The reason we pay dues is to keep this family funded.. i know nit [sic] everyone agrees but the things we need and events etc are not free... 20$ [sic] a month is not a lot to ask especially if you drink ir [sic] smoke."

Schmidt also sometimes turned off his computer and took his message directly to the streets of Kearney. That is where a 30-year-old woman who works with troubled teenagers first saw Schmidt and a burly companion last spring. "They're intimidating-looking guys," she said. Schmidt, she said, was stripped to the waist, showing off his chest of tattoos, including a large swastika. The men were standing on a corner, holding signs. One urged passersby to visit the gang's website. The other contained a long Bible passage. "I don't know how they expected anybody to read it," the woman said, "because it's a busy intersection and it was a long quote."

Disgusted, she drove past and later asked friends if they knew anything about the men. "No one had heard of them," she said. "But everybody was appalled that we had this in our community."

The next time she saw Schmidt and his comrade on the corner with their signs she pulled her car over and opened her trunk to retrieve poster board and a Sharpie her son had used to advertise his lemonade stand. She hastily made a sign of her own, "Preach Love, Not Hate."

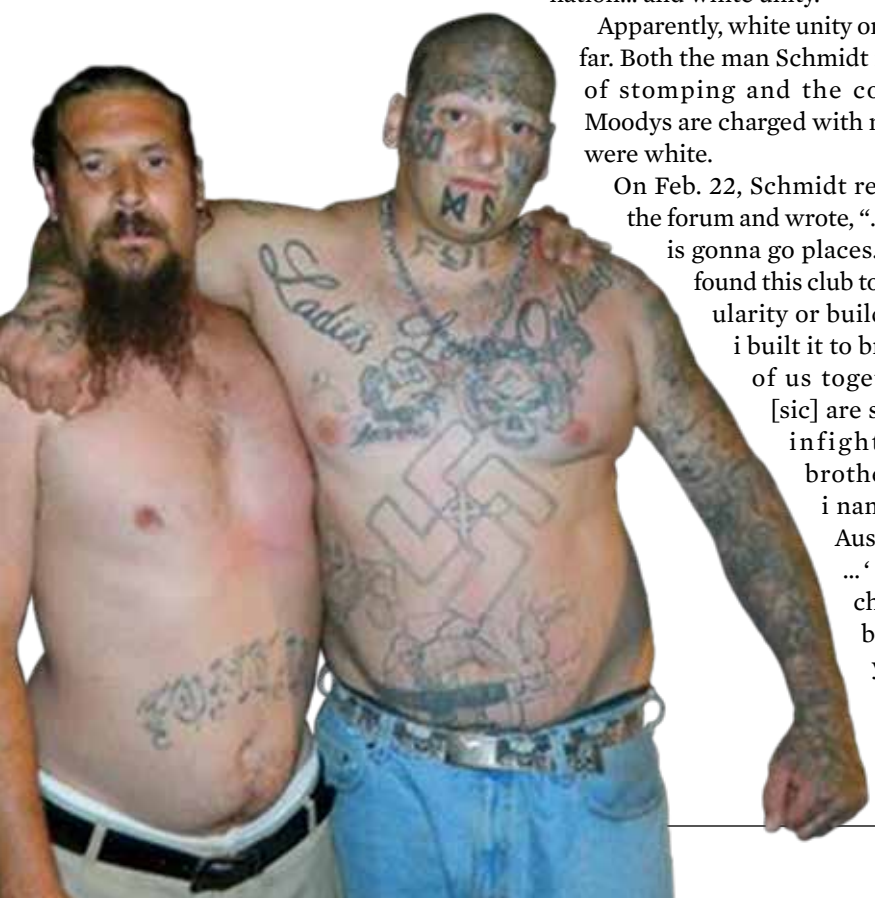
She stood about 30 feet away, holding her sign up high for passing motorists. She did not speak to Schmidt and he did not speak to her.

"It really infuriated me that he would put himself out there like that," she said. "We're a pretty diverse town. We have a nice university, a lot of international students. I did not want John Schmidt to be the example of our community."

Several weeks later, Schmidt was arrested and charged with the brutal assault that could keep him behind bars for 50 years. The local newspaper, the *Kearney Hub*, ran a photograph of Schmidt's heavily tattooed face, including runes, or medieval Germanic letters, on his left eyebrow that spell out a four-letter word.

"Hate." ▲

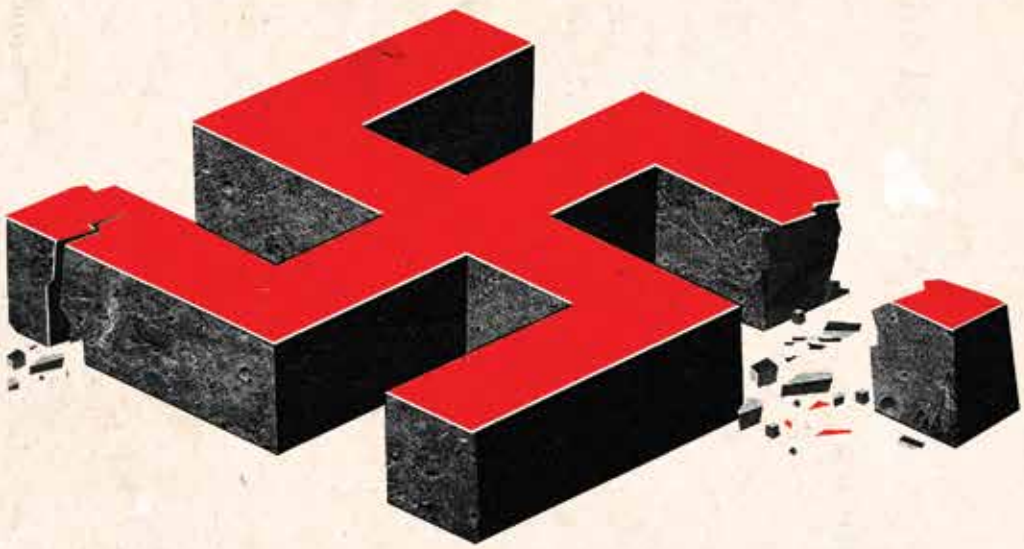
Crew 41 founder Jonathan "Monster" Schmidt (below right), accused of kicking in a man's skull, had urged members to "make your body and mind your primary weapon."



THE END *of* VOLKSFRONT?

AS THE OREGON-BASED RACIST SKINHEAD GROUP APPROACHES ITS 20TH BIRTHDAY, ITS U.S. AND EUROPEAN OPERATIONS HAVE COME TO A HALT

BY HEIDI BEIRICH
ILLUSTRATION BY LINCOLN AGNEW



BLUE ANCHOR, England — In the rolling farm country of southwestern England, amid the quiet fishing villages and marshes that surround the Victorian resort town of Minehead, there is a beautiful old inn by the sea. Some 300 years old, it contains a pub, restaurant, meeting hall and several rooms for rent. Until this fall, it was being transformed into a halfway house and eatery for British veterans of the war in Afghanistan who are encountering difficulties rejoining civilian life.

The newly renamed Smuggled Retreat, known for years as The Smugglers Inn, was to be the second residential facility in an ambitious program started by a foundation called Afghan Heroes and, since officially kicking off this June, had already begun taking in veterans. It was even graced this summer by a visit from a pair of Hollywood stars, Ashton Kutcher and his sweetheart, Mila Kunis.

But the inn by the sea had a secret.

For almost a decade, the facility has been run by a man named Simon Curtis, a longtime entrepreneur in the hospitality industry who agreed to continue as both landlord and restaurant and pub manager for Afghan Heroes. Unknown to most of those around him, Curtis once served as security for Ian Stuart Donaldson, the iconic leader of the British band Skrewdriver and a primary force in the creation of the racist skinhead movement. He has remained an active white supremacist for decades and is still the "Captain at Arms" for the British division of a neo-Nazi skinhead group founded in Portland, Ore., that is known as Volksfront (VF).

The quaint villages of Somerset County in southwestern England are the backdrop to a beautiful coastline that draws large numbers of tourists every year. They also are the setting for a 300-year-old inn that was long an outpost in a U.S.-based neo-Nazi network known as Volksfront.

The three-story building that was just beginning to serve recovering British soldiers has been haunted by well-known Volksfronters like Brad Trappitt of VF Australia, Daniel Del Rio Gonzalez of VF Spain, Kim Bertrand of VF Netherlands, and many American VFers. Part of the inn's second floor is a hall that just this summer was hung with racist banners and has been home to VF meetings known as Althings, gatherings typical of racist neo-pagans. The restaurant, famed for local delicacies like pork and fennel pie, has served neo-Nazi hardliners.

Until October, when questions about Curtis from the *Intelligence Report* caused a storm within Afghan Heroes, the building in the village of Blue Anchor was a major outpost in an extended global VF network that included at least half a dozen country chapters, plus land and businesses, in Europe and Australia. Until last year, when the U.S. part of VF collapsed, that network was linked to 17 VF chapters in as many American states. But now, with the revelation of the inn's ownership and other details about VF activities abroad, the last remnants of VF may be dead.

Certainly, its future in Blue Anchor is in doubt.

"I wasn't aware of any of this," said a clearly shaken Denise Harris, who created the Afghan Heroes foundation after her son was killed in 2009, when the *Report* first described Curtis' affiliations to her. In the following days, Harris got a lawyer, met with her board of trustees, and severed her ties with Curtis.

"As a result, we are closing the Smuggled Retreat and withdrawing our belongings from there," she told the

Happier days: Until this fall, The Smugglers Inn, renamed Smuggled Retreat, was to be the latest facility to serve returning British veterans of the war in Afghanistan. But when the *Intelligence Report* informed Afghan Heroes founder Denise Harris (left) of the neo-Nazi activities of inn owner Simon Curtis (with pink tie), she broke her agreement with him and ended her foundation's work at the 300-year-old facility in southwestern England.

Report. "Thank you for raising this matter with us. It came as a complete shock and our decision will involve the charity in some considerable disruption, but we believe it is the right action to take."

Building an Empire

Volksfront was formed in prison in 1994, while founder Randal Lee Krager was serving a 27-month term for putting an African-American man into a coma with a single punch. When Krager got out later that year, he wasn't free for long. Weeks after his release, he threatened to kill a Portland anti-racist skinhead and was sent back to prison for another 14 months. He was released in 1995.

The group was known for its highly visible violence, especially around its hometown of Portland. That wasn't much of a surprise — after all, its unquestioned leader, Krager, had had 28 "contacts" with police by the time he was 18. But in 1998, due to what Krager called "police and governmental pressure," Volksfront essentially went underground, only resurfacing in the public eye in 2001.

Remarkably, Krager officially renounced violence at that point, saying that "violence created by stupidity or machismo will and can destroy organizations." But whether that was Krager's real intention or just a ploy, it was not to be.

In 2003, Kurtis William Monschke, who headed a Washington state probationary chapter of VF, led a group of three racist skinheads who beat a homeless man to death under a Tacoma bridge. The skins' wolf pack had originally sought a black drug dealer — VF's website at the time called dealers "the lowest kind of vermin," and the group had called for their capital punishment — but was scared off by the first black man it found and killed a white man instead.

In the following years, VF expanded, adding chapters in various states and also starting to make friendly contacts with racist skinheads overseas. With respect to its new chapters abroad, Krager made all significant decisions, but each national chapter was allowed its own leadership. Every country chapter had its own patch, worn on the left sleeve of members' bomber jackets. International members were expected to attend U.S. events and Americans attended European VF Althings, most held at Simon Curtis' Smugglers Inn. Californian Scott Marquart, also the contact for VF's Liferune Industries, handled sales of VF paraphernalia abroad.

In 2008, a kind of war developed in the U.S. between the dominant skinhead group Hammerskin Nation and VF, which was becoming increasingly important (more below). It quickly spilled over into Europe, where VF Portugal publicly

denounced Hammerskins in their country, as well as in Australia and England.

Sources with intimate knowledge of VF said that the group's American leaders — together with Kirk Barker of the United Kingdom, who ran that country's VF chapter and also handled all European communications for the group — made a plan to take on the Portuguese Hammerskins, who had tried to take patches from VF Portugal members at gunpoint. Armed members of Spain's VF chapter were slated to go to the home of, among others, Portuguese Hammerskin leader Mario Machado (who is now in prison), to force the group to shut down, first in Portugal and later in Spain. But the Spanish VF chapter failed to deliver, and a short time later the leaders of the Portuguese Hammerskins were arrested on drug charges.

The battle moved to England, where VF members successfully attacked British Hammerskins and confiscated their patches. Eventually, VF had eradicated the Hammerskin presence in both Portugal and England. Battles still cropped up elsewhere — Welf Herfurth, a member of VF Australia who had used his six-figure income to fund VF projects, was jumped at a Blood & Honour show there in retaliation for Portugal and England — but it was essentially over.

In 2009, meanwhile, Krager left the U.S. for Afghanistan, where he went to work as a civilian contractor to the armed forces. He would not return to the U.S. permanently until 2011, but the VF presence abroad continued to expand.

By this summer, that included chapters in Australia, England, Germany, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain, with a probationary chapter in Canada, along with official supporters in Croatia, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and Scotland.

VF also ran two online overseas businesses, Pirate 28 and Heathen Noise Productions, that sold racist music and paraphernalia. And its members or associates, in addition to The Smugglers Inn, owned land and a bar near Melbourne, Australia, and a gun store, Surplus Army Supplies Alternative Way of Life, in Redruth, not far from Blue Anchor. That store is run by Dave McDonald, a VF prospect until earlier this year and a former member of Combat 18, another neo-Nazi British group.

But now the whole overseas apparatus of VF may be collapsing. In October, immediately after being contacted by the *Report*, Simon Curtis pulled down his Facebook page, where he used the name simoncurtis88 — the 88 being neo-Nazi code for "Heil Hitler," as "H" is the eighth letter of the alphabet — along with all other references to his VF work. Barker, the head of the British VF, did the same, vaporizing the online presence of his group and other overseas chapters.

Born in the USA

In the United States, Volksfront had been on shaky ground for many years, dating back to the period of its battles with the Hammerskins. Even then, it was clear that Krager was anxious to settle the dispute. In 2008, he called Richie Myers, the de facto leader of Hammerskin Nation, asking if he wanted to continue the conflict.

The answer was apparently yes — in December of that year, Hammerskins invaded the Portland home of Justin Martin, the vice president of VF. In October of 2009, during an annual Hammerskin concert called Hammerfest, members of the same group came to the Lakeland, Fla., home of Mike Lawrence, the VF officer in charge of the East Coast, beat him up, and demanded his VF paraphernalia.

That same month, there was another confrontation — this time, incredibly, at a speech given by Holocaust denier David Irving at the luxurious Ritz Carlton hotel south of Palm Beach, Fla. In what witnesses described as an unprovoked attack that had nothing to do with Irving's speech, John Kopko, a member of the Crew 38 support group for the Hammerskins, and VF member Christopher Nachtman fought each other with knives in a public battle that sent both men to the hospital.

In December 2009, Hammerskins also showed up at a Pensacola, Fla., event known as Martyr's Day — it commemorates the death of Bob Mathews, founder of the terrorist group The Order, who died in a 1984 shootout with the FBI — looking for a fight. But David Lynch, who led the racist American Front skinhead group and was friendly with both sides, managed to calm the waters and forestall violence.

At the same time, VF members were suspected in a number of ugly incidents. Perhaps the most sordid was VFer Daniel Feltmate's arrest on charges of kidnapping, domestic battery and written threats to kill or do bodily harm to a family member in connection with the kidnapping, for three days in 2009, of his former girlfriend, Lindsey Bierschenk. Feltmate was in jail for three months, but the charges were then dropped. VF members also were suspected in other assaults, including the still-unsolved March 2010 shooting of Portland anti-racist activist Luke Querner, who was left paralyzed.

Time to hang them up? A photo of Volksfront garb at a neo-Nazi gathering is reminiscent of the heyday of the racist skinhead organization. More recently, Volksfront founder Randal Krager burned his own jacket and other group paraphernalia, and an unknown number of other ex-members may have done the same.

But the violence did not stop VF from continuing to build its U.S. network, even as the overseas VF network expanded. By the late 2000s, VF was running four online U.S. businesses — Upfront Records, Free Your Mind Productions, Liferune Industries and ROA (Race Over All) Publications. In addition, VF members bought six acres in eastern Oregon, meant to be the start of a new white homeland. In 2007, Krager orchestrated the purchase of more than 10 acres in Fredericktown, Mo., where VF built its headquarters building, which was dubbed the Samuel Weaver Memorial Hall. And VF member Richie Graves, with financial help from the group, opened a Sunrise Beach, Mo., gym called the Body Shop Fitness Center.

All told, a well-placed source told the *Report* recently, "Between acreage plots, merchandise and cash, VF is easily in the six-figure ballpark" of assets.

In late 2009, Krager, who is a heating, ventilation and air conditioning specialist, was hired by a civilian contractor in Afghanistan. When he departed, as shown in E-mails hacked by opponents of VF, he left the U.S. organization in the hands of Corey "Spider" Miller, VF's security chief and Krager's designated heir; Justin Martin, the group's vice president; Paul Alfich, VF's treasurer; and Brad Galloway, head of the VF Vancouver chapter in Canada. Within months, however, Alfich and Galloway were dropped from VF's leadership core.

Krager told his members that with respect to "the current bullshit" – the feud with the Hammerskins — "nothing should be said publicly about the problems, because of reds and police monitoring everything. If the situation changes drastically while i [sic] am away you'll have to make the best decision you can."

With Krager out of the country, the feud with the Hammerskins died down. Increasingly, the overseas units of VF operated on their own; by 2012, Barker, who ran VF's European communications, was no longer consulting Krager. Activity in the American units, meanwhile, dropped off until the summer of 2012.

Then came the shooting in Wisconsin.

When Volksfront founder Randal Krager (above left) went to work in 2009 for a civilian contractor in Afghanistan, he left the American end of the organization in the hands of a trusted friend, Corey "Spider" Miller. But Miller later quit the group, reportedly helping convince Krager to shut down all 17 U.S. chapters.

The Turning Point

On Aug. 5, 2012, a neo-Nazi named Wade Michael Page strode into a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wis., shot to death six people, badly wounded a police officer and, as police closed in, killed himself. Page was wrongly identified by ABC News as a VF member. But he had a connection — his girlfriend, Misty Cook, was soon revealed to be a VF member, the only patched American woman in the group.

Pressure from police and anti-racist activists — some of whom had repeatedly revealed the home addresses of Krager and his wife — mounted. And Krager, who now had several children and was approaching 40, came to a decision.

Days after the shooting, VF publicly denounced the attack as "an act of demented criminal cowardice." The VF America website was pulled down and a notice citing harassment and government investigations left in its place. On Sept. 7, VF's Wikipedia entry was edited by "Vfusa" to say that "Volksfront in the United States announced their dissolution in August 2012 via their website."

By that time, Corey Miller, the second most important figure in VF America after Krager, had left. A source close to VF said this was critical: "Corey Miller leaving the organization and Randy Krager's retirement as a result of frustration with the anti-racist harassment and having no viable replacement is what caused VF to disband." Another said the shooting was only "a convenient scapegoat."

Most VF members were shocked. Krager hadn't bothered to inform Barker, his main European VF contact, of the shutdown. And, in the U.S., the group was still taking on prospects and planning a September 2012 Althing at its Fredericktown hall. But Krager vetoed that idea at the last minute, moving the event to the much smaller venue of Richie Graves' Missouri home. It was a disaster. Police showed up. Graves and a Golden State Skinhead got into a fight. Krager told attendees to hide their VF material and go home. Enraged, Graves cut off his patch.

Krager now seems to be out of the game entirely — a shock to many, given that he had controlled the group tightly for years, ruling on who would get patched, who would be allowed to get tattoos, and other minutiae, both here and abroad.

He has sold a bar in Oakland, Neb.,

Back in the day: At a 1990s concert of the iconic racist band Skrewdriver, current Smugglers Inn owner Simon Curtis can be seen sieg-heiling (second from left, face turned away) his comrades. Beside him, in a Skrewdriver Security T-shirt like his own, is Kirk Barker (mouth open), who would later become the head of the United Kingdom chapter of Volksfront. At far left, with a microphone, is Skrewdriver lead singer Ian Stuart Donaldson.

that he bought for VF. He hasn't posted on racist websites in months. His wife Abbie Chelf, a racist activist herself who once ran the Folkish Women's Front, stopped posting last April, too, after a total of some 11,000 entries on the racist Web forum Stormfront. At the same time, the *Report* has learned, Krager burned all the VF patches, flags and T-shirts he had.

And the last remaining leaders on the U.S. side have drifted away. Justin Martin, the vice president, told the *Report* he had left the group. "Volksfront just wasn't getting anywhere," he said. Mike Lawrence, the East Coast leader, renounced VF on Stormfront, saying he was turning to "folkish endeavors" after realizing that "the majority of the so-called 'movement' will forever be plagued with a collection of pedophiles, sociopaths, misfits and retards." And Darralyn Lasater, the ex-wife of Richie Graves (who is now in prison), told the *Report* that the pair had tired of "constantly spending money for a bunch of idiots ... and fucking morons."

"It's done," Mike Lawrence told the *Report*.

Now, with the exposure of Simon Curtis and others overseas, it appears possible that the entire European end of the Volkfront organization is done as well. At press time, virtually all the overseas VF groups appeared to have gone silent, or at least underground, though it's possible they will resurface — possibly as racist groups no longer affiliated with VF. Longstanding plans for an October 2014 blowout celebrating the group's 20th anniversary seem to have stalled.

A source close to VF noted that former members are now regularly "derid[ing] the group or their former comrades." And he offered an explanation: "Denouncing the group retrospectively is simply an effort on the part of the individual members to distance themselves from the sunken ship and any legal fallout that may ever come. But," he added, "who knows?" ▲

For further background on Randal Krager, see **sp.lc/RLKrager**

VOLKSFRONT
THE LEADERSHIP

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

Though Volksfront (VF) may have met its end, the leadership of the group, which at one point had a significant presence on at least three continents, will probably live on in some form in the white supremacist world. Many of the group's most important members come from the hardest-core sectors of the neo-Nazi skinhead world and have extensive criminal histories. Even so, the top personnel in the VF worldwide network, most hand-chosen by now-retired VF President Randal Krager, are not much known by the outside world. Here, presented in alphabetical order according to last name, we profile 12 key members of VF in the United States and abroad.

PAUL T. ALFICH, 33
National Treasurer (former)
Oak Lawn, Ill.

Paul Alfich was appointed VF's national treasurer in 2009 and served in that capacity until 2011. According to Chicago-area anti-racist activists, Alfich was the primary contact for the Midwest chapter of Volksfront before that and sold white power music and T-shirts while collecting VF dues. Alfich looks far more clean-cut than most skinheads, as shown in photos with his seemingly prim wife, Caitlin Marie. Information obtained by the activists also show Alfich has dipped his toes in mainstream politics, campaigning for Ron Paul in his run for the presidency and attending several Chicago Tea Party events. He was even invited by these groups to serve as an organizer. Alfich and his wife have traveled more than once to Europe to visit with VF members in England, staying at Simon Curtis' Smuggled Retreat, and with Spanish members. Alfich also was instrumental in buying and improving a 10-acre Fredericktown, Mo., property, for the VF, using a personal home equity loan of $20,000. In 2011, Alfich got into a dispute over management of the money related to the property and was removed as treasurer. After that, each VF division became responsible for managing its own money, though they were required to send $100 a month to Alfich to pay down the property, for a total of $200 to $400 a month. (In 2012, VF President Randal Krager was looking for another VF member to take on Alfich's loan.) When Krager left for a job in Afghanistan in 2009, Alfich was one of four men asked to run VF, but he was relieved of that post within months.

CASEY JO BANYAS, 32
Member, VF band drummer
Albany, Ore.

Casey Banyas was a key member of what VFers call the "Oregon Boys," a group that included Justin Martin, Nick Cheshire and other members around Portland, where the group was founded. Banyas formally began as a VF "prospect" in 2010 after his release from prison. Heavily tattooed himself, he has inked prominent VF members with group logos along with other well-known skins like David Lynch, the VF ally and former head of American Front who

was murdered in his Sacramento, Calif., home in 2011. According to a 2010 post by Oregon anti-fascists, Banyas then ran an unlicensed tattoo business called Hooligan Ink and was seeking a business license. Banyas has been a highly active VF member, attending major group events like the September 2011 Althing held on VF's property in Fredericktown, Mo., and playing drums in the VF band, Enforcer, founded by Chad Bostwick. His wife, Alaina Joy Banyas, was heavily involved in the now-defunct VF sister organization, the Folkish Women's Front, and in organizing VF events like the 2011 Thanksgiving party the couple hosted at their home in the northwest Oregon city of Albany.

KIRK BARKER, 45

Head of United Kingdom chapter, main European contact

Basingstoke, Wales, UK

Kirk Barker, a bricklayer by trade but now a stay-at-home father due to a back injury, has been in the racist skinhead scene since his teens. In his early 20s, Barker was involved in a seminal incident in English skinhead lore, the 1992 "Battle of Waterloo," while serving as security chief for the English branch of Blood & Honour (B&H), a violent skinhead group. That year, militant anti-racists went to London's Waterloo train station to confront skinheads arriving for a concert by the racist Skrewdriver band. A huge, day-long battle ensued and the hundreds of police officers called in arrested 33 people for public order and weapons violations. Among them was Barker, who was charged with violent disorder and thus elevated to a skinhead hero. Two officers and several dozen others were hospitalized (12 people were stabbed) during the violence. In 1993, after leaving a B&H concert, Barker and four other B&H members attacked the staff of an Indian restaurant in Buntingford, Hertfordshire, with bats and bottles, beating one man unconscious. Barker served three years in prison as a result. In early 2010, Barker resigned from B&H and shuttered the B&H Southlands division in the process. It's unclear when Barker joined VF, but he rose quickly, eventually running the entire European end of the VF network. A source close to VF said Barker is seen as "very capable," having quit drinking because, "[b]y his own account, he gets too violent." Barker was central in the 2008-2009 battle between Hammerskin Nation, another violent skin group, and VF members in Portugal and Spain, making key decisions to go on the offensive. In the last couple of years, Barker, who once revered VF President Randal Krager but was angered by Krager's failure to inform him of his 2012 decision to close down VF in the United States, stopped answering to his former leader. At least until this October, Barker worked closely with Simon Curtis to build up the VF UK chapter and also helped grow a VF presence in places like Poland and Slovakia.

CHAD DONALD BOSTWICK, 40

Member, VF band lead singer

Omaha, Neb. (last known location)

Chad Bostwick is a longtime member who one source close to the group describes as one of the two most violent and dangerous men in VF. In 1992, he was sentenced to 60 days in jail and three years of probation after assaulting a black man. In the years since, he has been charged with burglary, theft, illegal weapons possession, domestic abuse and assault. Bostwick is best known in VF for his role as the lead singer for the group's band Enforcer, and with other band members recently signed a recording deal with Get Some 88, an online racist music business. That neo-Nazi label is run by the Golden State Skins, a California group that has been closely allied with VF. Bostwick travels frequently, often staying at the home of Justin Martin in Portland, Ore. Unlike most VF members, he is friendly with motorcycle clubs, including the Nebraska-area Hells Angels, the Sons of Silence (one of whose members he signed up as a VF "prospect") and other outlaw motorcycle gangs. Although Bostwick's last known address was in Omaha, Neb., his present whereabouts are unknown.

SIMON CURTIS, 43

Captain at Arms, UK chapter

Blue Anchor, Somerset, England

Simon Curtis is the second-in-command of the VF UK chapter. In his youth, Curtis was a key part of the security team for racist skinhead singer Ian Stuart Donaldson and his band Skrewdriver. In the years since, he has been working in the upscale English restaurant and hospitality industry, and now owns an inn and pub in Blue Anchor, in southwestern England, recently renamed the Smuggled Retreat. But he has remained active in the racist skinhead world. A large hall at the inn has been the site of several VF meetings called Althings over the years, including the three-day 2012 gathering that featured bands and other festivities, all paid in advance by the VF UK chapter. Over the years, the inn has lodged an array of key VFers, including VF National Treasurer Paul Alfich and his wife Caitlin Marie, VF Netherlands' Kim Bertrand, VF Ambassador Corey Miller, and Australian members Brad and Tara Trappitt. In June 2013, shortly after signing a lease with the Afghan Heroes foundation to create a residential facility for troubled vets, Curtis ran into trouble when customers asked him if his pub was a skinhead hangout — they had noticed VFers arriving for this year's Althing. Spooked, Curtis began personally calling dozens of people and bands he had hired, asking everyone not already there not to come. Things got worse this October, when the *Intelligence Report* contacted Curtis and principals of the Afghan Heroes with questions. Curtis responded by deleting all online references to his racist activities, but the foundation is still trying to break its lease with him.

RICHARD "RICHIE" LAWRENCE GRAVES, 44

Head of Movement Relations (former)

Laurel, Mo. (currently in prison)

Richie Graves, who one source close to VF describes as one of the group's two most violent members, has been in the hate movement for decades. A key member of the VF Missouri chapter, Graves has attended many high-profile VF events, including the March 2012 wedding of Derek "Del" O'Connor, a British citizen who was once iconic skinhead leader Ian Stuart Donaldson's roommate. VF gave Graves, who also owned a drywall business, funds to buy a gym, Body Shop Fitness Center in Sunrise Beach, Mo., along with a next-door space for a future mixed martial arts studio. The final American Althing, held in September 2012, took place at Graves' home even though VF President Randal Krager had announced the dissolution of VF's 17 U.S. chapters a month before. The gathering went badly, with a fight breaking out, a visit from police, and, ultimately, Krager's order that members hide VF materials and return home. That so enraged Graves that he cut off his VF patch. His estranged wife, Darralyn Lasater, told the *Report* that she and Graves agreed that they had wasted their money on VF and its endeavors. Lasater has her own history in the movement as a 1990s member of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations who was featured in a 2008 History Channel documentary entitled "Nazi America: A Secret History."

WELF HERFURTH, 51

Funder and member

Melbourne, Australia

Welf Herfurth was born in Goslar, Germany, but in his teens lived in Iran at the time of the 1979 Islamic Revolution — an event that he says taught him how easy it is to overthrow a government. Returning to Germany, Herfurth joined the youth wing, and eventually the national executive body, of the

National Democratic Party, an extremist nationalist party. In 1987, he moved to Australia and took up with the Australian Democrats, a centrist party he describes as "libertarian," but soon moved on to One Nation, a racist anti-immigrant group. Later, he both ran and was a board member of Blood & Honour Europe, a racist skinhead group, and, most recently, became a popular VF member with close contacts among Holocaust deniers and other white nationalists. Herfurth, who was attacked at a Blood & Honour concert a few years ago by rival Hammerskins, has a high-paying job with a shipping firm and is known for funding VF projects and loaning individual members money. The author of a 2011 book titled *A Life in the Political Wilderness* (published by the Portuguese Finis Mundi press, which also produces other racist material), Herfurth is a "national anarchist," meaning he opposes capitalism but seeks to create racially pure states and defend the "right of people to self-determination and preserving their culture." The book has been well received in relatively highbrow racist circles like *American Renaissance* magazine. Its introduction is by Troy Southgate, a key UK national anarchist, and was endorsed by Tomislav Sunic, a Croatian who is a leader of the racist American Freedom Party, formerly the American Third Position.

MICHAEL LEWIS LAWRENCE, 45

Head of East Coast Region (former)

Gulfport, Miss.

As one of the original founders of the violent racist group Confederate Hammerskins (CHS) in the 1980s, Mike Lawrence has been a skinhead for decades. Along with CHS co-founder Scott Lessig, Lawrence was one of five group members convicted in 1990 of defacing a synagogue, brutalizing blacks and Latinos in a Dallas park, and other racist acts that brought him a prison sentence of almost five years. He left the group in good standing and later served as treasurer of the Blood & Honour America Council. He founded Christian Guard, which espoused the racist and anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity, and ran it from his then-home in Lakeland, Fla. In 2007, Lawrence joined VF and rose to become one of its top four officers. Over the years, he has attended numerous group events, from a 2007 campout in Virginia to British member Del O'Connor's wedding to an American in 2012. In 2009, he was caught up in the group's rivalry with his old comrades in the Hammerskins when several Hammers came to his Florida home and one assaulted him. Lawrence's longtime girlfriend, Heidi Cervi (AKA Heidi Cern), was a member of VF's sister organization, the Folkish Women's Front, which included many other wives and girlfriends of VF men. Lawrence was long a close friend of VF President Randal Krager, who in 2009 moved with his wife and son from Portland, Ore., to a trailer next to Lawrence's home in Florida. But after Krager dissolved VF's U.S. chapters in 2012, Lawrence wrote on a racist forum that most such groups are comprised of "pedophiles, sociopaths, misfits and retards."

SCOTT A. MARQUART, 42

Marketing Head (former)

Los Angeles, Calif.

One-time machinist Scott Marquart has been involved in racist groups for a quarter of a century, including, while he lived in Arkansas, the neo-Nazi groups White Revolution and Aryan Nations, which he served as state leader. He was also a member of the Northern Hammerskins for a time. In 1989, he became the first person convicted under Michigan's Ethnic Intimidation Law after he and four other skins attacked an interracial group out-

side a convenience store in Auburn Hills. While in prison for another spell because of a 1995 home invasion, Marquart sued, along with nine others, to practice the racist religion of Christian Identity with weekly services, Bible study meetings and the right to be housed apart from other races. Ultimately, in 2000, he was denied, with a judge ruling that that would pose a security threat. About five years later, Marquart moved to California with his wife, computer specialist Danielle Nicole Bartels, and their young daughter. In recent years, he has handled all international merchandising for VF, mainly through Antelope, Calif.-based Liferune Industries (formerly Free Your Mind Productions), which officially employed him. The business sold T-shirts, CDs and other support merchandise for VF and Blood & Honour. According to a well-placed source close to VF, however, Marquart was ejected from the group in 2012 for drunkenness.

JUSTIN RYAN MARTIN, 37

Vice President; Captain at Arms, West Coast Region (former)

Portland, Ore.

Justin Martin is a longtime close associate of VF President Randal Krager, who like Martin is from the Portland area. The men also share a propensity for criminal violence, with Martin getting an almost six-year sentence for kidnapping in a 1996 plea deal that saw robbery charges against him dropped. For years, Martin, whose home often functioned as a base for visiting VF members from elsewhere, served on a four-man national VF council that advised Krager. He told the *Report* that VF was shut down because it "just wasn't getting anywhere." A flier from the Portland chapter of the militant Anti-Racist Action group has described Martin as a man with a reputation for violence who boasted of being a "hardass" and functioned as local muscle for the group. In 2008, during a two-year conflict between VF and another racist group, Hammerskin Nation, Hammerskin members invaded Martin's home.

JENS MARZ, EARLY 30S

National Representative, Germany

Halle, Germany

Jens Marz is the best-known of German VF members and serves as his country's "national representative," or national leader. Marz is also the lead singer for Valhallas Patriots, a neo-Nazi skinhead band that has performed in the U.S. and that Marz has called "proud members of the Volksfront Brotherhood." In an undated interview in Blood & Honour Magazine, published by a skinhead group of that name that has frequently been allied with VF, Marz described band members as adherents of Asatru, a religion based on Nordic pagan beliefs with a racist variant popular among white supremacists. "Valhalla is place of Honour for every Warrior, we are all Racial Patriots and National Socialists, we are all fighting for the Future of our Children and we are the true Racial Warriors!" he said in the interview. He went on to talk about playing American venues including VF's 2004 Aryanfest concert. Sounding a modest note, Marz told the magazine, "Music is just a Propaganda Weapon in our Freedom Fight! We aren't better than anybody else only because we play music. We hate that fucking Rockstar Image shit around our Movement." In Germany, where all VF members live within 30 miles of Marz, VF has had to be especially careful about its activities because of strict laws relating to hate speech and the glorification of Nazism. One result may have been the fact that no German members traveled to England for the 2012 or 2013 Althings held at Simon Curtis' inn in Blue Anchor. According to a source close to VF, Marz has said that due to an assault by a VFer on a member of the extremist National Democratic Party last year, police were watching the group carefully and members were trying to "lay low."

COREY "SPIDER" J. MILLER, 33

Captain at Arms; Head, Security and Intergroup Relations; Ambassador (former)

Norfolk, Va. (last known location)

Corey Miller was for years an exceptionally close partner to VF President Randal Krager, serving as VF's main muscle and, until his departure from the group in August 2012, as the presumed heir to Krager's throne. As VF's official ambassador, Miller traveled abroad frequently, building friendships with overseas VF members and staying more than once at Simon Curtis' inn in Blue Anchor, England. A large part of his job as ambassador was easing the process of "patching over," or joining VF from other groups, and Miller did successfully bring in several Europeans. Miller also served on the four-man VF council that advised Krager, and also helped run VF while Krager was working in Afghanistan between 2009 and 2011. He has attended a number of important VF events over the years, including its 2007 Virginia campout and Del O'Connor's 2012 wedding. At the same time, Miller was national representative for Blood & Honour America, an allied racist group. Like other VF leaders, Miller has a record of violence, having been sentenced to 15 years in a Colorado prison for aggravated robbery and a count of violent crime. After serving that sentence, he moved to Virginia while still on parole (at one point, authorities were interested in him in connection with the 2010 vandalism of two Norfolk area synagogues, but nothing came of that). In June 2010, he was arrested for violating his parole by traveling to white power events around the country and sent back to prison for a year, finally emerging in September 2011. Miller was so highly regarded by Krager that he was sent to Florida in 2009 to deal with the "issue" of VF's war with the rival Hammerskin group. Known as a VF heavy, Miller offered to fight a Hammerskin who came to disrupt a racist 2009 event in Pensacola, Fla. ▲

THE ★★★ VELVET GLOVE

For years, the League of the South has grown more hard-line. But now, after repeated failures, it's trying a kinder, gentler approach

BY KEEGAN HANKES

AS RECENTLY AS JUNE, Michael Hill, leader of the neo-Confederate League of the South (LOS), thought racist activist Matthew Heimbach was a real swell guy.

Dazzled by Heimbach's scuffle with "violent socialists and communists" at a Washington, D.C., May Day rally, Hill presented the just-graduated founder of the White Student Union at Maryland's Towson University with the LOS' Forrest "First With the Most" Award for aggressive promotion of Southern independence.

"That's the kind of bravery and courage and fortitude and duty that I like to reward," Hill said at the LOS' annual conference in Wetumpka, Ala. A couple of days later, a new LOS promotional video was shown featuring four LOS members, including Heimbach. "We're the hard core of the hard core," one boasts.

A mere four months after that, Heimbach was LOS history.

Heimbach, who already had a long history of consorting with white supremacists, had made a mistake: He had come out openly as a neo-Nazi, allowing himself to be photographed at a September Aryan Terror Brigade event sieg-heiling the camera, and announcing that he intended to give a speech at a November rally of the National Socialist Movement, America's largest neo-Nazi organization.

Heimbach "has apparently decided to cast his lot with Nazis and others who do not represent the traditional South, the Southern Nationalist movement, and The League of the South," Hill wrote in October. He then disinvited Heimbach from an LOS rally and described him, for the first time, as a "former" LOS member.

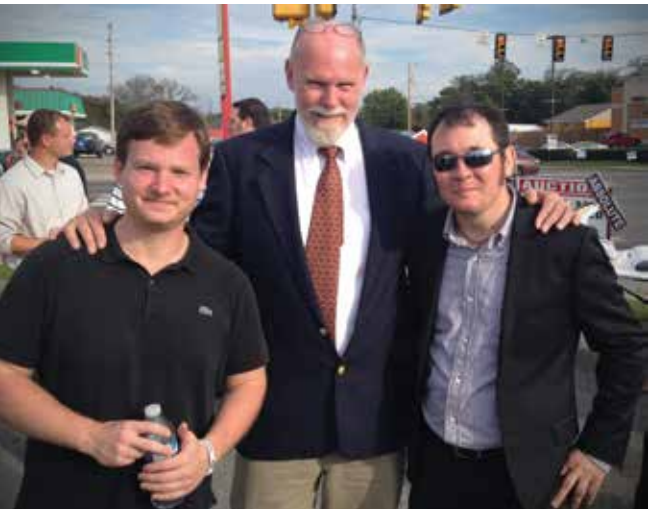
It was a moment that said a lot about the contemporary LOS.

Hill and his LOS are not neo-Nazi — but they have been happy over the years to consort with such people. Just this August and September, Hill granted interviews to the American Nationalist Network, a plainly neo-Nazi radio show. Around the same time, a new chairman took over the LOS' South Carolina chapter — Michael Cushman, a former member of the National Alliance, once the leading neo-Nazi organization in America. And the LOS' longtime Florida leader is Michael Tubbs, a self-described member of the "white Aryan race" who spent four years in prison after prosecutors alleged that he and his brother had robbed a huge cache of guns and explosives from the military to arm their group, Knights of the New Order. Tubbs, they said, had drawn up lists of targets owned by Jews and black people.

But this was different. Heimbach had gone very public.

The LOS has been struggling for years. At around the turn of the millennium, six years after Hill began the organization while still working as an Alabama college professor, the neo-Confederate movement was peaking and Hill claimed to have almost 10,000 members. But the movement has gone downhill since then, with Hill's efforts to build a political machine and start a neo-secessionist movement in the South singularly unsuc-

All gussied up and ready to secede: The "new" League of the South was on display at an August rally in Uvalda, Ga., complete with new flags, dress shirts, smiles and cheerful waves.



League of the South founder Michael Hill, who recently touted group youth leaders Brad Griffin (left) and Michael Cushman, was forced to eject another leadership prospect, Matthew Heimbach, after Heimbach was photographed sieg-heiling at an Aryan Terror Brigade event.

cessful. As evidence emerged of Hill's personal racism and the goals of his LOS — principally, to create a country ruled by "Anglo-Celts," or white people — the intellectuals who peopled his group drifted away. So did many others who initially thought they had simply joined a Southern pride group.

The LOS had moved steadily rightward from the start, going from complaints about the treatment of white Southerners to explicitly advocating secession. It soon began to condemn racial intermarriage, defend segregation and slavery, and openly advocate a white-run theocracy with different rights assigned to different classes of people. Then, after Barack Obama was elected, it grew more militant still.

In 2011, for the first time, Hill urged his members to buy AK-47s, hollow-point "cop-killer" bullets and, most dramatically, "tools to derail trains." The LOS offered training on how to draw down on an opponent. Hill said that the idea that violence solves nothing is a myth, adding that it "does settle many things." Just this July, he complained that there was no place for real Southerners in the GOP.

But none of this seemed to help Hill rebuild his movement. Apparently, this summer, his sagging fortunes finally prompted Hill to make some changes.

At an August demonstration in Uvalda, Ga., the new LOS was on display. The rally was not aimed at creating a new country, but instead merely protested the "demographic displacement" of native Southerners by immigrants, an issue with wide appeal on the right. Supporters were instructed in advance not to wear T-shirts, jeans, or belt buckles or hats with messages, flags or pictures — instead, they were asked to wear button-down dress shirts and belts. They were not allowed to bring signs — those would be provided by the LOS, and only with authorized messages. Most remarkably, supporters were told to leave the Confederate battle flag, long the symbol of the movement, at home. In its place, LOS organizers brought two newly devised flags, representing Georgia secession and southern nationalism.

"Wave," Hill instructed followers, adding that only designated spokesmen would be allowed to speak to reporters, "and give a big, friendly smile!"

Although only about 50 LOS members made it to the rally, it did show some signs of success. That was most obvious in the support the group got from Uvalda Police Chief Lewis Smith, who provided donuts and coffee to the demonstrators and allowed them to use the department's rest room facilities. Hill returned the favor, presenting the congenial chief with the LOS' Robert E. Lee Award for Duty.

Afterward, Cushman, the principal organizer of the event, pronounced the new approach a success on his online Southern Nationalist Network. "The Uvalda model works," he wrote. "Some people on our side doubted that our approach stressing professionalism, normality, using a new symbol and staying on message would work." On the white nationalist American Renaissance website, sympathizer Gregory Hood wrote that LOS events were no longer "just an exercise in nostalgia." Instead, he concluded, "There is at least the potential for growth and the possibility of victory, something that was absent even a few short years ago."

"We wanted to show our many sympathizers that the League if full of normal, ordinary White Southerners," wrote another LOS principal, Brad Griffin.

Cushman and Griffin — a young man from Midway, Ala., who married the daughter of the Gordon Lee Baum, the leader of the hate group Council of Conservative Citizens, this fall — seem to now make up the younger leadership core of the LOS. It appears that it was them who convinced Hill to adopt a kinder, gentler approach to building a racist movement of secessionist Southern whites.

Heimbach at one point seemed destined to join that youthful leadership core. But with the photo of him standing beneath two large swastikas, sieg-heiling with a group of neo-Nazis and Klansmen, that does not seem possible any more.

To many LOS supporters, that's a relief.

"This is the best news I've had all day," Josh Doggrell wrote on a members-only LOS Web forum right after Hill's ejection of Heimbach.

"A necessary step, sadly," Cushman wrote. "He might as well have posed in a Klan uniform next to a burning cross," added Jared Shipley.

"I don't say much to rock the boat," said "Johnny Reb," "but it's a wise step."

Griffin, who knew Heimbach well, pointed out that "[w]e simply cannot form a popular front with the 'Aryan Terror Brigade' and expect to connect with our target audience." But he also said, in words that may say more about the real core of the LOS and its ideology than any others, "I still consider Matt a friend." ▲

FROM FACEBOOK (GRIFFIN, HILL, CUSHMAN); ADL.ORG (HEIMBACH)

'VILLAGE OF THE DAMNED'

IN NORTH DAKOTA, AN AGING ANTI-SEMITE ATTEMPTS THE HOSTILE TAKEOVER OF A TINY TOWN IN THE LATEST BID FOR WHITE SEPARATISTS

BY RYAN LENZ

LEITH, N.D. — He appeared several years ago — a ghost of a man, soft-spoken and elderly with receding wisps of silver hair. He was looking for property to buy, claiming to be nothing more than a quiet intellectual looking for a place where he could do some thinking in his declining years.

He kept to himself, which wasn't odd behavior in the West. With thousands of men and women flocking to North Dakota to get in on the state's oil boom, the residents of Leith — all 16 of them — welcomed their new neighbor by extending the peace and quiet he seemed to so desperately crave.

RYAN LENZ

Craig Cobb, the neo-Nazi who wants to rename Leith "Cobbsville," is known for such activities as spreading sickening videotapes of Russian neo-Nazis beheading immigrants.

JENN ACKERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

"I didn't have a clue who the guy was until he showed up. All I know is he bought that house sight unseen, $5,000 cash, and had no idea what it looked like, where it was, other than he knew the directions to Leith," Mayor Ryan Schock, a farmer, said in August.

That guy was Paul Craig Cobb, a vicious, 61-year-old anti-Semite who has crisscrossed the globe spreading hate toward all people who are not white.

In 2008, Cobb was kicked out of Estonia for hate speech due to the content of his website, a video-sharing service he called Podblanc, and was banned from returning for a decade. A year later, he fled Vancouver, British Columbia, after authorities in Canada began preparing hate crime charges against him. He was in Montana for a time, before heading into North Dakota for work in 2011. It wasn't long afterward that he started asking residents there if they had property for sale.

This August, an *Intelligence Report* investigation found that since 2011, Cobb had purchased a dozen lots in Leith, often for just a few hundred dollars, in preparation for that moment when others would come to build a white homeland.

"I am ready now," he finally wrote on June 10, 2012, on Vanguard News Network (VNN), an anti-Semitic and racist Web forum. "This is an open invitation to all WN [white nationalists] to come and settle in this town."

After that, Cobb's plans moved quickly. Last summer, he "sold" several of his lots (typically, for a symbolic $1) to some of the best-known radical racists now active in the United States. According to county tax and property records, Tom Metzger of Warsaw, Ind., a viciously racist propagandist who heads an outfit called White Aryan Resistance (WAR), took control of a lot last year. So did Alex Linder, who

runs the neo-Nazi VNN forum. Cobb has since donated property to the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM), and in late September, he gave a plot to NSM leader Jeff Schoep, hoping he would one day come and settle in Leith.

Cobb's goals go farther than simply having good, racist neighbors. His is a dream of surrounding himself with enough white nationalists that, one day, they could take over the Leith Town Council, maybe even control Grant County, where Leith is located. Who knew? Maybe one day Cobb would be elected mayor.

News of Cobb's plan has certainly energized the racist right, whose denizens typically believe that they are witnessing the intentional destruction of a white majority in the United States. A dialogue that began on the white supremacist message board White Nations has grown to well over 200 pages long, with Cobb's supporters feverishly determined to see a "takeover" of Leith through.

As Cobb wrote online in September: "The interest and determination of others to make Leith happen is greater than ever. ... [The] Village of The Damned will have to get more damned to get strong willed, alpha Whites to quit."

The Road to Leith

The reality is that Cobb is hardly a quiet intellectual pondering the big questions. For most of his life, he has worked tirelessly to spread mindless animosity toward blacks, Latinos, the LGBT community and, most passionately, Jews.

Bookish and angry, he declined several interview requests from the *Report*. But in an interview with CNN, he defended his views.

"I don't understand why all the different other people don't say 'whitey' is pretty darn nice and clever," he said, beaming and blinking nervously.

A devout follower of Creativity, a once-over-lightly religion founded in 1973 by Ben Klassen, Cobb believes that the Aryan man is tantamount to God, responsible for all creative things in human history. He was long active in Matt Hale's World Church of the Creator, the successor to Klassen's Church of the Creator.

In 2003, Hale was charged with soliciting his security chief to murder U.S. District Judge Joan Humphrey Lefkow, who had ruled against Hale in a copyright case having to do with the group's name, in Chicago. Cobb felt Creativity was under attack — and, indeed, Hale was eventually sentenced to 40 years in federal prison. Cobb publicized Lefkow's home address on the Internet's largest racist message board, Stormfront. Three years later, in 2006, Lefkow's husband and mother were murdered at that address, although the killer, who had earlier lost a case before Lefkow, had no known connection to Cobb or the radical right.

The following year, Cobb headed to eastern Europe and settled in Estonia, where he hoped to build a white supremacist movement. He started a Web page called PodBlanc, a video-sharing service that featured content including combat handgun training, instructions on how to make Molotov cocktails, and sickening videotapes of Russian neo-Nazis beheading immigrants and other atrocities. He extolled "lone wolf" terrorism and was apparently the inspiration for Keith Luke, a mentally disturbed young man from Brockton, Mass., who shot three West African immigrants, killing two of them, on the day after President Obama's inauguration in January 2009.

Writing at the time, Cobb said, "I believe that the Democrat[ic] and Republican criminal syndicates that run the U.S. with international jewry's [sic] criminal syndicate cannot now be stopped."

It wasn't long before Estonian authorities tired of Cobb.

In 2009, two years after his arrival there, he was deemed a threat to public safety and morals and ordered out of the country. He showed up next in Finland before being deported back to Estonia, where he was jailed, released and finally banned from the country. Then, after two years of silence, Cobb resurfaced in Vancouver, where Canadian authorities arrested him on suspicion of the "willful promoting of hatred."

As the *Vancouver Sun* reported at the time, Cobb was temporarily released after his arrest because Canadian hate crime law requires requires the provincial attorney general to approve the charge. He fled to Montana, where a small group of white supremacists had begun to gather. There he teamed up with Zachariah Harp, the son of a former Montana legislator, to show Holocaust denial films at the public library in Kalispell. He was not charged for another six months, and Canadian authorities since have shown no interest in extraditing him.

Emboldened, Cobb boasted that his troubles would not follow him across the border and seemed to taunt the Canadians. "You can find me in the orange easy chair near the elevator" at the library in Kalispell, Mont., he wrote on his blog.

'Cobbsville'

By then, Cobb already had begun inquiring about property in Leith. In June 2012, he took work on a road crew for Border States Paving and bought a tumbledown home without running water or sewerage. He used a wood stove to keep warm through the winter, according to his private posts online.

As residents recalled, he was quiet, spending his free time traveling to nearby Elgin to use the free Wi-Fi at the public library there. He started hunting for properties up for sale, and began buying many of those that were.

Some thought he was a real estate wildcatter, hoping to get in early on land values that were sure to skyrocket as a result of the burgeoning oil industry across western North Dakota. Maybe he was just a quiet man looking for a quiet place.

"I ran into him last year. He was out walking, and I was outside as well. So we introduced ourselves and just chatted. ... He asked if I had property for sale," Leith resident Sherill Harper recounted. "I had no idea what his plans were."

His plans, which had been kept secret, were to take over Leith and build a racially conscious white community, known as a "Pioneer Little Europe" (PLE). Such communities were first proposed in a 2001 pamphlet by H. Michael Barrett and envision consolidating white people in racially homogenous enclaves capable of repelling racial minorities.

In the mid-1980s, the similar idea of carving out a white homeland in the Pacific Northwest was highly popular among neo-Nazis and other white supremacists. The so-called Northwest Territorial Imperative, popularized by neo-Nazi Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler, imagined a whole region peopled by "racially conscious" white people. The idea has reemerged in miniaturized form in the last three years as a way to escape what is seen as a "multiculturalist" agenda at work in racially diverse cities.

Cobb appears to have taken up the concept when he moved to Montana in 2011. There, he found himself surrounded by a small community of racists working to again encourage the migration of whites to the Northwest.

Neo-Nazi April Gaede had earlier moved from California to Montana and issued a call for white nationalists to "come home." She was actively building a PLE around Kalispell, and had some success attracting a few friends. But Cobb soon left with Gaede's husband Mark Harrington, headed for neighboring North Dakota, where an abundance of high-paying jobs connected with the Bakken oil fields were available.

> "I ASKED HIM, 'WHAT IN THE WORLD DO YOU WANT WITH ALL THESE LOTS IN LEITH, NORTH DAKOTA?' AND THAT'S WHEN HE KIND OF GIGGLED AND SAID, 'I'M GOING TO BUY UP THE TOWN AND NAME IT COBBSVILLE.'"

With so few people living in Leith, Cobb daydreamed about the very real possibility that white nationalists could control Leith "post haste" and even take over the county government. He gushed enthusiasm — he had found a home.

In an excited pitch posted last year on the VNN forum, he called white nationalists home to North Dakota.

"There is water, electricity, satellite internet via Hughes at $50 per month, satellite TV from at least 3 companies, trailers, 5th wheels, campers legal, car [insurance] as little as $141 for 6 months and most importantly — a surfeit of very good paying jobs in two different cities," Cobb wrote.

If he could take over the town by populating it with white nationalists, he had a clear idea of what to do next, Murial Ulrich, the Grant County tax director, told the *Report*.

As she remembers, Cobb came into her office to research who owned various lots around town. "I asked him, 'What in the world do you want with all these lots in Leith, North Dakota?'" Ulrich recalled. "And that's when he kind of giggled and said, 'I'm gonna buy up the town and name it Cobbsville.'"

RYAN LENZ

Known for his fondness for large bullets, chainsaws and other implements of destruction, Craig Cobb has moved into a ramshackle house in Leith that has no water or toilet facilities.

FROM PAUL CRAIG COBB FACEBOOK

Under Siege

In the immediate aftermath of the *Report*'s disclosure of Cobb's plans, an aerial photograph of Leith, titled "Cobbsville: Operation Takeover," began circulating the Internet. Patterned after a tactical military map, with an old town gathering hall identified as "Town HQ," a battle was clearly brewing.

"Everybody's wound up," Mayor Schock told *The Bismarck Tribune*.

Groups that had shown no interest in Cobb's plans suddenly became his biggest supporters. Jeff Schoep's NSM, the nation's largest neo-Nazi organization, announced it would visit Leith on a "fact-finding" mission. In a letter addressed to Schock, NSM "commander" Schoep warned residents against standing up to the NSM and Cobb's plans for their hometown.

"Craig Cobb will NOT be ousted from the community," Schoep wrote. "Craig is not breaking any laws or ordinances, and has a right to reside in Leith. ... If anything, you should see this for what it is, a chance at revitalizing a community, and a chance to be neighborly to your new neighbors, and vice versa."

In late September, Schoep arrived in Leith to take possession of a building and plot of land that Cobb had donated to the NSM. Cobb adorned his properties with swastika flags, and a banner on his home read, "Anti-racist is code word for anti-white." The "Mantra," as it is known, has become incredibly popular in racist circles because of the idea that it is a way to defeat allegations of bigotry.

About 400 protesters gathered to counter the NSM presence, including more than 200 American Indians from the nearby Standing Rock Reservation, all shouting slogans like "Go Home" and "No Hate in Our State."

"We will be here again and again until you are gone. This is where it ends, in that crappy white house across the street," one protester, Scott German, bellowed through a megaphone as he pointed to Cobb's house on Main Street.

But Cobb has proven to be a resilient presence. He has threatened to file lawsuits against the city for religious discrimination if officials attempt to oust him. And, with most people in town also sitting on the Town Council, he has threatened lawsuits alleging city-sanctioned discrimination if any resident who sits on the council speaks negatively about his presence in Leith.

Town officials are working to combat his presence, however. They have considered dissolving the town so that Cobb will have no government to take over. Custer Health, a regional health authority that oversees five counties in central North Dakota, has warned Cobb that he cannot continue to live in a home without running water and sewerage. A deadline to bring his home into compliance passed in early October. Authorities now plan to take the matter to court.

It is an ironic twist to the entire saga: that a man who works to exclude others would threaten legal action if the tables turn. That reality is not lost on Sherill Harper, whose husband is the only black resident in town.

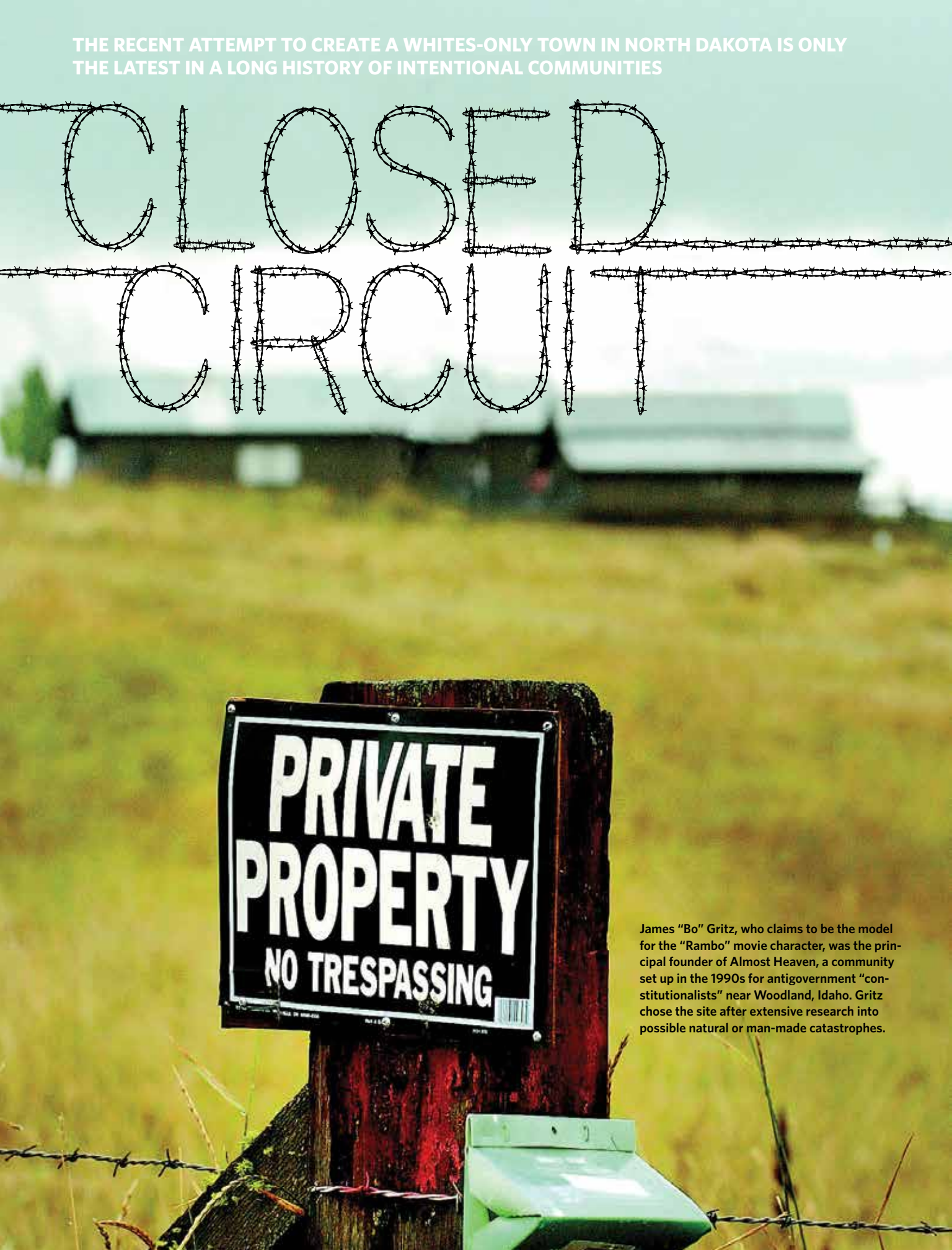
"If his goal is to have only white people here, where do my husband and I go?" Harper said. "Because I know that I would not be welcome."

Harper said she would not wish what Cobb has brought to Leith on any community. And with Cobb's determination to make Leith a success for his racist objectives, she worries that what began with a lie will only get worse.

"He deceived us," Harper said, commenting on Cobb's efforts to conceal his plans for Leith. "But that's been Mr. Cobb's history here from the beginning: deception and turmoil." ▲

THE RECENT ATTEMPT TO CREATE A WHITES-ONLY TOWN IN NORTH DAKOTA IS ONLY THE LATEST IN A LONG HISTORY OF INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

CLOSED CIRCUIT



James "Bo" Gritz, who claims to be the model for the "Rambo" movie character, was the principal founder of Almost Heaven, a community set up in the 1990s for antigovernment "constitutionalists" near Woodland, Idaho. Gritz chose the site after extensive research into possible natural or man-made catastrophes.


Mark Pitcavage

This June, a remarkable story broke about a longtime neo-Nazi named Craig Cobb who had stealthily bought up a dozen properties in the near-ghost town of Leith, N.D., in an effort to take over and create an all-white community (see story, p. 35). The news came as a shock to the residents of Leith — a total of 16 people, according to the last census — and sparked an immediate reaction, including a counter-protest of more than 400 people against Cobb and a small band of his neo-Nazi friends. The Leith story was unusual enough that it made the front page of The New York Times, *but the attempt turns out to have been only the latest in a long series of efforts to create extremist communities, whether based on racism, survivalism, certain kinds of religiosity or other factors. This summer,* ***Mark Pitcavage****, the director of investigative research for the Jewish human rights group Anti-Defamation League, wrote a comprehensive report on such communities, "Home is Where the Bunker Is: Extremist, Survivalist, and Fringe Housing Developments." The* Intelligence Report *interviewed Pitcavage, a longstanding expert on the American radical right, on the history of extremist intentional communities in the United States.*

We've just seen an attempt to create a white supremacist community within the tiny hamlet of Leith, N.D. But this is only the latest in a long history of similar attempts. What are the earliest precedents of this idea?

America has a long tradition of fringe groups trying to form communities of like-minded people. Typically, they have one or more of several motivations: 1) a desire to live with people who think like themselves; 2) a desire to escape hostility and ostracism; or 3) a (typically religious) desire to await some future event, often apocalyptic, or a (more secular) wish to survive some future event, typically catastrophic.

One can think of Puritans coming to America to escape hostility in Great Britain, or Mormons trekking to Utah to escape aggression from non-Mormons. Historically and up to the present day, most such attempts at intentional communities tend to be religious in nature. However, ideologically based planned communities also have a long history. The first noteworthy ones actually involved people leaving the United States: After the end of the Civil War, a fairly large number of disgruntled ex-Confederates, unwilling to live in a South free of slavery, emigrated to "colonies" abroad, primarily in Brazil and Mexico.

Within the United States, one of the early extremist planned communities was William E. Riker's so-called "Holy City," established in California near San Jose after World War I. It was actually a religiously based planned community, with very strong overtones of white supremacy (in fact, during World War II, the federal government charged Riker with sedition, though he was acquitted). Holy City lasted until the 1950s.

What was the next stage in the history of these ideologically based fringe communities?

Two major events occurred after World War II that largely shaped the most important strains of such communities since. The first event was the development of the Cold War, with its fears of nuclear war. This helped bring about the rise of survivalist-oriented communities, some of the earliest being as simple as housing developments with bomb shelters. In ensuing decades, other waves of survivalist communities would follow.

The second event was the success of the civil rights movement, which ended segregation in the United States and made clear once and for all that the nation was committed to the cause of racial and ethnic equality. The main losers in the struggle over civil rights, the hard-core white supremacists, were dismayed at having "lost" America. As a result, some white supremacists began to come up with various schemes for creating all-white or white-dominated societies or communities.

One of the loosest but most enduring such notions was the concept of the Northwest Territorial Imperative (sometimes called the "White American Bastion"), an idea popularized by Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler in the 1970s and 1980s that white supremacists should move to the Pacific Northwest, as Butler himself had, and essentially take over that region of the country (the so-called "10% solution"), which was already predominantly white. These ideas appealed to a number of white supremacists, such as the young Robert Jay Mathews, who had moved to the Pacific Northwest himself and who tried to convince other people to do so, even advertising the notion in extremist publications.

However, although a few white supremacists did move to the Pacific Northwest, it is a vast region and, even though it is sparsely populated, white

KYLE MILLS/AP IMAGES (PRIVATE PROPERTY); CONTRIBUTED (PITCAVAGE)

Interview conducted by Mark Potok.

supremacists collectively are a mere drop in the bucket of its population. So the Northwest Territorial Imperative in the end had no discernible effect.

Leith is the latest manifestation of an attempt to create what white supremacists call "Pioneer Little Europes." Can you explain the development of that idea and how it has played out recently?

The Pioneer Little Europe (PLE) concept was developed primarily by Hamilton Michael Barrett and Mark Cotterill, two white supremacists with both British and American connections, in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Essentially, PLEs recognize that grandiose plans such as the Northwest Territorial Imperative are doomed to failure, because white supremacists exist in too few numbers. The PLE concept argues instead for white supremacists to gather in already existing communities and form communities within a community so that "racially conscious" whites can survive (Barrett once called them "arks of survival"). Non-whites would theoretically depart, leaving white supremacist enclaves whose members would aid and assist each other.

For many years, Barrett has enthusiastically promoted the PLE concept on the white supremacist website Stormfront, winning himself many fans but few people willing to actually form such communities. Over the years, different white supremacists have announced plans to form such communities in Georgia, Idaho, Oklahoma, and elsewhere, but none ever got off the ground.

Despite the claims of some PLEers that there are many "underground" PLEs in the United States, there are hardly any efforts worth mentioning in the U.S. today. There is a tiny effort to create a PLE in La Crescenta, Calif., and a more substantial effort by longtime white supremacist April Gaede to create one in Libby, Mont. She actually has convinced some white supremacists to relocate to that town. Craig Cobb, the white supremacist behind the Leith effort, described the people who moved to Libby as "50% good and 50% crazies."

What other similar efforts have there been in recent years?

There have been quite a few. Some are very small and informal, such as a white supremacist with property who offers part of it to other like-minded people. But some have been more ambitious and organized. One of the longest lasting is Elohim City, a community in a remote area of eastern Oklahoma that is associated with the racist and anti-Semitic religious sect Christian Identity. Its ability to survive can largely be attributed to the heavily religious nature of this particular group of people (more secular extremists have frequently visited the compound only to discover it was definitely not to their tastes).

Another example was the so-called Confederate Colony, planned first for South Carolina then for Lawrenceburg, Tenn. It was started by two men, one associated with the neo-Confederate League of the South and the other with the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens. They wanted to create a gated community to "protect and further our cherished Southern Christian Culture." However, only a handful of families ever actually joined this planned community and it died after a few years. Another white supremacist enterprise, the so-called Church of New Saxon, was started by white supremacist Todd Findley of Bunnell, Fla. Here, too, the concept was a gated community, this time for "European-Americans." But Findley's scheme collapsed due to fraud and he

CARL MYDANS/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES (HOLY CITY AND RIKER); KYLE MILLS/AP IMAGES (ALMOST HEAVEN); JIM MONE/AP IMAGES (GRITZ)

Going their own way: The United States has a long history of extremist intentional communities, including (from left) California's Holy City, led by William E. Riker; Idaho's Almost Heaven, founded by Bo Gritz (with co-founder Jack McLamb); Georgia's Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, led by Dwight York; and Arizona's Fundamentalist Church of Latter-Day Saints, founded by Warren Jeffs.

eventually ended up pleading guilty to several counts of grand theft for accepting people's money without building houses for them.

Several of the projects you just mentioned could also be described as an attempt to create a closed community of religious extremists. Are there other recent examples?

Fringe religious groups continue to be a major source of such intentional communities. Most are essentially benign, but some are problematic or have had connections to ideological extremists. For example, the Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, a syncretic religious sect that combines beliefs from a number of different sources, has had a base in Putnam County, Ga., for about 20 years (including, for some time, a compound, although that was eventually destroyed). The group dates back to the 1970s but since the 1990s has become increasingly involved with the antigovernment "sovereign citizen" movement.

Another example with an even longer history is the Fundamentalist Church of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS), a polygamist Mormon offshoot. Ostracized by Mormons and non-Mormons alike because of their views on polygamy and other issues, FLDS members established their own communities in Utah, Texas, British Columbia [Canada], and elsewhere.

Though very different in many respects, both of these religious communities have very controlling leaders who have ended up in trouble with the law and consequently removed from their followers. Nuwaubian founder Dwight York received a 135-year sentence in 2004 for transporting minors across state lines while sexually molesting them, as well as for racketeering and other charges. FLDS leader Warren Jeffs was convicted in 2011 of two counts of child sexual assault and sentenced to life in prison plus 20 years.

Another type of intentional community could generally be described as antigovernment or survivalist. What are some examples of that?

Right-wing antigovernment/survivalist intentional communities by now have a long history in the United States. They tend to form during times of right-wing resurgency or popular scares about some impending colossal collapse of society. So one of the first waves occurred in the early 1980s, when we had the combined factors of a resurgence of right-wing extremism, an economic crisis, and a fear of a coming "World War III" with the Communist bloc, a fear that helped form the survivalist movement.

We had another wave in the mid- to late-1990s, accompanying a second surge of right-wing extremism combined with, at the end of the decade, a fear of societal collapse because of the "Y2K" computer bug that caused a new wave of survivalism. Several times in 1999, in fact, I was contacted by people from places such as New York and Chicago, who wanted advice about moving to remote areas such as Montana in order to survive the impending collapse of society they anticipated because of Y2K.

One of the more interesting Y2K-related intentional communities was Rivendell, created in Virginia by a group of dominionist Christian conservatives who wanted to survive Y2K and create a dominionist society afterwards. Rivendell survived Y2K, as we all did, but it soon fell apart due to infighting.

The most successful community from the 1990s pre-dated the Y2K panic. This was Almost Heaven, a right-wing housing development created by Bo Gritz, Jack McLamb, and Jerry Gillespie

V.A. BRIDGES JR., ATLANTA JOURNAL CONSTITUTION/AP IMAGES (NUWAUBIAN COMPOUND AND YORK); STEPHAN GLADIEU/GETTY IMAGES; KEN GRIMM/SAN ANGELO STANDARD-TIMES/AP IMAGES (CENTENNIAL PARK)

Neo-Nazi Craig Cobb, who spoke this September in the Town Hall of Leith, N.D., about his plans for the tiny town, is the latest to attempt to form a community of like-minded extremists. Cobb's hostile takeover attempt spurred a major response from a multiracial crowd in September. But an expert says the chance of Cobb succeeding are in any case "vanishingly small."

WILL KINCAID/BISMARK TRIBUNE/AP IMAGES(COBB); KEVIN CEDERSTROM, SPECIAL TO FORUM NEWS SERVICE

near Kamiah, Idaho, in 1994. Several hundred people ended up buying lots and many still live there, though Almost Heaven as a formal or organized community no longer exists.

Idaho is also the planned home of the most ambitious current attempt to build such a planned community, dubbed The Citadel. Ostensibly, The Citadel will be several times the size of Almost Heaven, but walled and fortified. Every adult resident will be required to own an assault rifle, while "Marxists, Liberals and Establishment Republicans" are not welcome. But the odds of it actually getting off the ground are low.

Do these kinds of communities present special dangers, either of violence or in other ways? Should we be concerned?

Communities like these warrant moderate concern. Extremists based in such communities have, from time to time, come out to commit criminal acts. For example, several residents of Almost Heaven ended up being convicted for crimes such as constructing pipe bombs and plotting to blow up a propane tank farm. A few such communities, especially tightly controlled religious ones, may also pose a danger to some of their own residents. But many of these planned communities never even successfully form in the first place and most of the ones that do form do not last long. Overall, they have an abysmal track record.

Why do these groups have so little success? Is there any chance, in your opinion, of the Leith project coming to anything?

Planned communities fail for lots of reasons. The main reason attempts even to form them fail is because it is hard to convince someone to pack up their families and belongings and move to a remote area far away with few prospects. Even if the spirit is willing, the flesh will often be weak. Far more people vocalize support for such communities than ever participate in them. The religiously oriented communities have a better record in this regard, especially if their worldview is rather apocalyptic or if they have a very charismatic leader.

However, even if such a community forms, it is very vulnerable. It is vulnerable to infighting, to defections, to untenable geographic locations, as well as to outside pressures and stresses (think of Jonestown as the ultimate example of a planned community catastrophically imploding as a result of all of these factors). And those communities that form for apocalyptic or survivalist reasons may lose heart if their expected events do not occur.

The odds of Craig Cobb's Leith project amounting to anything are vanishingly small. The area is not particularly geographically and meteorologically hospitable, it is very remote from the vast majority of the population of the United States, the properties Cobb has purchased are typically not in good condition, and Cobb himself has a way of sooner or later alienating virtually anyone who comes into contact with him, even fellow white supremacists. Moreover, there is no guarantee that Cobb will even be there in a few years — he is quite peripatetic, never staying in one place for very long.

Cobb has been at his pet project for well over a year now and has no success he can boast of, despite having practically given away properties to several prominent extremists in an attempt to exploit their names in his marketing of the concept to other extremists. The best thing that could have ever happened to him was that *The New York Times* decided to write an article about him, which gave him loads of free publicity. Yet even despite this, it is still hard to imagine Cobb achieving even modest success in this racist endeavor. ▲

END GAME

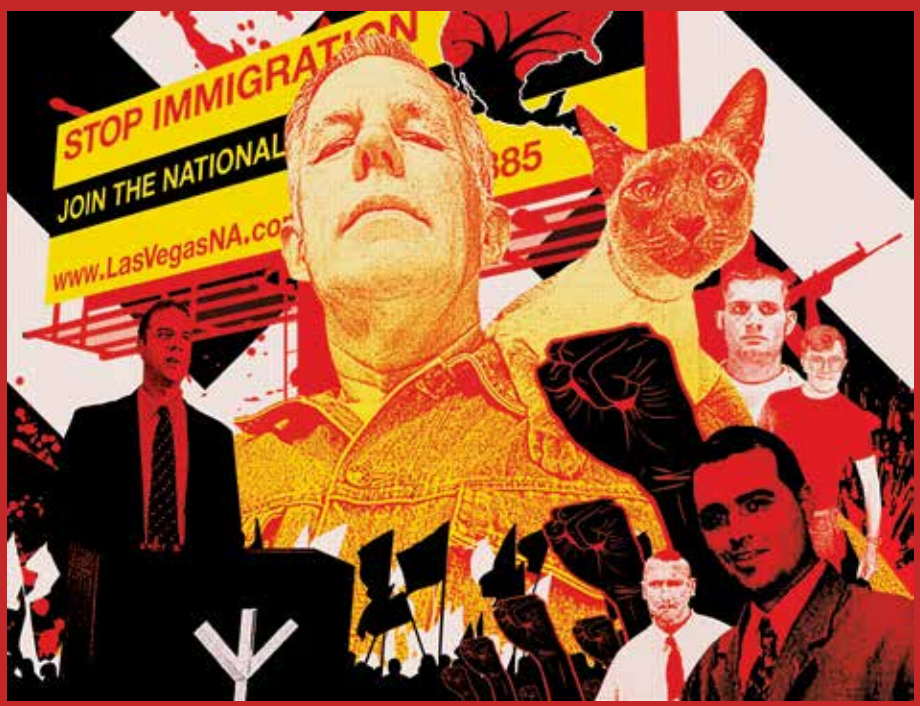
The National Alliance, once the dominant neo-Nazi group in the United States, shows new symptoms of imminent demise

BY MARK POTOK

In the latest sign of rapidly approaching death, the leader of the National Alliance (NA) has announced that the group that a decade ago dominated the U.S. neo-Nazi scene has ceased to function as a membership organization.

NA Chairman Erich Gliebe told his few remaining members in a Sept. 6 letter that he had decided, after consulting with the NA's board of directors, to end the system of dues-paying members organized into units around the country. Instead, Gliebe said he was converting the NA to a "supporter-based" group, and portrayed this as a "step forward for the organization" leading to a "brighter future."

"The membership concept has brought us more trouble than benefits, and without members we will not be such an easy target for hostile elements,"

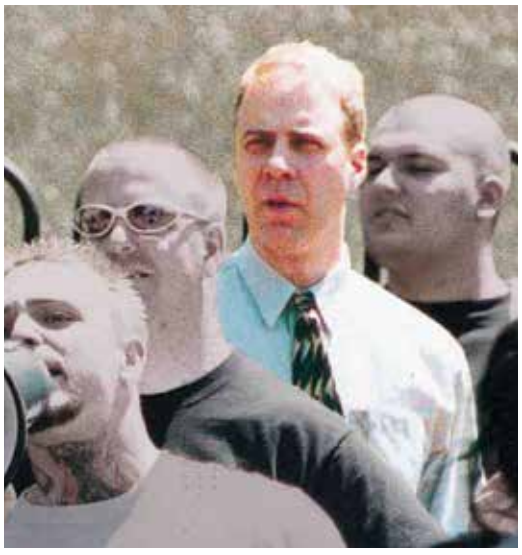


SEAN MCCABE

Gliebe wrote in an apparent reference to members convicted of murders, arson and any number of other criminal activities over the years. "For far too long, people with serious character flaws have applied for membership, and in 2013 we cannot afford to let even one slip through into our ranks. This decision was based on the long-term best interests and security of the National Alliance and its members."

Virtually no one took those words at face value.

Many former followers and NA admirers assumed that Gliebe was simply covering up the embarrassing fact that the once-powerful group has almost no members, financing or other support left. But what seemed far more likely was that Gliebe's was a defensive move, taken after Canadian lawyers challenging a major bequest left to the NA cited a long history of NA criminality. Gliebe had responded in his own court filing that some of those cited were no longer members, but his decision to end membership entirely seemed aimed at neutralizing the threat.



Fractured alliance: The resignation last year of Sacramento, Calif., unit leader Jim Ring (with son Connor) dramatized widespread contempt within the neo-Nazi National Alliance for Erich Gliebe, the group's national chairman.

In any event, Gliebe's announcement was only the latest stage in a precipitous decline that began in 2002, when NA founder William Pierce died unexpectedly of cancer. Gliebe was appointed to succeed Pierce, and almost immediately began alienating members with his abrasive personality and management style, his poor financial stewardship, his marriage to a stripper, and a host of other issues.

"Unreal!" one poster wrote in September on the Vanguard News Network (VNN), a neo-Nazi Web forum. "The double-talking Gliebe talking out of both sides of his mouth. What is he going to put out next? 'War is peace,' or 'freedom is slavery?' The only thing remaining incomprehensible about this is that there are still people out there that continue to send in money to this shyster and clown."

Jim Ring, arguably the most influential and respected member until he quit the NA in frustration last year, sounded similar in a post on his own website. With NA membership "plummeting toward zero," Ring wrote, Gliebe and his board "have found a unique face-saving way to deal with the embarrassment; that is to declare that they don't want any members anyway." "However," Ring added, "in Gliebe's Alliance some things never change. ... He still wants your money. Membership dues are now simply donations," a reference to Gliebe's request that former members continue to send in "donations" in the same amount as their previous dues.

The decline of the NA, which under Pierce enjoyed immense prestige on the American and European radical right, has been stunning. In 2002, it had some 1,400 highly disciplined members, 17 full-time salaried national staffers, and about $1 million a year in income from dues and its white-power music label, Resistance Records. By the time of Gliebe's letter, the group had fewer than 75 members, most of whom didn't pay dues any more. Its West Virginia headquarters compound had fallen into physical disarray, with Gliebe recently selling off logging rights to try to earn some money. And Resistance Records and the NA's once-robust publishing operation had virtually ceased offering new content or turning a profit.

Over the years, Gliebe has presided over a series of splits that saw the exodus of hundreds of members. He has been embarrassed by revelations about his fondness for strippers and his former wife's accusations of "deviant sexual behavior." He has alienated almost all of his former supporters through abrasiveness or neglect, and he has drawn widespread scorn for refusing to live in West Virginia.

In the last year, things have gone from bad to worse.

In October 2012, key members like the Californian Jim Ring and Robert Ransdell, the group's Cincinnati coordinator, quit after unsuccessfully pleading with Gliebe to step down. Pierce's brother, Sanders Pierce, left in March. Another shock to members came when the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) revealed in June that Gliebe had quietly put 289 acres of the NA's 346-acre compound up for sale, asking $699,000. And fellow neo-Nazis reported that Gliebe had also sold William Pierce's gun collection, using the proceeds for purposes that remain unclear.

This September, the *American Free*

Bedeviled bequest: The late Robert McCorkill left an estate worth some $160,000 to the National Alliance, but a court case in Canada could prevent that money from ever getting to the group, whose West Virginia compound has fallen into disrepair in recent years.

Press, an anti-Semitic tabloid published by a man who was once a Pierce ally but later feuded with him, ran a devastating wrap-up on the NA's situation. Its lead sentence said it all: "The National Alliance (NA), once the best-financed and best-organized white nationalist organization of its kind in the United States, is now on the verge of extinction." It added that "Gliebe has been referred to by fellow members as uncharismatic, incompetent, a poor leader — even a thief" and said it doubted even "a handful" of members remained.

At one point, some members were even outraged when NA mail came to them adorned with Black History Month postage stamps — a real no-no for Nazis.

There remains one possible lifeline for the NA, but it is in jeopardy. In June, the SPLC revealed that Canadian NA member Robert McCorkill had left a major bequest to the NA that included a collection of ancient Greek and Roman coins, some of them gold, among other artifacts. The bequest is estimated to be worth about $250,000, which after taxes and other debts comes to some $160,000.

But shortly after that story broke, McCorkill's sister, saying she did not want to see the coin collection going to the United States or any money going to a neo-Nazi group, went to court to dispute the bequest. Two Canadian human rights groups representing Jews — B'nai Brith Canada and the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs — soon intervened on the sister's behalf, as did the provincial attorney general in New Brunswick, where the case is being litigated. At an early hearing, a judge enjoined the transfer of any funds until the case is decided this fall.

Canadian law includes a relatively broad interpretation of the "public good" that could result in the courts disallowing a bequest meant to benefit a neo-Nazi organization. Canadian attorney Pamela MacEachern has cited a case in which the Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that a bequest left to set up a scholarship fund for "white Christians" was not legal. The court altered the bequest to set up a fund open to all Canadians. "The court found that in this case the trust was so at odds with today's social values as to make its continued operation in its present form inimical to the public interest," MacEachern wrote in summarizing the case.

It seems likely that Gliebe's ending of membership is related to the Canadian case — an attempt to get rid of the members that he said in his September letter have made the NA "such an easy target for hostile elements." An affidavit from the SPLC filed in the Canadian case earlier spells out the history of criminal activities by NA members in exhaustive detail. In his own affidavit, Gliebe responds to that by denying that certain people were members, saying he had no records of others' memberships, and claiming that still others had left long ago. He describes the SPLC affidavit as a disingenuous "attempt to inject the past into the present."

Even if Gliebe were to win the case, many past supporters don't think it would help resuscitate the NA. "If Eric[h] gets the loot, he will be living large," Donald E. Pauly wrote on the VNN forum in August. "Erika [Gliebe's former wife] will get her child support and everyone will live happily ever after except for the present and past members. The quicker the organization is put out of its misery the better."

Jim Ring, writing on his own website, was harsher. "There is no greater miscreant," he said in words that could have come from a great many former NA members, "than this piece of filth who has betrayed Dr. Pierce's *Our Cause*." ▲

FOR THE RECORD

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed here are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the almost 260,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2012 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the third quarter of 2013. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents.

CALIFORNIA

Davis • Sept. 18, 2013
Clayton Daniel Garzon, 20, pled no contest to a felony count of battery causing serious bodily injury and a hate crime enhancement for yelling anti-gay slurs at a gay man and beating him in March. Garzon will receive a five-year prison term.

Tracy • July 1, 2013
Landscaping rocks in the shape of a swastika were left in the front yard of a black city councilwoman.

CONNECTICUT

Milford • July 8, 2013
Fliers from the United Klans of America were left in driveways and yards.

FLORIDA

Tampa • Sept. 12, 2013
Burned pages of the Quran were left outside the Council on American-Islamic Relations office.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • July 6, 2013
A group of at least 10 people allegedly kicked and punched a lesbian couple. Terry Glover, 24, was charged with two counts of felony hate crime and two counts of felony robbery in connection with the incident.

IOWA

Ottumwa • July 11, 2013
Ku Klux Klan fliers were left outside homes and businesses.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans • Aug. 3, 2013
An anti-gay epithet was painted on a gay activist's residence.

MARYLAND

Sharpsburg • Sept. 7, 2013
Eight members of the Ku Klux Klan group the Confederate White Knights held a rally at a national park that contains a Civil War battlefield.

MISSISSIPPI

Meridian • July 10, 2013
A noose was hung outside the office of a black mayoral candidate.

NEW JERSEY

Mount Holly • Sept. 8, 2013
Fliers from the white nationalist group the Advanced White Society were distributed in a neighborhood.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • Aug. 7, 2013
Swastikas, racist epithets and the words "Heil Hitler" were scrawled on a statue of black baseball legend Jackie Robinson and a teammate outside a minor league baseball stadium.

Harlem • Aug. 15, 2013
Islan Nettles, a 21-year-old transgender woman, was beaten, allegedly by a man shouting anti-gay slurs. Nettles died of her injuries on Aug. 23. A 20-year-old man was arrested in connection with the incident.

New York • July 1, 2013
Two men allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs at a group of LGBT youth on a subway train.

New York • Aug. 14, 2013
Two men who were holding hands on the street were allegedly beaten by men who made anti-gay remarks. On Sept. 17, Antonio Lanier, 23, was charged with aggravated harassment and assault as a hate crime for allegedly participating in the attack.

NORTH DAKOTA

Fargo • Aug. 28, 2013
Dominique Jason Flanigan, also known as Kadafi Al Sadar, 41, was arraigned on two counts of transmitting threatening communications and one count of interference with a federally protected activity for allegedly calling a synagogue in January 2011 and leaving a threatening message he claimed was from Hamas.

OHIO

Blacklick • July 8, 2013
Swastikas and racist graffiti were spray-painted on four residences and a vehicle.

Dayton • July 9, 2013
A man standing outside a cafe was allegedly punched and kicked by another man who yelled anti-gay epithets.

Toledo • July 9, 2013
Alleged neo-Nazi Richard Schmidt, 47, pled guilty to possession of firearms and body armor by a convicted felon and trafficking in counterfeit goods for illegally having a cache of weapons and counterfeit merchandise.

OREGON

Portland •Aug. 21, 2013
After a months-long drug and weapons investigation, law enforcement raided two triplex units that were allegedly a central location for members of the white supremacist gangs the European Kindred, Brood and FBK. James Dean Phillips, 45; Jesse Jerome Phillips, 34; Sarah Dunn, 32; Danielle Palen, 22; Jamie Coleman, 43; Kenneth Wellman, 48; Anthony Staggs, 42; and Joshua Ryan Sparks, 35, were arrested on a variety of charges.

PENNSYLVANIA

Reading • Aug. 27, 2013
Fliers from the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways.

Upper St. Clair • Aug. 25, 2013
Fliers from the white nationalist group the Advanced White Society were left in yards.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Summerville • Aug. 16, 2013
Anti-Semitic and racist fliers were left at residences in a neighborhood that is allegedly experiencing racial problems.

VIRGINIA

Danville • Aug. 30, 2013
Fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways.

Fairfax • July 6, 2013
A man allegedly threw a balloon apparently filled with urine at a 12-year-old black youth and yelled racial epithets at him.

Richmond • July 27, 2013
The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on an abandoned house.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • July 24, 2013
A racial slur was spray-painted on a black man's car, which was then set afire. ▲

Klan Klowns

Named after one of most violent Klans in history, a new Alabama group strives to show that it opposes racism. Seriously

BY LEAH NELSON

The Ku Klux Klan is proud of its traditions. White robes. Fiery crosses. Titles like "Grand Cyclops" and "Imperial Wizard." Klanta Klaus (really) at Christmas. And, more recently, farcical PR stunts aimed at proving that Klan groups are not, in fact, racist.

On Aug. 31, John Abarr, a Montana kleagle (that's Klanspeak for recruiter) for the Alabama-based United Klans of America, or UKA, met at a Casper, Wyo., hotel with local representatives of the NAACP.

At the meeting, Abarr denounced reported attacks on interacial couples in nearby Gillette, Wyo., as hate crimes. He also reportedly said that "a certain amount of segregation is a good thing" and that he opposes interracial marriage "because we want white babies." As to the Klan's appeal, he explained, "I like it because you wear robes, and get out and light crosses, and have secret handshakes. ... I sort of like it that people think I'm some sort of outlaw."

National NAACP officials distanced themselves from the unprecedented event — but Abarr reportedly described it as "awesome."

This was not Abarr's first rodeo. In 1989, at age 19, he worked as campaign manager for the white nationalist founder of the American Freedom Party (formerly American Third Position), William Daniel Johnson, who wished to deport any American with an "ascertainable trace of Negro blood." At the time, Abarr told a reporter that the Klan was "basically a civil rights organization that stands up for the rights of white people."

The Klan group with which Abarr is currently affiliated is a pathetic millennial reboot of what was once a serious domestic threat. In its prime, the United Klans of America was responsible for, among other things, the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, Ala., which resulted in the deaths of four little girls in 1963. The original UKA dissolved after it was sued by the Southern Poverty Law Center in the 1980s, but in June 2011, longtime white nationalist Bradley Jenkins of Ashland, Ala., (now the UKA's self-proclaimed imperial wizard) registered a domain name and attempted a comeback.

Jenkins, like Abarr, dreams of rehabilitating the Klan's image. To this end, his UKA website — in addition to predictable gripes about immigrants and African Americans — denounces the famously gay-bashing Westboro Baptist Church as a "hate group" against which "patriots" with "true Christian values" must "crusade." In 2012, Jenkins told *Vice* magazine that other groups that use the Klan name are just "nigger-hating rednecks," while the UKA consists of "educated men who are sick and tired of our country getting crapped on." He said that 2013 would be "the year that people realize the Klan is not a huge hate organization." (We'll give him one point for honesty — the Klan today is definitely not huge.)

Jenkins' efforts to prove his point were nothing if not amusing. In late February, as Klansmen and other white nationalists vowed to rally in Memphis to protest the City Council's decision to rename three Memphis parks that honored the Confederacy (including one named after Nathan Bedford Forrest, the first national leader of the KKK), Jenkins took a stand.

"How can that be for others arguing over the name of a park inside a city that made the decision to rename it?" he told a Memphis news station in his stilted way. "We will stand resolute with the citizens of Memphis ... and anyone in town, no matter what color they be, because hate and racism has no place."

Jenkins found an ally in Dajuan Horton, a member of the Grape Street Crips, an African-American street gang in Memphis. In an interview with local reporters, Horton said he would dodge racist protesters' "blows" and return them with a "hug." Jenkins vowed to stand with him.

As it happened, it rained. Protesters vastly outnumbered Klansmen and their racist allies, and Horton didn't show. "It would be nice to take a stand, but ... it's raining," he told *Vice*.

UKA efforts to rehabilitate the Klan infuriated commenters on Stormfront, the Internet's leading white nationalist forum. Referencing Jenkins' proposed alliance with the Grape Street Crips and Abarr's meeting with the NAACP, a commenter who identified as a member of the Traditionalist White Knights wrote, "This new 'uka' is nothing more than a joke. The leadership of this group is a media junkie that is desperately trying to get attention." On WhiteReference.com, another disgruntled racist observed — accurately — that the "'White Power Movement' is one big FUBAR mess." ▲

ALAN ROGERS/AP WIDEWORLD

The Klan's Kool: Klan leader John Abarr thinks his organization is appealing because "you wear robes ... light crosses, and have secret handshakes."

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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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Intelligence Files
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