



PLUS HATE GROUP MAP & LISTING INSIDE

SPECIAL ISSUE Intelligence Report

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AFTER FOUR YEARS OF SPECTACULAR GROWTH, THE RADICAL RIGHT BEGINS TO SHRINK

A Leaner, Meaner Radical Right

BY MARK POTOK

As many as 20 million unarmed “Patriots” are coming to Washington, D.C., this spring to oust President Obama and top Congressional leaders, try the offending politicians, and return America to constitutional rule.

Or so says retired Army Col. Harry Riley, the organizer of the latest radical rally aimed at taking the president down. Riley told far-right radio host Pete Santilli in January that “about 1.8 million militia mem-

bers across the nation” had already “signed up” to participate in “Operation American Spring” on May 16.

While Riley’s predictions are certainly inflated, the rally is just the latest manifestation of a radical right that remains at historically high levels. A new count by the Southern Poverty Law Center shows that hate groups like the Klan and antigovernment “Patriot” groups that see the federal government as an enemy of American liberty actually

declined from 2012 to 2013, by 7% and 19%, respectively. But with a total of more than 2,000 groups, the radical right today still has almost twice as many groups as it did at an earlier peak some two decades ago.

Several factors contributed to the decline in the number of radical-right groups in 2013: an improving economy, shock and dismay at the re-election of Obama, law enforcement crackdowns, and, perhaps most importantly, co-optation of the far right’s issues by mainstream politicians. At the same time, the movement seemed to grow more hard-line as less committed and more moderate members fell away.

Violence is still one of its hallmarks. As we detail in this issue, last year saw a New York Klansman charged with trying to build a deadly X-ray weapon to murder huge crowds of Muslims. A member of a racist prison gang disguised as a pizza deliveryman assassinated the head of the Colorado prison system on his own doorstep. An Army private in Georgia pleaded guilty to two murders in furtherance of his secret group’s plans to violently take over the government. A so-called “sovereign citizen” in Las Vegas was charged with plotting to kidnap, try and execute police officers.

Moreover, the primary driver of the radical right over the past decade — the backlash over the country’s changing demographics — is still very much in play.

Significant numbers of Americans feel their whole way of life is slipping away in a country that is expected to lose its white majority within the next three decades. For them, Obama symbolizes the changing face of the country in a vivid way. At the same time, the far right is losing on a large number of other fronts as well, from the legalization of same-sex marriage to national health care reform to an array of other issues. It is often precisely when the extreme right starts to lose the battle for public opinion that frustrated radicals decide the time for action has come and turn to violence.

Harry Riley’s promise of millions appearing in Washington to kick off an effective coup d’état in the style of Egyptian rebels might seem like a bit of a joke, certainly in terms of the numbers predicted. But the fact that the radical right has lost some steam does not mean that millions of Americans don’t still sympathize with its ideas and even its methods. A poll last year found that almost one in three registered American voters think armed rebellion may soon be necessary.

Riley, a Floridian who retired from military intelligence more than 20 years ago, also has the backing of a growing number of mainstream enablers.

Two of the latter are former Fox News personalities, says *Mother Jones* magazine: Erik Rush, a former Fox analyst who has called Obama “a subversive, a saboteur, an Islamist-enabler and a Marxist,” and retired Gen. Paul Vallely, a one-time military analyst who has said he would head an anti-Obama revolution if need be. Other vocal supporters include Jim Garrow, a conspiracy theorist who claims Obamacare legalized execution by guillotine, and Steve Eichler, the TeaParty.org CEO who decries Obama’s “twisted agenda for a New World Order.”

Riley’s rally is only the latest in Washington meant to throw out our nation’s first black president. Similar attempts, each billed as a nonviolent effort to return the country to constitutional rule, were led by Larry Klayman of Freedom Watch last November and by a group of right-wing truck drivers in October. None has drawn a major crowd, but they nevertheless focused participants’ fury on the president.

How many people show up at the rally is very much in question. But as with the larger radical right, the problem lies not so much in numbers as in their attitude. Riley has predicted that the government will not hesitate to use armed force on those who attend and that so-called Patriots may be killed, wounded or sent to prison.

It’s hard not to worry that some will actually believe him. ▲



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For years, the radical right has been plugging the idea that a toothless United Nations sustainability plan is really part of a conspiracy to impose socialism on liberty-loving Americans. In Baldwin County, Ala., these groundless fears resulted in feckless politicians killing an award-winning comprehensive development plan.

COVER ART BY SEAN MCCABE

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39 The Year in Hate and Extremism

After four years of stunning growth, the number of groups on the American radical right dropped significantly for the first time in 2013. The decline in hate groups and, especially, antigovernment "Patriot" groups was driven by a legal crackdown, the failure of various nightmarish radical predictions to materialize, the co-opting by politicians of the extreme right's issues, and the re-election of President Obama.

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18 Financing Hate

Hate groups in America, for the most part, are severely underfinanced and often struggle to find ways to support their activities. But large numbers are using PayPal to sell their products and accept donations, generating fees for that firm, and some are also making significant commissions by advertising Amazon.com's products.



21 The Little Führer

Matthew Heimbach started out small, chalking white power slogans on the sidewalks of his university and annoying fellow students and professors. But in the last year, he has plunged into full-fledged neo-Nazism, causing some on the radical right to abandon him but others to see him as the future face of white nationalism.

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Larry Klayman is known for an endless barrage of lawsuits targeting his political enemies. But his attempt last fall to oust President Obama fell seriously flat.



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Joseph Paul Franklin was America's most notorious racist serial killer. But shortly before he was put to death last November, he announced a major change of heart.



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Sociologist Pete Simi, who has conducted 17 years of fieldwork with radical-right extremists, discusses why people join hate groups and how they come to leave.

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

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The world hadn't heard much in recent years from Tila Tequila, a minor celebrity of yesteryear. But then she began to write of the Hitler she loves, and why.

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

The Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) welcomes law enforcement inquiries regarding radical right extremists and hate groups. Please direct questions during normal business hours to Laurie Wood via the SPLC's general number, (334) 956-8200.





['ARYAN' SEPARATISM]

N.D. Takeover Attempt in Shambles as Activist Lands in Jail

It's been a bad few months for the man who would be mayor.

Longtime neo-Nazi Craig Cobb spent much of 2012 and 2013 quietly buying up a dozen properties in tiny Leith, N.D., in the hope of moving in fellow white supremacists, turning the town into an all-white enclave, and renaming the place that the last census says had a mere 16 residents "Cobbville."

But then the Southern Poverty Law Center and *The Bismarck Tribune* broke the story, and in late August it landed on the front page of *The New York Times*. From there, after Cobb's five minutes of fame, it all went south.

Cobb was fired from his Border States Paving job. A fellow white supremacist who had moved into Cobb's ramshackle house

was yanked from a City Council meeting after what the *Tribune* characterized as a "venomous drunken tirade" so foul-mouthed that parents fled with their children's ears covered.

Two weeks later, the City Council approved a uniform building code, including new sewer and water requirements, that would force Cobb to spend a small fortune to make his properties legally inhabitable.

And Cobb made the hard-to-believe decision to go on NBC's "The Trisha Goddard Show" after submitting to a DNA test. There, in front of a delighted audience, Goddard opened the envelope to reveal that Cobb was "86% European and 14% sub-Saharan African." A dismayed Cobb muttered later that even if it were true,

he could still work as "a border guard for the purebreds."

When Cobb returned to Leith, he found his house vandalized with anti-racist graffiti. He and housemate Kynan Dutton responded by marching around town with long guns, threatening and cursing residents. Dutton's proud girlfriend conveniently filmed their strut, but that video was seized as evidence to support the seven felony charges of terrorizing rapidly leveled against the men.

After bail was initially denied them, Cobb went on a hunger strike, offering to leave North Dakota and even the country if only the authorities would drop the charges that could bring him 35 years.

There were no takers. Instead, Cobb was sent off for mental evaluation.

Neo-Nazi Craig Cobb, helped along by housemate Kynan Dutton and his girlfriend Deborah Henderson (inset), wanted to create an "Aryan" enclave in Leith, N.D. In the end, it all came to nothing.

Visit intelligencereport.org for more information on the state of hate in America.

Through it all, the highly obnoxious Cobb managed to drive off a series of court-appointed lawyers. At press time, he was on his fourth.

At the same time, the city was moving to demolish his home under the new building code. “Tomorrow wouldn’t be soon enough,” Mayor Ryan Schock said.

With her boyfriend Dutton in jail and herself living alone in Cobb’s house without heat or water, an unhappy Deborah Henderson told the *Tribune* that she and her three kids would like nothing better than to depart Leith.

“The Leith movement is over,” she sighed, adding that she was living on welfare, didn’t have the money to go home, and was being subjected to mean comments by locals. “There is no more white enclave,” she said.

[LAW ENFORCEMENT STATISTICS]

FBI Reports Major Fall in Hate Crimes, But Numbers Deceive

At first blush, the 2012 national hate crime statistics reported in November by the FBI would seem to be remarkably good news. The total number of hate crimes was down 7% from the prior year, and they were also down in every major category, including

anti-black, anti-LGBT, anti-Jewish, anti-Latino and anti-Muslim.

But those numbers are utterly deceiving.

In fact, after years of increasing participation in the voluntary reporting program, the percentage of the population covered by law enforcement agencies that did report plunged to its lowest level since 1995, just 79% of Americans. As a direct result of that drastically lower participation, the 2012 total of 5,796 hate crimes was the lowest since 1991, the year the FBI began to report hate crime statistics.

The number of reporting agencies had slowly climbed over the last 20 years as more and more law enforcement officials underwent hate crime training and national leaders urged them to participate, going from 6,181 agencies in 1992 to 14,575 in 2011. But that number fell to 13,022 agencies in 2012, with two states — Hawaii and New Jersey — failing to make any hate crime report to the FBI at all. That works out to 72% of the 17,985 law enforcement agencies in America.

The lower participation seemed to reflect a diminishing official interest in hate crimes training and prevention. Although government backing was strong in the late 1990s, support had dried up by 2009, when the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) ended its trainings. Similarly, the Southern Poverty

Law Center, which had offered a free online course in cooperation with FLETC and California State University, ended its program in 2008 due to dwindling enrollment.

This apparent lack of interest and focus on hate crimes is worrying, not least because the FBI statistics have long been known to vastly underestimate the number of hate crimes. That is not because the FBI, which simply compiles figures provided by the states, is making any error. As recent Department of Justice studies have made clear, more than half of hate crimes are never reported to police at all, and the majority of those that are reported are miscategorized as other kinds of crimes.

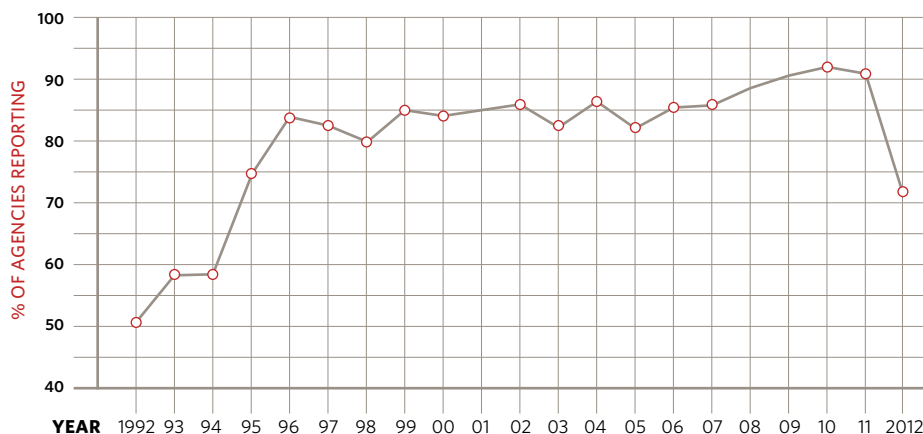
According to those studies, which were conducted on the basis of major surveys of the population rather than hate crimes reported by police, the real annual number of hate crimes in America in the last few years has been almost 260,000. That means there are 25 to 40 times more U.S. hate crimes than the FBI numbers, which have ranged from about 6,000 to about 10,000 a year, suggest.

If one averaged that total over the 50 states, they would be expected to have more than 5,000 hate crimes each, varying, of course, according to the size of their populations. In fact, the state numbers reported by the FBI for 2012 are often vastly lower, with,

for example, two crimes in Wyoming and four each in Louisiana and New Mexico. States with good reporting systems like California and New York do much better, reporting 1,089 and 741 hate crimes, respectively, for 2012.

U.S. AGENCIES REPORTING HATE CRIMES

The percentage of America’s law enforcement agencies reporting hate crimes to the FBI has climbed unsteadily since the collection of statistics began. But last year, that percentage fell off drastically, damaging efforts to track a major national social problem.



[DOMESTIC TERRORISM]

Alleged LAX Shooter Carried Note with 'Patriot' References

The 23-year-old man who allegedly killed a TSA official and wounded four other people at Los Angeles International Airport was carrying a manifesto that referred to the NWO, or New World Order, the Federal Reserve and "fiat currency," according to a knowledgeable source with ranking law enforcement contacts.

Paul Anthony Ciancia, who was shot and critically wounded during the Nov. 1 attack but recovered sufficiently to be released from a hospital 18 days later, also verbally attacked former Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Janet Napolitano, who had stepped down from her job in August. Ciancia's note called her a "bull dyke" and contained the phrase "FU Janet Napolitano," the source said.

Although there were many reported signs that Ciancia was mentally ill, his language and references seemed to put him squarely in the conspiracy-minded world of the antigovernment "Patriot" movement. The New World Order refers to a longstanding conspiracy theory that today, in its most popular iteration, claims that global elites are plotting to form a socialistic "one-world government" that would crush American freedoms. Often, the root of the alleged conspiracy is traced to the 1913 creation of the Federal Reserve, America's central bank, and the adoption of fiat currency — paper money not backed by gold, as it once was in the U.S.

So-called Patriots increasingly see the DHS, which

produces intelligence assessments of extremists that are distributed to other law enforcement agencies, as an enemy and even a collaborator in the New World Order conspiracy. Many believe DHS has targeted their movement and is somehow connected to the alleged construction of concentration camps by the Federal Emergency Management Agency. The purported camps are thought to be intended for those Americans who resist a coming seizure of their guns by agents of the New World Order.

The TSA, short for Transportation Security Administration, is an agency of DHS that is charged with ensuring the security of public transportation, notably air transportation. Several news organizations reported that Ciancia's note also referred to his desire to kill "TSA and pigs." Witnesses said Ciancia asked people at the airport if they were TSA employees and, if they replied no, moved on.

The *Intelligence Report* has found no indication that Ciancia was involved in any radical groups, including Patriot groups. But his alleged attack came at a time when the Patriot movement has been growing by leaps and bounds, from some 149 groups in 2008 to 1,096 in 2013, the latest count, according to the SPLC.

[BLACK RACISM]

'Irritated Genie,' Race-War Enthusiast, Finally Leaves DHS

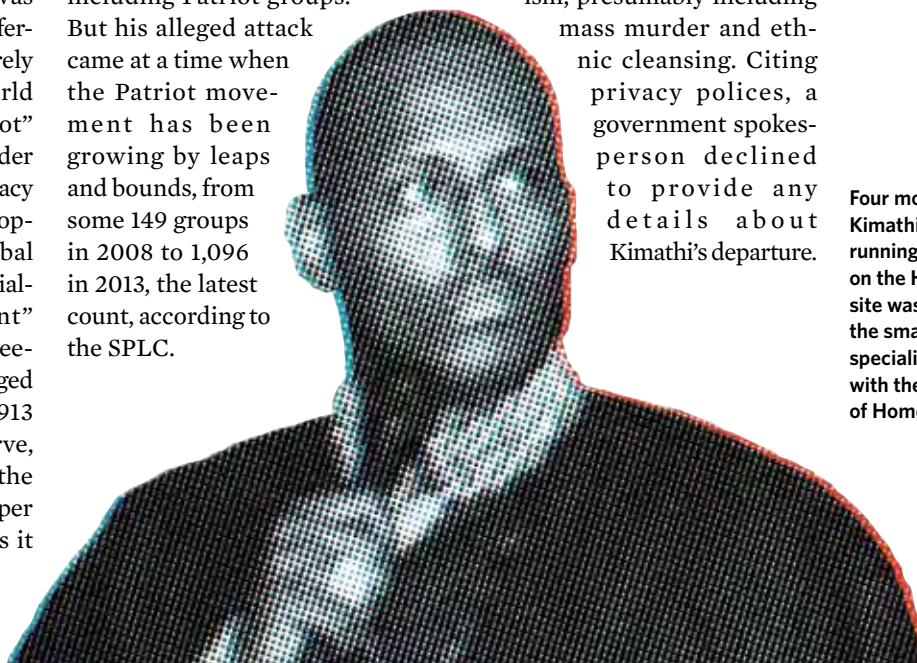
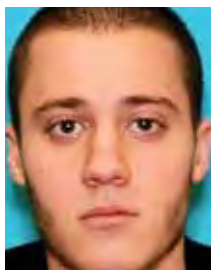
At last, federal government paychecks have stopped going to Ayo Kimathi, the black, hate-spewing, gay-bashing, race war-predicting Department of Homeland Security (DHS) employee known as the Irritated Genie of Soufeese.

Nearly four months after the Southern Poverty Law Center first broke the story about Kimathi's secret life as a ranting Internet racist, DHS and the Genie officially parted company on Dec. 6, his last day on the payroll.

Until then, Kimathi had been on paid administrative leave since late August, collecting his \$115,000 salary even as he continued to operate and maintain his virulently racist website — War on the Horizon. The site advocates the mass murder of whites and the "ethnic cleansing" of "black-skinned Uncle Tom race traitors."

It is unclear whether Kimathi quit or was finally fired by the sprawling agency charged with protecting Americans from terrorism, presumably including mass murder and ethnic cleansing. Citing privacy policies, a government spokesperson declined to provide any details about Kimathi's departure.

Four months after Ayo Kimathi's secret life running the racist War on the Horizon website was uncovered, the small business specialist parted ways with the Department of Homeland Security.



Kimathi had worked since 2009 for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a division of DHS. He was a small business specialist in a unit that purchased items including handcuffs, ammunition and guns. His primary responsibility was outreach and recruitment of women and minority-owned companies. He had no direct role in buying bullets or anything else.

One of Kimathi's former supervisors told Hatewatch last summer that Kimathi was "very good" at his job and that he "fights for the little guy."

The supervisor added, however, that Kimathi was "filled with hate" and that his co-workers "are afraid he will come in with a gun someday and go postal. I am astounded he's employed by the federal government, let alone Homeland Security."

"It's almost as if he has a split personality," the former supervisor said.

Kimathi declined several requests to be interviewed. He did release a brief statement shortly after his separation from DHS.

"I spent the last (4) years at ICE building one of the strongest and most respected Small Business programs in the Federal Government," the statement began. "In this time, with the help of a strong team of contracting professionals, I redirected hundreds of millions of dollars away from large, multi-billion dollar corporations into the hands of Small Businesses who performed exceptionally and saved the taxpayers millions of dollars."

In the statement, Kimathi said he fought corruption inside ICE and that is why "the agency felt that it was time for me to go."

Kimathi ended the statement with a flourish:

"The Irritated Genie of Soufeese. (Most Hated Black Man in amerikkka)"

[PRISON GANGS]

More Pleas From Notorious Aryan Brotherhood of Texas

The fall of 2013 was a season of discontent — and guilty pleas — for one of the country's most violent white supremacist prison gangs: the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas (ABT).

By Thanksgiving, federal prosecutors had racked up guilty pleas from fully half of the 36 gang members who were indicted in 2012 for committing multiple acts of robbery, arson, kidnapping, arson, narcotics trafficking and murder.

Among those pleading guilty in the sweeping racketeering case were two reputed ABT "generals" — William David "Baby Huey" Maynard and 68-year-old Charles Lee "Jive" Roberts. When it came



Charles Lee "Jive" Roberts

to murder, it appears Roberts wasn't jiving. Authorities say he admitted he had six people killed on behalf of the gang in 2011.

In late September, the elderly gang general was sentenced to 30 years in federal prison without the possibility of parole after becoming the first leader of the white supremacist group to strike a plea

bargain to avoid trial. The *Houston Chronicle* reported that Roberts, already in failing health, stood in shackles at his sentencing and told the judge, "I am done. I am fixin' to be taken out of the game. I have pulled the wagon as far as I can."

"I just want a decent place for my retirement," he continued, asking the court to send him to a prison with a medical facility. "You give me 20 years, 30 years, life, I don't care. If you need to make an example of somebody, here I am."

There are plenty of other examples waiting to be made. Authorities say the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas has an estimated 2,500 members — members for life who face death for not following orders or betrayal. Those orders often include spilling blood.

"The defendants and numerous other ABT gang members met on a regular basis at various locations throughout Texas to report on gang-related business, collect dues, commit disciplinary assaults against fellow gang members and discuss acts of violence against rival gang members among other things," court documents charged.

Indeed, ABT is considered one of the most violent crime syndicates in the United States, a menace to society in and outside of prison. Established within the Texas prison system in the early 1980s, ABT patterned itself after the precepts and writings of the Aryan Brotherhood, the evil grandfather of white prison gangs formed in California prisons in the 1960s.

The remaining 18 ABT members indicted in 2012 — including gang generals Terry Ross "Big Terry" Blake and Larry Max "Slick" Bryan — are scheduled to stand trial in May in U.S. District Court in Houston. Other guilty pleas could occur between now and the start of the trial.

It looks like spring will also be a season of discontent.

['SOVEREIGN CITIZENS']

Seizure of Houses Spreading in Antigovernment Movement

The most ambitious — and crooked — members of the anti-government “sovereign citizens” movement apparently never sleep, at least not in their own homes.

Take Robert Carr of Ohio.

As they were indicting Carr in December on multiple counts of breaking and entering and theft, authorities in Cincinnati said the 49-year-old Buckeye State sovereign had tried to steal 11 houses in foreclosure. He filed quiet title to at least one in October, claiming that physical possession made it his property.

His girlfriend and alleged accomplice, Bethany Firth, 25, was charged with one count of breaking and entering, making them the Bonnie and Clyde of sovereign squatters.

“If you abandon something, you forfeit all your rights and title to it,” Carr told WLWT-TV in Cincinnati, “and title is not a piece of paper. Title is when you grab it and say ‘mine.’”

Breaking into empty houses and claiming them as their own seems to be an increasingly popular tactic with sovereigns these days as the movement of scammers and the desperate continues to spread across the country and up into Canada. In October, according to local media accounts, Canadian authorities arrested a man as part of an investigation into allegations that a group of sovereign citizens had taken over a trapper’s cabin in northwestern Alberta. The month before, Calgary police busted a man who had claimed a duplex as his embassy, changed the locks and refused to leave.

“Someone is paying the National Park Service thugs overtime for their efforts to carry out the order of the De Fuhrer.”

—Arizona State Rep. **BRENDA BARTON** (R)

“In America we have a ruthless tyrant in Barack Obama.”

—Regular Fox News guest and columnist **ERIK RUSH**

“The individualism of feminism has been devastating to this country.”

—Colorado pastor and Internet radio host **KEVIN SWANSON**

“We should be praying that we will all be able to go around armed, because that will be one outward indicator that we have God’s blessing.”

—Executive director of Gun Owners of America **LARRY PRATT**

“He has rewritten the Constitution for himself as a part of his effort to fundamentally transform the United States of America.”

—U.S. Rep. **MICHELE BACHMANN** (R-Minn.)

“For all you kids watching at home, Santa just is white.”

—Fox News anchor **MEGYN KELLY**

“Hispanics don’t exemplify ‘family values.’”

—Senior policy analyst at the Center for Immigration Studies **STEPHEN STEINLIGHT**

“He’s been allowed to have his boys, men. ... The man has his sexual proclivity, and it’s being fed with the full knowledge, of course, of ‘Moochelle,’ she knows exactly where he’s coming from.”

—Right-wing activist **JIM GARROW**

“It seems like, to me, a vagina — as a man — would be more desirable than a man’s anus.”

—**PHIL ROBERTSON**, the 67-year-old patriarch of A&E’s “Duck Dynasty”

On her Facebook page on **Oct. 7**, attacking government workers and comparing President Obama to Adolf Hitler during the GOP-led federal government shutdown

Writing in WorldNetDaily on **Oct. 16** about a possible uprising to overthrow Obama and his “criminal administration”

On Generations Radio on **Oct. 21**, asking people not to support “lesbianism” by buying cookies from the “wicked” Girl Scouts

In a **Nov. 4** speech to a Tulsa, Okla., prayer breakfast arguing that the Bible is against gun control

Referring to Obama during a **Dec. 2** discussion on Fox News about the Affordable Care Act, which was upheld by the United States Supreme Court

In **Dec. 11** remarks on her show in which she also insisted that Jesus Christ was white, responding to an essay by a black woman saying that both Santa Claus and children come in all colors

At the anti-immigration think tank quoted in a **Dec. 20** *Washington Times* blog

In a **Jan. 1** interview with the online “Hagmann & Hagmann Report,” attacking Obama, who he called “Bathhouse Barry”

In comments for the **January** issue of *GQ* magazine in which he also compared homosexuality to bestiality and said that Southern blacks before the civil rights movement “were happy”



St. Charles, Mo.

OCT. 20, 2013

In a wedding that amounted to a union of movement royalty, up-and-coming racist activist and hate site operator Bradley Dean Griffin, 33, married Renee Baum, 23, the daughter of the leader of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), at the Immanuel Lutheran Church. Griffin, who has been posting at the racist Stormfront site since 2001 and runs the Occidental Dissent hate blog, recently has become a key young leader in the CCC, which opposes "all efforts to mix the races of mankind" and has described black people as a "retrograde species of humanity." His bride, the daughter of CCC founder Gordon Lee Baum, has been less active in the movement despite her avowed racism, but she did go out several years ago with Derek Black, whose father runs Stormfront but who renounced racism unexpectedly last year. She has also posted photos of herself holding heavy weapons and enthused online about the marijuana in Amsterdam. The couple met last June at a CCC conference in North Carolina. Commentary on the wedding at Occidental Dissent centered on the hoped-for production of "a dozen beautiful white children" but hit a discordant note when one poster complained about the "jarring" presence of a "Cambodian" woman at the event. Griffin allowed that the woman was a friend "of the bride's family."



The man also gutted the kitchen and sent a hefty renovation bill to the duplex owner.

In late November, authorities in Hamilton, Ontario, arrested Dean Clifford, who tours Canada giving lectures to paying audiences on how to avoid paying taxes by declaring oneself a "Freeman on the Land." Clifford was arrested shortly after giving one of his talks. He was charged with failing to appear for court hearings regarding an arrest in the summer for traffic violations.

"Freeman members now constitute a major policing problem in several provinces and have occasionally engaged in acts of violence against the police," noted a report by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

Back south of the border, another teacher of sovereign strategies, Donald Joe Barber, swore off sharing his knowledge of the antigovernment movement. According to local media accounts, as Barber was being sentenced in late September in Birmingham, Ala., to two years in federal prison for mailing a fake financial document to pay off

his home mortgage, he told the court in a written statement that "I have already quit teaching these things."

Barber tried to read the statement himself but was so overcome with emotion his lawyer had to read it for him. "I will cease ever teaching it anymore," Barber promised, according to the statement.

[NEO-NAZIS]

Greek Neo-Nazi Organization Continues to Spread in the U.S.

Golden Dawn, Greece's violence-prone neo-Nazi political party, has two more chapters of American members in the United States, according to an October report from the Anti-Defamation League. Joining a chapter in New York City, one of the new groups is in Los Angeles, while the second, known as the Regional League of the Western States, is not listed in any specific location.

The New York chapter appears to remain the most active chapter by far, with English-language material on its blog and calls to sympathizers to donate food and gift cards in order to help "Greek babies."

Golden Dawn, which first registered as a political party in 1993, rocketed into worldwide headlines after it won 21 seats in the 300-seat Greek parliament in 2012



on an anti-corruption, anti-austerity and virulently anti-immigrant platform featuring the slogan “so we can rid this land of filth.” The party soon garnered more attention for its Nazi symbolism and anti-Semitic rhetoric. Members have held public rallies that feature the “White Pride Worldwide” logo on black flags and have been linked to violent acts in Greece, including brutal attacks on immigrants and storming marketplaces they suspect harbor undocumented vendors.

Last September, a self-confessed member of Golden Dawn

was arrested in the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, Greece’s foremost hip-hop artist, who was also well known in the country’s active anti-fascist networks. In the wake of his death, Athenian police raided Golden Dawn offices and then arrested six lawmakers in the party, including its top two officials. Allegations against the party’s leadership include involvement in murder, attempted murder, possessing explosives, carrying out bombings and robbery.

Following the arrests, Prime Minister Antonis Samaras

promised “zero tolerance” for the party, which has seen a fast rise in popularity in the last two years, capitalizing on Greece’s economic woes. Golden Dawn currently holds 18 seats in the parliament and polls at around 12%-15% popularity, a startling number given Greece’s history of anti-Nazi resistance during the German and Italian occupation of World War II.

Greeks created the most effective resistance movement in occupied Europe, ultimately forcing Italy to withdraw in 1943. German forces, however, exacted mass reprisals on hundreds of villages. Estimates suggest that tens of thousands of Greek civilians died at the hands of German occupiers. In spite of the risk, many Greeks harbored and protected its Jewish population, some of whom joined the resistance, which helped hundreds escape and survive.

Greece’s next national elections are scheduled for May 2014. Current polls suggest 10% of eligible voters are considering supporting Golden Dawn, which has publicly denied the Holocaust.



AP PHOTO/DIMITRI MESSINIS; AP PHOTO / YANNIS KOLESDIS



[EXTREMIST LEADERS]

Former Klan Leader David Duke Expelled From Italy

No one wants David Duke.

The former Klansman, Holocaust denier and founder of a series of hate groups was expelled from Italy in early December after a court there deemed him “socially dangerous” for allegedly planning to create a pan-European neo-Nazi group. Duke, who has fled or been expelled from several countries before, was kicked out of Italy this time after a court upheld a finding that he had entered the country on false pretenses by using his middle name, Ernest, in place of his first.



Italian authorities cited a group David Duke was allegedly forming in their expulsion order, but offered no details to support their contention.

According to the Venice court decision, Duke was also found to be establishing “an organization aiming to exterminate the black and Jewish races in Europe.” The purported organization was not named.

“We consider him as a highly dangerous individual due to his infamous racist theories,” Luciano Meneghetti, the deputy police commissioner in the northern Italian province of Belluno, told the *International Business Times UK*. Duke’s Italian lawyer, Filippo Augusto, said Duke had left Italy, but that he was considering whether to lodge a further appeal.

This isn’t the first time Duke has been thrown out of a European country. In 2009, he was banned from Switzerland because of his white supremacist activities. Swiss authorities then designated him as a persona non grata in all European states that adhere to the European Union’s Schengen Treaty, which governs entry and exit to EU countries, including Italy. That same year, he was expelled from the Czech

Republic on charges of denying the Holocaust and promoting neo-Nazi ideology, though those charges were eventually dropped.

More recently, in 2011, he was arrested in Germany. He claimed at the time that he was on his way to deliver a “message of heritage and freedom” when Germany intervened and imprisoned him for “a gross twisting of travel laws.”

Duke has a long history of getting in trouble with the law. (In 2003, he went to federal prison in the United States for ripping off his own supporters.) In the past, Duke has used these moments as catalysts for fundraising. After he was arrested in Cologne, Germany, he begged supporters to send him money, and fast.

And he has raised funds by selling his postcard-like, hand-colored photos of Alpine regions to his supporters. Never one to be self-effacing, Duke wrote in the third person of his alleged skills: “In addition to his brilliant writing, teaching, speaking and political skills, Dr. Duke has a wonderful photographic and artistic ability.”

[ANTI-LATINO VIOLENCE]

Suffolk County, N.Y., Police to Reform Hate Crime Practices

The police department of Suffolk County, N.Y., has reached an agreement with the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) to enhance the training of its officers and improve the way it investigates hate crimes and bias incidents.

Suffolk officials unanimously approved a 27-page settlement between local police and federal officials in December that addresses longstanding concerns of official discrimination. The settlement resolved a federal investigation into the county’s policing practices that was prompted by revelations of rampant anti-Latino hate violence in the county.

The most infamous of those crimes came in 2008, when Ecuadorian immigrant Marcelo Lucero was fatally stabbed in Patchogue. Lucero was killed by a group of mostly white teens

BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

SEPT. 11 Terry Jones, a violently anti-Muslim pastor at the **Dove World Outreach Center in Bradenton, Fla.**, was



charged with unlawful conveyance of fuel, a felony, after being stopped towing a large barbecue-style grill filled with kerosene-soaked copies of the Koran. Jones told **Polk County, Fla.**, sheriff’s deputies he was planning to burn 2,998 Korans

— one for every victim of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

SEPT. 19 Floyd Corkins II, who shot and wounded a staffer in the lobby of the **Washington, D.C.**, headquarters of the anti-LGBT Family Research Council on Aug. 15, 2012, was sentenced to 25 years in prison after pleading guilty to charges including terrorism. Corkins, who had worked as a volunteer at a local LGBT center, told his victim words to the effect of “I don’t like your politics” before firing.

OCT. 24 A federal appeals court rejected

an appeal from Edgar Steele, the anti-Semitic “attorney for the damned” from **north Idaho** who once defended **Aryan Nations** founder Richard Butler in a civil suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Steele is serving a 50-year sentence for the attempted 2010 murder-for-hire of his wife. He claimed improper jury instructions and other errors led to his conviction.



OCT. 31 Yousef al-Khattab, a U.S.-born former Jew (original name Joseph Leonard Cohen) from **Atlantic**

City, N.J., who converted to radical Islam and co-founded the **Revolution Muslim** website, pleaded guilty to issuing online threats against Jewish leaders and institutions, who the site urged viewers to “deal with directly ... in their homes.” The group was also known for threatening the creators of “South Park” over an episode depicting the prophet Muhammed wearing a bear suit.

OCT. 31 A **California** judge sentenced a 13-year-old boy, who was 10 when he shot and killed his sleeping father in their home, to spend up to 10



engaging in what they called “beaner-jumping.”

The following year, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) issued a report, *Climate of Fear: Latino Immigrants in Suffolk County, N.Y.*, that documented widespread hatred and violence directed at Latino immigrants in the Long Island county. The report described how Latino immigrants in Suffolk County were regularly harassed, shot with BB guns or pepper-sprayed, run off the road while riding bicycles, and targeted for random beatings. The SPLC report called for major changes in the police department’s relationship with its rapidly growing immigrant population — in

particular, pointing to the need for training law enforcement officials to adequately address hate-motivated crime. In 2011, the SPLC also lobbied the DOJ directly to investigate the county’s activities.

The settlement requires that police in Suffolk County increase diversity training; assign bilingual community liaison officers to each precinct; promptly report discrimination complaints to the Internal Affairs Bureau, and generate annual reports on traffic-stop data and hate crime trends. Police commanders also must issue regular self-assessments to the Justice Department.

In summarizing the agreement, Police Commissioner Edward Webber highlighted changes to the

department’s Community Oriented Police Enforcement unit. Officers with those duties at each precinct now split time between traditional community policing and other assignments, such as coordinating traffic during large events. “Many of the recommendations that we’ve agreed to, we’ve already voluntarily instituted, and have been doing them for some time now,” he said.

While the settlement agreement did not assess ongoing discrimination, it does appear, at least for the time being, that conditions have improved.

Latino residents interviewed by The Associated Press for a story around the fifth anniversary of Lucero’s murder in November said they had noticed significant improvement in how they are treated, both by police and their neighbors.

“Now, the people report to the police, with or without documents,” Cecilia Bonilla, an immigrant from El Salvador, said. “A lot has changed. I still hear that people are beaten, but not as much as before. Before it was worse.” ▲



An epidemic of anti-Latino violence in Suffolk County, N.Y., culminated in the 2008 murder of Marcelo Lucero. Five years and one Department of Justice investigation later, the county police department agreed to a wide-ranging set of new practices aimed at ameliorating the problems.



years in a state-run juvenile justice facility. The victim, Jeff Hall, was a key West Coast leader of the **National Socialist Movement**, the country’s largest neo-Nazi group.

NOV. 1 Bill White, the one-time **Roanoke, Va.**, real estate czar who founded the **American National Socialist Workers Party**, was found guilty of three federal counts

of making threats with the intent to extort and a fourth of sending a threatening E-mail. The case related to communications the belligerent neo-Nazi leader sent to his ex-wife in 2012, after she quit mailing him monthly \$400 payments while he was a federal fugitive in Mexico, on the run from other threat charges.

DEC. 10 A bit-part TV actress entered a plea agreement in federal court in **Texarkana, Texas**, that could bring her an 18-year sentence for sending ricin-laced letters protesting gun control to President Obama and then — New York City

Mayor Michael Bloomberg. Officials said Shannon Guess Richardson, 36, sent the letters in a plot to implicate her estranged husband after he filed for divorce.

DEC. 18 Seven members of the white supremacist **Silent Aryan Warriors** prison gang were charged with aggravated assault after they allegedly tied down a member in a **Salt Lake City, Utah**, apartment, stripped her, and forcibly tattooed her abdomen with the word “rat.” The woman, who goes by “Youngster,” was accused of working as an informant for the FBI.

DEC. 18 Steven Matthew Fernandes, 19, was sentenced



to 18 months in federal prison in a plea bargain after police found explosives in his **Las Vegas** home.

Fernandes claimed to be the leader of a small **antigovernment militia** in **Nevada** and boasted of a killing spree to come. Discussing the 2012 mass shooting in Aurora, Colo., which left 12 people dead, Fernandes bragged, “I’ll beat that record.”

AGENDA OF FEAR

In Alabama, the trashing of a growth plan over extremist theories about Agenda 21 is one more setback for the UN initiative

BY DON TERRY ILLUSTRATION BY DANIEL ZALKUS

BAY MINETTE, Ala. – Supporters of smart-growth and anti-sprawl initiatives should study the Battle of Baldwin County.

It was a rout – for the other side.

The battle was fought over several hours on Aug. 7, 2012, in a meeting room here, the small-town seat of the sprawling county, Alabama's largest and one of its fastest-growing. The hostilities began that morning and by the time the verbal bullets had finally stopped flying that afternoon, the county's award-winning, \$285,000 comprehensive development plan, known as Horizon 2025, was dead.

The plan was killed by a 3-to-1 vote by the Baldwin County Commission, the four elected officials who oversee the county by the sea.

"This battle is more than just planning," the county commission's chairman, Robert James, said that day. "This is to protect the Constitution of

the United States and what's in it and, to me, even the Ten Commandments that God gave us."

The plan was not the last casualty.

On Nov. 16, 2012, the entire nine-member Baldwin County Planning and Zoning Commission quit in protest and disgust after their masterwork was shot down. The mass resignation was a drastic and dramatic decision that did not come easily to the men and women on the commission. They were not a band of radical, anti-development tree-huggers, although one was a registered forester. They were respected residents of the community, who had, over the years, put in hundreds, if not thousands, of volunteer hours performing their civic duty, trying to help guide and manage the county's explosive growth. The commission members included a certified public accountant, a real estate appraiser, a grant consultant for rural communities and two retired

military officers, one of whom is the second highest-ranking official in the Alabama Republican Party.

The plan was rescinded, according to the group letter of resignation, "on a pretext so devoid of relevance and merit as, in our opinion, to elicit only ridicule on the part of any serious knowledgeable observer."

The pretext was the entirely voluntary United Nations planning document known as Agenda 21.

"It was the principal issue," longtime Baldwin County Commissioner Frank Burt, who voted to rescind Horizon 2025, told the *Intelligence Report*. "People began to study Agenda 21 and the more people became aware of what is happening, not just in the U.S. but throughout the world, they didn't want anything like it. The plan [Horizon 2025] just fit right into Agenda 21's overall plan. Nobody ever tied it together before. You can



THE PLAN THAT DIED

The award-winning smart-growth plan devised by volunteers in Baldwin County, Ala., Horizon 2025, was meant to guide future development in the rapidly growing county by the sea. But it was killed by a County Commission whose chairman described it as an attack on the Constitution and the Ten Commandments. Here are a few excerpts from the innocuous planning document that frightened so many politicians in southern Alabama:

This plan was prepared as an overall guide to facilitate positive and constructive future development in Baldwin County.

Objective 2.1.4: Preserve and maintain essential rural, agricultural and environmentally sensitive areas.

Policy 2.1.7.2: Marinas and boat ramps shall be located in areas where they create a minimum adverse impact to water quality and existing marine habitat.

Policy 2.1.9.3: The County shall increase the availability of alternative transportation modes such as public transit and a park-and-ride program. An inventory and assessment of such facilities and programs shall be addressed in a future Transit Plan.

Goal 2.2: Promote opportunities for well-planned industrial development to address needs at suitable locations within the county.

Policy 2.2.1.13: Industrial uses should be located in established industrial parks whenever possible.

Objective 2.3.1: Support preservation of agricultural lands by channeling new growth to areas already committed to development.

Objective 3.1.1: Provide affordable housing opportunities for low and low-moderate-income households throughout the County.

Objective 5.1.1: Water resources should be managed to ensure that sufficient quantities of clean, safe water are available for this generation and future generations.

clearly see it is all part of the same plan.”

Baldwin County is just one example of the increasing and bitter attacks on Agenda 21 and local sustainable growth efforts from Maine to California. The fears Agenda 21 provokes plug directly into more than a century of far-right worries about any international body imposing any kind of control on the United States. The tactics used are as old as McCarthyism. In attacking the Baldwin County comprehensive plan, James, the county commission chairman, invoked the names of Hitler and Stalin, Mao and Mussolini, and how their “plans, guides, outlines” resulted in the deaths of millions of people.

Chances are, however, unless you belong to the John Birch Society, one of the Tea Parties or some other rightist collective, you have no idea that Agenda 21 is considered a grave threat to truth, justice and the American Way – and apparently to life in Baldwin County. Odds are also good that you, like most people – with bills to pay, kids to raise, conspiracy theories to ignore – have never read a word of the 22-year-old, 100-plus-page document or even heard of it.

Agenda 21 is a *nonbinding* U.N. resolution – a proposal, a global guide – designed to encourage, not mandate, nations to pursue conservation, “sustainable” green growth and land use development efforts. It was passed and signed at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 by more than 170 world leaders, including President George H.W. Bush.

‘All Government is Bad’

Yet, to the American right, Agenda 21 is a sneak attack on the sanctity of private property, another footfall on the long march to One World Government that is destined to darken our bright skies with black helicopters. It is an UN-inspired conspiracy that seeks, in the words of the archconservative John Birch Society, which is at the forefront of the opposition to Agenda 21, “to curtail your freedom of travel as you please, own a gas-powered car, live in suburbs or rural areas, and raise a family.”

Local initiatives and plans such as

Horizon 2025, which was also nonbinding, are simply Agenda 21 in disguise, harmless-looking spies laying the groundwork for a foreign invasion. “The conspiracies are real,” one man told the County Commission meeting. “If you want to ignore them, ignore them at your own peril.”

In recent years, Agenda 21 has become an effective rallying cry, organizing tool and bludgeon that right-wing groups have been using to beat back local sustainable growth and anti-

continued. “I like to believe that he really didn’t think it was about Agenda 21, that he was just using that to beat our brains in with it. But I’m not sure. I’m not sure whether he believed it or not. I just think it was really sad and a disservice to the people of this county for the county commission to have rescinded it.”

The award-winning Horizon 2025 was replaced a year later, in October 2013, by a substantially shorter plan, “with a lot fewer words,” County Commissioner Burt said. “The



“THE CONSPIRACIES ARE
REAL. IF YOU WANT TO
IGNORE THEM, IGNORE THEM
AT YOUR OWN PERIL.”

sprawl initiatives, including everything from bike paths to smart meters on home appliances. The attacks have caught city councils, planning commissions and smart-growth advocates across the country off guard, leaving them scrambling to mount a defense.

“I had not heard about it [Agenda 21] before they [the county commissioners] started touting it,” Arthur C. Dyas, a member of the Planning and Zoning Commission for 16 years, the last few as chairman, told the *Report*. “Our plan had nothing to do with Agenda 21. I called one of the county commissioners on it and he just about shouted me down. By God, this was all about Agenda 21 and the United Nations. And I’m like, ‘What are you talking about?’”

“It made absolutely no sense to me,” Dyas

new plan,” he added, “is more direct and to the point and just easier to understand. It’s more concise. Our United States Constitution is a pretty short document, too.”

Since the death of Horizon 2025, Baldwin County has become a sort of Rorschach test. For those who believe Agenda 21 means the beginning of the end of American freedoms – from property rights to gun ownership – Baldwin County was a triumph of the will of the people. To supporters of smart and sustainable growth, such as Cara Smallwood, one of the planning commissioners who resigned, what happened that day in Bay Minette was “simply crazy.”

“I felt we were being demonized by the County Commission,” Smallwood told the

Report. “They were beating the scary government drum. It’s the age of the Tea Party, all government is bad. That’s why they threw an amazing, award-winning plan into the trash.”

A Plan to be Proud Of

For years, the Planning and Zoning Commission tried to get a handle on the county’s explosive growth. Retirees were flooding in to take advantage of the miles of sandy white beaches, piney woods, warm weather and rela-

the meetings were split in two: subdivisions on the first Thursday of the month, zoning on the third. “Hell, we were still going from 6 until midnight, 1 o’clock,” Dyas said. “It was unbelievable.”

In 2009, after days of public hearings held by the Planning and Zoning Commission, thousands of man- and woman-hours, and hundreds of thousands of dollars, the Baldwin County comprehensive plan was adopted by the County Commission by a vote of 3 to 1.

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tively low cost of living in Baldwin County on the Gulf of Mexico. Young families were also flocking to Baldwin, clogging the roads and causeways as they commuted back and forth to nearby Mobile for work. From 1990 to 2000, the county experienced a 42.9% increase in its population. Meanwhile, subdivisions were popping up everywhere, with little consideration given to how the many projects fit with each other, the environment and the future. “There was no control over development,” said Dyas, the former chairman of the planning commission. “It was a train wreck.”

There was so much development, going up so fast, that Planning and Zoning Commission meetings would sometimes start at 6 in the evening and end at 4 the next morning. Next,

“The comprehensive plan was just that, a plan,” Dyas said. “It was not a law. It was not an ordinance. It was a plan, something to use as a guide in future development of a given area.”

The following year, the Baldwin County Planning and Zoning Department was awarded the Alabama Chapter of the American Planning Association’s 2010 Outstanding Planning Award for Horizon 2025. In its newsletter, the chapter praised the plan, saying “Since its adoption, environmental concerns and livability are now also considerations when development is proposed.”

“As for developers,” the newsletter added, “the plan lends stability to the development process – there is now a guide for where development can be located, how it can be developed



For more information
on the John Birch
Society, see
sp.lc/birchsociety

and its best and most compatible uses. The plan is intended to provide foresight and remove some of the guess work from development to ultimately allow the realization of the County's vision."

But by then the great recession had already swept across America and development projects from Maine to California to Baldwin County came to a screeching halt. Bulldozers now sat still and silent in the Alabama sun. Planning and zoning meetings went back to once a month. At some meetings there were no items on the agenda. One meeting lasted a record six minutes. "That's how fast it tanked down here," Dyas said. "So, the plan really never had a chance to be fully implemented into the process here in Baldwin County."

Still, two new county commissioners, who were elected after running on a platform opposed to the plan as too restrictive and intrusive, vowed to rescind it as soon as possible. Now the balance of power was reversed, setting the stage for the Aug. 7, 2012, meeting and the end of Horizon 2025.

Black Helicopters and Baldwin County

Baldwin County officials said the meeting on the fate of Horizon 2025 was called because there was concern that the county's comprehensive plan did not adhere to Alabama's new anti-Agenda 21 law, which was passed in May 2012 and went into effect Jan. 1, 2013. The law says "the state of Alabama and all political subdivisions may not adopt or implement policy recommendations that deliberately or inadvertently infringe or restrict property rights without due process."

Existing laws plainly already prevented such property seizures. But that didn't stop the fearmongering in Baldwin County. In the days leading up to the meeting, fliers were distributed warning of the "massive land grab represented by Horizon 2025." More than 30 people signed up to speak. Some carried small American flags. Most wanted to see the plan killed.

Craig Skaggs, a retired lobbyist for DuPont, was one of the few to speak in support of retaining the plan. He must

have felt like Davy Crockett at the Alamo – or maybe Alice in Wonderland.

Skaggs called the state's anti-Agenda 21 legislation "needless" and the attacks on Horizon 2025 as a U.N.-inspired land grab "pure poppycock," following "the lead of the conspiracy theories at the Wisconsin-based John Birch Society."

"Do we really want," he asked, "rampant growth based on only the changing political whims of county commissions or greedy land interests that often control our politicians?"

Ricky Richardson, of Fairhope, Ala., said Agenda 21 and Horizon 2025 is a "duplicate" and worried about "Americans that kept their blinders on, and when they were marching them into the rail cars they still didn't understand what had happened to them."

Richardson said he applauded the Baldwin County Commission for essentially snatching off its blinders and "being on top of this and realizing that this is a movement coming from a global initiative and being promoted through local government."

He left the podium to sustained applause.

Boyd Little and his wife Catherine took the podium and told the meeting that they opposed the comprehensive plan "because we really don't understand what all is taking place with it." Little's buddy and neighbor, a blind farmer named Arthur Frego Jr., said he also could not understand the plan and warned that if "this magnificent maze of paperwork goes through it's going to be mandatory."

"And instead of the old reading, writing and arithmetic you were taught in school," Frego said, "it'll be rules, regulations and restrictions."

Another speaker compared Horizon 2025 to *The Communist Manifesto* and pointed out that Karl Marx's handiwork was supposed to be merely a guide, too. "Can the plan," he urged. "It's draconian. Can that baby?"

Ken Freeman told the audience that he had driven for six hours from his home in northern Alabama to plead with the commissioners to rescind the plan.

Freeman is the chairman of the Alliance for Citizens Rights, which, he said, has worked on property rights and constitutional issues for more than 15 years. He said he travels the state, taking complicated subjects like Horizon 2025 and translating them into simpler terms, or "Bubba Talk."

For example, Freeman said the black helicopters people are always talking about aren't actually black. "They're green with black numbers on them," he said.

"The people who accuse us of being the black helicopter crowd," he said, "there must be a lot of black helicopters these days" because earlier that spring the Republican National Party drew up "a very strong anti-Agenda 21 resolution."

A watered-down version of that resolution was eventually included in the party platform for the 2012 presidential election. "We've got black helicopter people everywhere," Freeman said.

Before the final vote was taken to "repeal, rescind and void" Horizon 2025, James, the county commission chairman, looked out at the audience. "This is just a start," he said. "You need to stay involved. It's important. And it's nice to come here today and see so many people that have that passion. But use that passion for more than just this one issue."

Then the plan was killed, the audience cheered and filled the room with a warbled version of "God Bless America." ▲

FINANCING HATE

PAYPAL, AMAZON AND OTHER ONLINE SERVICES HELP FUND
AMERICA'S WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENT IN A VARIETY OF WAYS

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

Let's say you're in the market for a nice white-power hoodie or the latest CD from the hatecore band Brutal Attack. Or perhaps you just want to give some money to your favorite white supremacist outfit. You'll probably log onto a hate site, say the Holocaust-denying *Barnes Review* or the racist White Rabbit Radio, and head to their online shopping carts. And there you'll more than likely find yourself being asked to use a PayPal account to move money to these organizations.

PayPal, a wholly owned subsidiary of eBay, serves as the main financial tool for transferring money to American hate groups, and it earns fees on every transaction that vary in size according to a variety of factors. Research conducted by the *Intelligence Report* finds that at least 69 of the hate groups listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) rely on PayPal to help finance their activities.

The irony is that PayPal bans such activity in its terms of service. PayPal says that its policy "regarding payments for goods and services that may promote hate, violence, or intolerance" considers the following factors: 1) The promotion or glorification of hate, violence or intolerance because of a person's race, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation; 2) any graphic portrayal of violence or victims of violence; and 3) previous activity associated with the account holder. It specifically bans the sale of "[i]tems containing Nazi, SS, or Ku Klux Klan symbols, including authentic German WWII memorabilia."

PayPal has taken steps to stop some hate sites from using its services. The largest and oldest white supremacist Web forum, Stormfront, had its PayPal account yanked some years ago for violation of its policy. Similarly, the neo-Nazi Vanguard News Network (VNN), whose motto is "No Jews. Just Right," no longer is allowed to use PayPal. PayPal can be so vexing to white supremacists that an entire post on VNN tells readers how to evade its policies by creating anonymous accounts.

PayPal responded to the *Report's* request for comment by asking for a list of hate sites using the service. "You are correct that PayPal does not allow the use of our service for the payment for goods or services that promote hate, violence or racial intolerance," wrote Peter Gau of PayPal's media department. "Though we can't comment on specific accounts due to our privacy policy, we do review accounts which have been flagged to aupviolations@paypal.com for possible breaches of this important provision of our Acceptable Use Policy, and take action if appropriate. I encourage you to send the names of the

sites you mention to this email address so our team can review" them. At press time, it wasn't clear if PayPal had cut off service to any sites on the SPLC list or, if so, how many were affected.

Other Fish in the Sea

PayPal is not the only merchant service that serves hate groups, however inadvertently. Over at Amazon, the world's largest online retailer, it's possible for hate sites to earn money in a number of ways. Hate groups can and do advertise qualifying Amazon products on their own sites and earn commissions of up to 10%. A neo-Nazi site, for instance, could advertise books about World War II sold by major publishers and earn fees for referring its supporters to Amazon to buy them. In addition, even without advertising specific Amazon products, hate sites can and do encourage their visitors to do all their shopping at Amazon via portals on the hate sites, again generating significant commissions for the sites' operators.

Take the blog VDARE.com, named after Virginia Dare, the first English child born in the Americas and a potent symbol for white nationalists. VDARE specializes in bashing non-white immigrants and is home to such illuminating essays as "IQ: Why Africa is Africa — and Haiti Haiti." In December, VDARE was carrying a banner ad atop its front page reading, "Amazon.com: Stop by Christmas Corner," and linking to holiday products on Amazon's site. On the same front page, VDARE implored supporters, "Remember to enter Amazon via the VDARE.com link and we get



For more information on
Stormfront, see
sp.lc/groups-stormfront

The Groups

The following 91 hate groups and extremist websites have all benefited from their relationships with a variety of online services. Here are the names of the groups and sites, along with the services that benefit them.

A2Z Publications PayPal
Abiding Truth Ministries PayPal
Abundant Life Fellowship Comodo
America's Promise Ministries PayPal
American Border Patrol PayPal, Authorize.net
American Free Press PayPal
American Freedom Defense Initiative PayPal
American Freedom Party Space Box
American Immigration Control Foundation PayPal
American Patrol PayPal
American Renaissance PayPal
American Vision PayPal
Americans for Legal Immigration PAC PayPal
Artisan Publishers PayPal
Atlas Shrugs PayPal
Bare Naked Islam PayPal
California Coalition for Immigration Reform PayPal
Campaign for Radical Truth in History PayPal
Carolyn Yeager PayPal
Catholic Counterpoint PayPal
Catholic Family News PayPal
Chalcedon Foundation Foxycart
Chick Publishers PayPal
Church at Kaweah PayPal
Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment PayPal
Council of Conservative Citizens PayPal
Counter-Currents Publishing Amazon, PayPal
Covenant People's Ministry Amazon
Cultural Studies Press PayPal
Culture Wars/Fidelity Press PayPal
Dixie Republic PayPal
Dove World Outreach PayPal, Piryx
Escaping Islam Amazon
Faith Freedom PayPal
Faithful World Baptist PayPal
Family Research Institute PayPal
Florida League of the South PayPal
Free American PayPal
Free Edgar Steele PayPal
Holy Nation of Odin PayPal, Amazon
IHS Press PayPal
In the Spirit of Chartres Committee PayPal
Institute for Historical Review Authorize.net
Invictus Books ProStores Homestead
Jewish Task Force WePay
Jihad Watch PayPal
League of the South PayPal, Google Wallet
Masjid Al-Islam PayPal
Mass Resistance Authorize.net
Million Youth March /New Black Panther Party PayPal
Mission to Israel PayPal
Most Holy Family Monastery PayPal, Yahoo
Nation of Islam PayPal
Occidental Dissent PayPal
Occidental Observer PayPal, Amazon
Official Street Preachers PayPal
Pioneer Little Europe Kalispell Amazon
Political Islam Amazon
Power of Prophecy PayPal
Protestant White Nationalist Party of Kentucky PayPal
Public Advocate of the United States Piryx
RamZPaul PayPal
Scott-Townsend Publishing PayPal
Scriptures for America Ministries PayPal
Silver Bullet Gun Oil PayPal
Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club Miiduu
Stormfront eWebcarts
Sultan Knish PayPal, Amazon
Tea Party Nation Click and Pledge
Tennessee Freedom Coalition Click and Pledge
The Barnes Review PayPal
The Dakota Voice PayPal
The Fitzgerald Foundation Amazon, Barnes & Noble, PayPal and iTunes
The Mencken Club PayPal
The Nationalist Times PayPal
The Political Cesspool Authorize.net
The Religion of Peace PayPal, Amazon
The Remnant PayPal
The Shepherd's Call Ministries Authorize.net
The United West Piryx
The White Voice PayPal
Tradition in Action PayPal
Traditionalist Youth Network PayPal
Truth Triumphant Amazon
United Families International PayPal
United State Border Guard and Border Patrol PayPal
VDARE PayPal, Amazon
Watchmen Bible Study Group PayPal, Amazon
White Rabbit Radio PayPal
WND Amazon and Barnes & Noble
You Can Run But You Can't Hide International Volusion

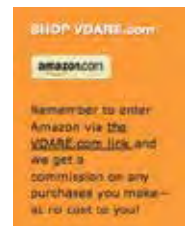
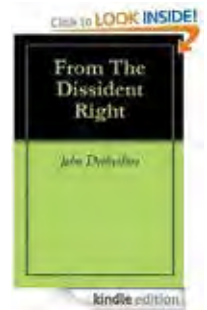
a commission on any purchases you make—at no cost to you!”

Amazon also facilitates the sale of publications by hate groups. For instance, Amazon sells a Kindle version of John Derbyshire's *From the Dissident Right*, published by VDARE.com Books, and earns a small commission for doing so.

It's not publicly known how much money VDARE earns from its relationship with Amazon, but it is likely a fair amount. In the case of the white nationalist book-selling site Counter-Currents Publishing, the site's operators reported in December that it had earned nearly \$20,000 through its referrals to Amazon.

Counter-Currents puts it like this: “[T]here is a way for you to help Counter-Currents all year 'round: our Amazon.com Affiliate program. Wouldn't it be great if you could choose where your sales taxes go? Well, Amazon.com's Affiliate Program allows you to earmark 7% of your Amazon purchases to Counter Currents at no additional cost to you. That is about the average sales tax that Americans pay,” reads the copy on their site. “It's simple: just enter Amazon.com from Counter-Currents, and we will receive a cut of anything you buy during that visit at no additional cost to you. That's *anything* you buy, from books to DVDs to diapers.” The publishing house says that for about two years it had made about \$200 a month through Amazon, but that that number tripled in August of last year.

Counter-Currents, which sells such books as *The Jewish Strategy* by deceased Holocaust denier Revilo Oliver and collections



Amazon helps sell hate literature like John Derbyshire's *From the Dissident Right*. It also pays commissions to hate sites like VDARE when followers shop at the online retailer via a VDARE portal.



White Rabbit Radio is one of many hate websites that benefit from their relationships with PayPal and Amazon.

of essays like those of the late neo-Nazi leader William Pierce, is run by two stalwarts of the white supremacist movement. The group's longtime webmaster, Michael Polignano, praised Pierce during a 2004 speech to the European-American Unity and Rights Organization, run by former Klan leader David Duke. Earlier, in 2000, Polignano set off a firestorm of controversy when, while an undergraduate at Emory University, he wrote an editorial in the student newspaper arguing that "intelligence is primarily a matter of genetics

scarcity; and, of course, the ruinous costs of a new series of wars and interventions in the neighborhood of Israel."

The group also solicits donations through a PayPal account. As of November 2013, Counter-Currents said it had raised nearly \$40,000 through that account.

'Taking Appropriate Action'

Another site that refers supporters to Amazon in return for commissions is the Pioneer Little Europe Kalispell Montana blog. Run by well-known neo-Nazi activist April Gaede, the blog is

Amazon to fund its activities.

The *Report* contacted Amazon in September about the participation of hate groups and hate sites in Amazon programs that earn them commissions. Amazon said it would assign "appropriate teams to investigate, review applicable policies, and take appropriate action" but that it would not give out "information about any action taken." Three months later, in early December, the Counter-Currents and VDARE hate sites were still earning commissions through Amazon.

For hate groups like Stormfront that have been banned from PayPal there are other options for online money transfers. Stormfront now uses something called eWebcarts.com, an online service that does not appear to be used by any of the other hate sites reviewed by the *Report*. It is unclear who runs eWebcarts, as it is registered to a proxy and no information about the site appears online.

Another option, this one used by a Tennessee-based white supremacist radio show entitled "The Political Cesspool," is Authorize.net. The racist

"It's simple: just enter Amazon.com from Counter-Currents, and we will receive a cut of anything you buy during that visit at no additional cost to you."

and that the races differ considerably in their intelligence."

Polignano's partner, Counter-Currents editor Greg Johnson, has written such essays as one praising the late British fascist leader Oswald Mosley. Another Johnson essay described a dystopian future for America with "racial conflict exacerbated by massive non-white immigration, blatant anti-white discrimination, and desperate economic

committed to "creating racially conscious White communities" in Kalispell and elsewhere. In December, it was advertising a radical survivalist book sold on Amazon, *Patriots: A Novel of Survival in the Coming Collapse*. Similarly, Bob's Underground Graduate Seminar blog, which is dedicated to "fighting white genocide," makes referrals to

Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club uses something called miiduu.com, which also accepts PayPal accounts. The virulently anti-gay organization called You Can Run But You Cannot Hide is powered by Volusion. And North East White Pride, a group of New England neo-Nazis, uses Merchant One. But by and large, PayPal is the service of choice. ▲

KEEGAN HANKES CONTRIBUTED TO THIS REPORT



THE LITTLE FÜHRER

BY RYAN LENZ AND KEEGAN HANKES

NO LONGER A STUDENT, **MATTHEW HEIMBACH** HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY
RADICALIZED IN RECENT MONTHS. NOW, HE WANTS TO LEAD

Not so long ago, as a student at Towson University in Maryland, Matthew Heimbach led a band of students on nighttime crime patrols targeting black-on-white crimes. He chalked the sidewalks with pro-white phrases like “White Guilt ends now.” His energetic activism quickly opened doors on the radical racist right, many of whose activists saw Heimbach as the face of the future for white nationalism.

He played the part, too. Precocious, erudite and garrulous, and prone to quoting obscure racist and nationalist tracts, Heimbach claimed his views were merely those of a traditional conservative, uninhibited by foolish youthful and liberal fantasies of multiculturalism.

But then he graduated, and something changed.

Pictures began appearing on the Internet. There was one showing Heimbach rallying with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at the invitation of leader Thom Robb, a pastor of the anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity for whom Heimbach has “great respect.” In another, he stood side-by-side with members of the Aryan Terror Brigade and the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM). On Stormfront, the world’s largest white supremacist Web forum, Heimbach began posting under the name “MarylandFalangist,” a reference to the fascist movement that brought Spanish dictator Francisco Franco to power.

It was somewhat surprising, to say the least — this wild dive into the depths of the radical right, especially for someone who tried so desperately to make his cause palatable to a broad

“MY POSITION IS WE’RE UNDER THE BUS. THERE AND IF THERE ARE ENOUGH PEOPLE UNDER THE

range of college students. By his own admission, the last several months have been a tale of a personal “radicalization.”

In a series of remarkably candid interviews with the *Intelligence Report*, Heimbach described his quick descent into the most extreme wing of white nationalism, his fear that whites are now the target of a systematic genocide, and his refusal to condemn anyone standing in support of white power.

“I tried to be a kosher conservative. I really, really did. I gave it my all to try



and just be a conservative in the belt-way and work within these parameters,” Heimbach said during a four-hour dinner late last year at a restaurant not far from Paoli, Ind., where he now lives. “But I couldn’t do it. It was disingenuous to myself and what I saw as being the truth.”

That “truth” was simply that whites were under attack.

So, at 22, he went all in. After graduating last year from Towson University with a degree in history, he embraced all manner of racist, pro-white thought. He alienated himself from his family, gave serious consideration to the “the Jewish question,” and, at the same time, crisscrossed the country attending racist events despite claiming to have no benefactor and scant finances.

Heimbach’s path has seemed nothing short of a barnstorming, meteoric rise, at least in its initial stages. Some have compared his early ascent to that of David Duke, who as a student at Louisiana State University in the early 1970s first made headlines by dressing up as a Nazi but who also went on to win more than 600,000 votes in his unsuccessful but surprising 1990 run for governor of that state. On the racist right today, Heimbach is one of the most charismatic and energetic fig-

ures, raising eyebrows with an evolving level of activism that seems to know no bounds.

As he told the *Report*, “You need to take that plunge at some point if you want to have any forward motion. You’ve got to have people who are willing to risk the stigma to help push the dialogue forward.”

A Racist is Born

In many ways, it is Heimbach’s embrace of every manner of pro-white cause and faction that has cemented his popularity as an up-and-comer in some sectors of the radical right. But his ideas didn’t come from his family or friends.

Heimbach’s racism is self-taught.

Born to a family of moderate Catholics, Heimbach is the first to say he “wasn’t raised like this.” His father taught history at the local high school in Poolesville, Md., population 4,883, and his mother worked around the home. It was a bookish life, it seemed, and perhaps it’s no wonder that the birth of Heimbach’s racist views began with a particularly slanted reading list.

Matthew Heimbach says his eyes were opened by Pat Buchanan (lower right), a white nationalist writer and sometimes cable TV habitué. Since then, however, he’s moved further and further right, drawing comparisons to former Klan leader David Duke (far left), and even joining neo-Nazi gatherings attended by the likes of Craig Cobb, who now faces charges of terrorizing his neighbors at gunpoint.

Yet while one might expect a copy of *The Turner Diaries* or *Mein Kampf* to be at the heart of a transformation from a conservative-leaning high school student active from a young age in GOP politics into what he is now, it was Pat Buchanan’s *Death of the West* — a milder white nationalist tract

that insists non-white immigration is a threat to the American way — that he says opened his eyes. “You can’t read Buchanan and not understand it’s a white nationalist book,” he said.

Buchanan’s writings led Heimbach to increasingly virulent racist books and websites, including a formative period he spent reading VDARE.com, a racist anti-immigrant website “dedicated to preserving our historical unity as Americans into the 21st Century.”

Armed with those ideas, Heimbach enrolled at Montgomery College, a community college 30 miles from his hometown. There, he founded a chapter of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), a traditionalist conservative and libertarian-leaning student activist group, and soon after he joined Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), a Southern heritage group with a neo-Confederate flavor. Together, they petitioned Poolesville for a public memorial for Confederate soldiers.

The next year, Heimbach transferred to Towson University and organized a chapter of Youth for Western Civilization (YWC), an ultraconservative student group favored by white nationalists, young and old. In its short tenure on campus, Heimbach’s group organized a “Straight Pride Day,” invited



For more information on David Duke, see sp.lc/david-duke

ARE ENOUGH OF US UNDER THE BUS. BUS, YOU CAN PICK IT UP.”

former Reagan staffer Bay Buchanan (author Pat Buchanan’s sister) to speak, demonstrated against Shariah law, and built an anti-communist nativity scene on campus.

The group came to national attention after its members, in the middle of the night, chalked phrases including “White Pride” and “It’s okay to be white” on sidewalks across campus. The incident was met with strong and vocal resistance from students, faculty and the Towson community.

“As a black student, those words scared and concerned me,” Kenan Herbert, at the time a senior at Towson and president of the Black Student Union, told *The Baltimore Sun*. “A lot of other students and I feel unsafe with this organization being on campus.”

Within a year, the YWC chapter collapsed after losing the support of its faculty advisor. The overriding feeling among Heimbach and his YWC compatriots — a feeling that lingers even now — was that they had been “thrown under the bus.” Shortly afterward, a mix of YWC members led by Heimbach re-channeled their efforts and formed the more openly radical White Student Union (WSU) on Towson’s campus. Often in front of media cameras, WSU members went on nighttime patrols looking for violence perpetrated by black people — an idea that emerged from the right-wing logic that blacks are prone to violence against whites — but found no crime to prevent.

The WSU also sought to undercut the multiculturalism promoted by much of academia with a diet of radical readings. The group recommended that students read Francis Parker Yockey’s neo-Nazi classic *Imperium*, as well as Sam Francis’ *Essential Writings on Race*, Pat Buchanan’s *Suicide of a Superpower: Will America Survive Until 2025?* and Jared Taylor’s *White Identity*. But Heimbach and other members soon graduated, and the group foundered.

One telling detail did emerge from Heimbach’s WSU period that ultimately demonstrated how far his coming metamorpho-

sis would take him.

In an essay he wrote then, titled “A Christian Manifesto” and published on the WSU’s website, Heimbach wrote: “It is easy to look superficially at Nazis and see things that most pro-white advocates like. The strong stance against communism, opposition to international banking, and a strong folk identity all seem to be very positive things. But we cannot be deceived as the German people were, for beneath these few agreed-upon notions, the National Socialists are wolves in sheep’s clothing.”

A year later, Heimbach would be standing with the wolves himself, celebrating the most horrific atrocities perpetrated by the Third Reich.

Crossing the Rubicon

Last Nov. 9, the National Socialist Movement held a rally in Kansas City, Mo., on the 75th anniversary of Kristallnacht, the Nazi pogrom that left more than 90 Jews dead and some 30,000 imprisoned in concentration camps. Members of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations attended, as did anti-Semite Craig Cobb, a man who has been vainly trying to build an all-white enclave in North Dakota (see story, p. 3). And there also, naturally, was Matthew Heimbach, now representing something called the Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN).

The group was born last May when, faced with graduating leadership, the Towson WSU voted to fold itself into TYN and work to “indoctrinate” college students into the white nationalist cause.

With four public chapters now spread out between the United States and Canada — and another seven “shadow” chapters the group claims to have in secret locations — Heimbach and Matt Parrott, who helps runs the group, hope to engage white people everywhere. Heimbach envisions a future working across the spectrum of “white advocacy” groups for the expressed purpose of ensuring white survival.

“Even if the risks of picking up ‘stigma’ are as real as [imagined], our cause doesn’t have a choice,” Heimbach told the *Report*. “TradYouth is and always will be linked in white solidarity with the organizations which are doing good work on behalf of our folk.”

But that vaunted solidarity is tenuous at best, especially considering Heimbach and Parrott’s open frustration with

other white nationalists who are quick to dismiss certain “white advocates” as too extreme. Heimbach describes as that kind of aversion to truly radical politics as simple “cowardice.”

According to Heimbach, that’s exactly what Michael Hill, president of the rac-

Many nonviolent white nationalist organizations like the neo-secessionist League of The South once lauded Matthew Heimbach as the fresh young face of responsible white nationalism. That was before a photo of him appeared Sieg-heiling along with members of the Aryan Terror Brigade and other neo-Nazis.



ist League of the South, did when he kicked Heimbach out of the neo-Confederate group last year for daring to stand with Nazis. A photo of him Sieg-heiling with the Aryan Terror Brigade had just been made public.

In a Facebook posting, Hill wrote: “Matthew Heimbach, a former member of The League of the South, 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. ... Neither he nor his friends will be welcome at our demonstrations.”

Heimbach laughed when asked about that ouster and said it was simply Hill having a “temper tantrum.” The group is sure to welcome him back, he claimed, especially as its base becomes increasingly populated with more militant and younger members. Hill, he said, is just being too careful.

“That form of Southern nationalism from a generation ago is a teenager who wants to get in their dad’s face. But when their dad gets out of his chair and reaches for his belt, he goes running into his room,” Heimbach said with a chortle. “It’s ridiculous. It’s reactionary.”

Hill isn’t the only leader on the radical right who seems to have concerns about the ratcheting up of Heimbach’s openly neo-Nazi rhetoric and activism. Jared Taylor, founder of the white nationalist New Century Foundation and editor of its *American Renaissance* magazine — a man who once saw Heimbach as the future of white nationalism — declined to comment on Heimbach’s trajectory, although he once held Heimbach in high public regard. Even Parrott, who runs TYN with Heimbach, told the *Report* that Heimbach’s ambition had not been without consequence. “He rose so fast. He didn’t kiss all the rings,” Parrott said. “I’ve run around and apologized to a lot of people, running interference for him.”

Out From Under the Bus

It is no overstatement that Heimbach sees himself as the future of the racist movement. And while he deflects the question when asked about comparisons to Duke, the neo-Nazi and one-time Klan leader, Heimbach clearly respects the former Louisiana state representative whose work he describes as “exciting.”

Both men’s early careers in the movement followed a similar trajectory, including “racial awakenings” as teenagers and activism on campuses aimed at radicalizing students. By the time they were in their early 20s, each had made appearances on national television as the young new face of racism.

What’s behind Heimbach’s rapid rise to national recognition and his frenetic wanderings over the landscape of the radical right? Is it simply unchecked ego, the bald ambition for fame or even infamy? Or perhaps it’s as some have surmised in online racist forums, that Heimbach is working undercover for the federal government or, worse, the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency — an allegation that Heimbach says he finds humorous.

If you ask Heimbach, his willingness to stand with Nazis and anti-Semites, hardened Aryan warriors and old-school academic racists, has nothing to do with being a double agent, but rather everything to do with the future of a movement.

Heimbach bizarrely claims his support of the white race has never been rooted in the hate of others. A lapsed Roman Catholic, he has adopted Orthodox Christianity as a justification for much of what he believes, which includes the separation of races. But he is also into spiritual warfare and the fear that demons walk among us. Last Halloween, he spent the entire day praying in seclusion.

In the twisted world of Heimbach’s ideology, separating the races is an expression of love, both of his own white “folk” and other groups. He thinks they should co-exist, equal but entirely separated.

“The targets of our messages are the very White American people [who] from their earlier memories [are taught] to find our message offensive, scary, and ‘mean,’” Heimbach wrote on the TYN blog. “Our message is a simple, obvious, and healthy message that would resonate intuitively were it not for a firewall of government, academic, and media brainwashing.”

The solution, Heimbach believes, depends on both the death of the Republican Party and a strident endorsement of so-called European heritage. In that regard, although he once volunteered for various conservative political campaigns, he now hopes to undermine mainstream Republican candidates in order to hand elections to their rivals in the Democratic Party.

Heimbach’s end game is to delegitimize the entire political system, which in recent years has threatened the place of white nationalism in conservative politics. And if that means attacking GOP politicians and even those in the racist movement, so be it, he says, even if that results in condemning white nationalists as “cowards” for failing to stand on the strength of their convictions.

“My position is we’re under the bus. There are enough of us under the bus. And if there are enough people under the bus, you can pick it up,” Heimbach said. At this point, he added, “It’s exist to resist.” ▲

Fantasies of the future: Matthew Heimbach looks forward to a world where the races live apart. In this photograph he is wearing what he refers to as his “Carlist beret”, a reference to monarchists who were allies of Spanish fascist leader Francisco Franco.



FROM MATTHEW HEIMBACH FACEBOOK



Known for an endless barrage of failed lawsuits against his enemies, Larry Klayman calls, fruitlessly, for Obama's ouster

BY LEAH NELSON

On Sept. 18, 2013, a “citizens grand jury” in Ocala, Fla., found President Barack Obama guilty of “defraud[ing] ... the American people into electing an illegal person for the Office of President of the United States.”

In a verdict signed by local tea party activist and “Citizens’ Grand Jury Judge” Randal C. Fritz, the jury sentenced the president to 10 years imprisonment and demanded that he “forthwith surrender himself into the custody of the American people and the people of Florida.”

That didn’t happen. So on Oct. 13, self-declared “Citizens’ Prosecutor” Larry Klayman, who convened the so-called grand jury, appeared on the steps of Washington, D.C.’s World War II Memorial and called on a cheering crowd to “wage a second American nonviolent revolution, to use civil disobedience, and to demand that this president leave town ... to put the Koran down and ... come out with his hands up.” The date he set for Obama’s “last chance” was Nov. 19.

To accomplish that lofty goal, Klayman formed the “Reclaim America Now Coalition.” Its members include Jihad Watch, an anti-Muslim hate group whose director, Robert Spencer, believes that Islam is an inherently violent religion and that multiculturalism is an anti-Christian conspiracy to destroy the West; You Can Run But You Cannot Hide International, an anti-gay “ministry” and hate group whose leader, Bradlee Dean, has argued that it is moral to execute LGBT people; Ride for the Constitution, a coterie of truckers who made news in October with plans to jam Washington, D.C., roads until their demands, which included the president’s impeachment,

Larry Klayman has worked with, represented, or defended the work of a Who's Who of haters, conspiracy theorists and other denizens of the American radical right.



JOSEPH FARAH
WorldNetDaily publisher



BRADLEE DEAN
Anti-gay activist



PAMELA GELLER
Anti-Muslim blogger

were met; Gun Owners of America, a pro-militia group that has been described as “eight lanes to the right of the NRA”; and a raft of other extremist organizations united by their loathing of America’s 44th president.

The group converged on Washington, D.C.’s LaFayette Park on Nov. 19 for speeches by Klayman and a host of far-right superstars including Muslim-bashing diva Pamela Geller, arch-“birther” and WorldNetDaily publisher Joseph Farah, Christian Right stalwart Alan Keyes, and unnamed “victims of President Obama’s administration.” It noticeably failed to force Obama from office, and Klayman’s boast that at least 2 million people would attend also fell flat. In fact, about 100 made it to the rally, 1/20,000th the promised number.

“This has never been done before,” the group acknowledged before the event. “[B]ut as Thomas Paine said, these are the times that try men’s souls.”

‘Meting Out Punishment’

These are certainly times that try Larry Klayman. Klayman, who in declining requests for an interview described the Southern Poverty Law Center as “an atheist, anti-American group which hates people of faith, conservatives and anyone who disagrees with its ultra-leftist agenda,” said he would sue if this article were libelous or “holds us in a false light.”

Klayman is a former U.S. prosecutor who made a name for himself in the 1990s as founder and head of the activist law firm Judicial Watch, under

whose auspices he launched at least 18 lawsuits against the Clinton administration for various supposed misdeeds. In this role, he deposed numerous high-ranking administration officials. And through his membership in the influential and secretive Council for National Policy, which lobbies for hard-line conservative positions, he became part of the “vast right-wing conspiracy” (his words *and* Hillary Clinton’s) that plotted to “remove [Bill Clinton] by whatever legal and ethical means were necessary.”

Although he launched a number of lawsuits and other campaigns between 2000 and 2008, Klayman made little news during the Bush years. But the election of Barack Obama – who Klayman believes to be a crypto-Muslim, proto-communist pretender to the presidency – seems to have driven him over the edge.

Klayman, who once sued his own mother, has previously seemed to subscribe to approximately the same version of reality, or at least to play by the same rules, as the rest of America. “At Judicial Watch and now Freedom Watch [an organization Klayman formed after he broke with Judicial Watch], I used the civil court system to seek and obtain justice as best I could,” Klayman wrote in his 2009 book, *Whores: Why and How I Came to Fight the Establishment*. “But I do not have the powers to indict someone or some government, labor union or corporate interest for criminal acts.”

Something must have changed, for in April 2012, Klayman proclaimed that he has exactly those powers. In a rambling manifesto that cited the Magna

Carta, *Marbury vs Madison* (the 1803 case which established that the U.S. Supreme Court has the final say over laws’ constitutionality), and Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia’s 1992 opinion in *United States v. Williams*, Klayman concluded: “Although the customary practice for summoning a federal grand jury is by a court ... the [Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure] does not preclude citizens from exercising their own rights to impanel grand juries under the Constitution. ... [A]nd if a true bill of indictment results, the courts are technically required to commence proceedings and the executive branch to enforce the court’s edicts.”

Using language and logic reminiscent of that put forth by antigovernment “sovereign citizens” groups (which have long claimed the right to convene their own private grand juries, hold trials in imaginary courtrooms, and mete out justice according to their own rules), Klayman continued, “if the courts refuse and the executive branch does not carry out its duties by, for instance, arresting the criminally accused, Americans do have a right to make ‘citizens arrests,’ hold trials and legally mete out punishment in their own right.”

Obama’s ‘Last Chance’

Klayman hasn’t attempted a “citizen’s arrest” of President Obama or any of the other top-level officials he’s “indicted” but he has shown a willingness to engage in rhetoric and stunts that straddle the border between funny and unnerving. Visitors to CitizensGrandJury.com, the



ALAN KEYES
Christian Right politician



ROBERT SPENCER
Jihad Watch director



JEROME CORSI
'Birther' conspiracist



JOE ARPAIO
Arizona sheriff

website on which he announces the Ocala-based group's various activities, are greeted with a rousing chorus of "Do You Hear the People Sing?" the revolutionary anthem from "Les Misérables." And while claiming to be calling for peaceful revolution, Klayman has no problem with violent imagery.

"Americans do have a right to make 'citizens arrests,' hold trials and legally mete out punishment in their own right."

In his Nov. 1 WorldNetDaily column calling on left and right to unite at his Nov. 19 rally, Klayman wrote: "[T]he nation's 'leaders' are so corrupt that it is no longer a question of whether revolution will ultimately break out, but simply when. In the words of French King Louis XV, 'Après moi le deluge,' meaning let the people be damned, and after me I don't care if all hell breaks loose. Indeed, this came to pass when French citizens stormed the Bastille on July 14, 1789, and King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette, in addition to the king's noble court, government officials and judges,

were later taken to the guillotines."

He continued, "This is the last chance for Obama and his Democratic and Republican enablers to escape more serious remedies by the populace."

Klayman wasn't always such a fringe figure. He began his professional career in Washington as a prosecutor with the

U.S. Department of Justice's (DOJ) consumer affairs division. There, he wrote in *Whores*, he learned that "rather than being a friend of the people, the government was often their enemy." After a stint at a private law firm whose "partners also proved to be weak and ethically compromised," he quit and opened his own practice, where he formulated the strategy that would make him famous.

"An aggressive approach against the powers that be alone was not enough," he wrote in *Whores*. "The government official or judge who was subject to making decisions based on politics or money would need to be held accountable. ... Threats of legal action or, if the threats didn't work, the actual filing of lawsuits against government personnel, were thus a means to coax them to do the right thing."

Klayman would employ this strategy to great effect during the Clinton administration, filing at least 18 lawsuits against the president, first lady, and other administration officials. In 1994, he founded Judicial Watch, which he conceived as a sort of private Justice

Department that would hold the government to account. While willing to sue the administration over nearly any perceived misdeed, he was particularly exercised over "Filegate," a conservative conspiracy theory that claimed that agents of Hillary Clinton had improperly reviewed FBI files on political adversaries. Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr – no friend of the Clintons – exonerated the president and first lady in 1998, but the suit continued until 2010, when a judge dismissed it with a quote from Gertrude Stein: "There's no there there."

Equal Opportunity Extremism

Klayman, who seems to perceive every setback or sign of opposition as a personal attack, sees "there" everywhere. Like many in the antigovernment "Patriot" community, for which he clearly has an affinity, he believes the 1995 bombing of Oklahoma City's Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building by domestic terrorists was actually masterminded by Saddam Hussein and "American neo-Nazis." Also like many in the Patriot movement, he believes Obama is constitutionally ineligible to be president, supports U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations, and harbors an unhealthy suspicion of Muslims. Earlier this year, he speculated that a tragic but accidental explosion at a Texas fertilizer plant might have been the work of Muslim saboteurs.

Klayman also reads heavily into the meaning behind events in his own life. He has even gone so far as to suggest that agents of the Clinton administration may have tried to assassinate him.

He is especially sensitive to matters of identity and identity politics. A Jewish-born convert to Christianity, Klayman sees anti-Semitism everywhere. He has described a judge who ruled against him as an anti-Semite, and railed against liberal Jews who, he contends, have betrayed the tenets of their faith. In a recent column for WorldNetDaily, he wrote that his heart “throb[s] in shame” over the crimes of the “felonious liberal Jews” who have committed “the moral equivalent of ethical and religious bankruptcy” by aligning themselves with the Obama administration.

Despite his affinity for ultraconservative memes and Patriot conspiracy theories, Klayman defies easy political categorization. While in law school at Georgia’s Emory University, he volunteered for Jimmy Carter’s 1976 presidential campaign, “thinking that this seemingly honest peanut farmer and former Georgia governor would be right for the nation after the cesspool of the Nixon years.” He is an admirer of Ralph Nader, a decidedly progressive political activist best known for his devotion to consumer protection and environmental causes – and also of the late Howard Phillips, a principal architect of the American religious right and co-founder of the Constitution Party, a far-right outfit whose stated goal is to “restore American jurisprudence to its Biblical foundations and to limit the federal government to its Constitutional boundaries.”

While he made his name suing Clintonites, Klayman has attacked Republicans as well. He criticized George W. Bush’s administration nearly as vigorously as he did Clinton’s, suing former Vice President Dick Cheney repeat-

edly and attacking the Patriot Act, which significantly expanded the government’s ability to spy on American citizens. Reflecting on the Bush presidency in *Whores*, he wrote, “Having violated every known concept of civil rights for American citizens ... [George] W. [Bush] did more for this country’s move to socialism than Marx or Mao could ever have done.”

Klayman and the Law

In 2004, Klayman competed as a candidate for U.S. Senate in Florida’s Republican primary, promising to shrink the government, push for America’s withdrawal from the United Nations, and demand “the immediate removal of Cuba dictator-in-chief Fidel Castro – by force if necessary.” In a fundraising letter to right-wing financier and former supporter Richard Mellon Scaife – who reportedly discouraged Klayman from running – he outlined plans to “investigate and prosecute in the Senate Hillary Clinton much like Richard Nixon did with the communist spy Alger Hiss,”

and said he hoped to mount a challenge to Hillary Clinton’s seemingly inevitable presidential run in 2008.

Despite endorsements from the likes of WorldNetDaily publisher Joseph Farah, who called Klayman a “hero,” Klayman

lost the primary. His reputation was also dealt a blow by speculation, outlined in a 2004 article in the left-leaning *Nation*, that Klayman may have violated campaign finance law by soliciting a loan from the direct-mail outfit that assisted with his campaign.

Though he returned to private practice and involved himself in the case of Terry Schiavo – a woman in a persistent vegetative state who became a cause célèbre for the Christian Right, which fought vigorously to prolong her life by artificial means – Klayman’s star appeared to be waning. In 2006, he sued Judicial Watch, alleging among other things that Tom

Larry Klayman is a former federal prosecutor, but that hasn’t stopped him — without the benefit of any real evidence — from suggesting that the Oklahoma City bombing was the work of Saddam Hussein and American neo-Nazis. He also thinks an accidental explosion at a Texas fertilizer plant may have been carried out by Muslim saboteurs.



"The nation's 'leaders' are so corrupt that it is no longer a question of whether revolution will ultimately break out, but simply when."



Fitton, whom he had hired to replace him as president, had "hijack[ed]" the group and "defrauded" both Klayman and Judicial Watch donors. The suit backfired: Not only did he fail to regain control of the organization, but in 2009, a federal judge found that Klayman had violated his severance agreement by failing to reimburse Judicial Watch for personal expenses in the amount of \$69,358.48. In 2011, the same judge sanctioned Klayman for "dilatory" and obstructionist actions that "needlessly delayed" his suit against Judicial Watch.

Following his failed bid for the Senate, Klayman founded Freedom Watch as a sort of successor to Judicial Watch. Along with the predictable lawsuits against the Obama administration and a rather fanciful attempt to extract \$10 trillion from Iran, he has in recent years represented a number of anti-Obama "birther" plaintiffs attempting to prove in court that the president is constitutionally ineligible for office, and sued major media organizations on behalf of politically like-minded clients who felt affronted by the attention they received.

Lately, Klayman has begun to fall afoul of the law himself. The Florida bar publicly reprimanded him in 2011, and in June 2013, the *Phoenix New Times* reported that the Arizona State Bar was investigating him, possibly in connection with reports that he had misled the court about an administrative mat-

ter related to his appearance in a lawsuit against citizens attempting to recall Joe Arpaio, Maricopa County's immigrant-hating, Obama-bashing sheriff. Also in 2013, the *New Times* published excerpts from an Ohio appellate court ruling that Klayman had "inappropriately touched" his own children.

Yet even as his own probity and credentials were called into question, he continued his barrage of unwinnable suits. In 2011, he represented gay-hating celebrity preacher Bradlee Dean (whose "ministry," You Can Run But You Cannot Hide International, is now a member of Klayman's Regain America Now Coalition) in a \$50 million defamation suit against MSNBC's Rachel Maddow and another reporter, which ended when a court ordered Dean to reimburse his opponents for nearly \$25,000 in legal fees. The same year, naming himself as plaintiff, he sued Facebook and its founder, Mark Zuckerberg, for failing to act quickly enough on requests that he take down pages posted by Palestinian militants calling for the destruction of Israel and Jews worldwide. In 2012, a judge found the defendants were shielded from liability under the Communications Decency Act.

Also in 2011, acting on behalf of publisher and friend Joseph Farah, who runs WorldNetDaily, Klayman sued *Esquire* magazine for more than \$120 million over a satirical piece claiming that Farah

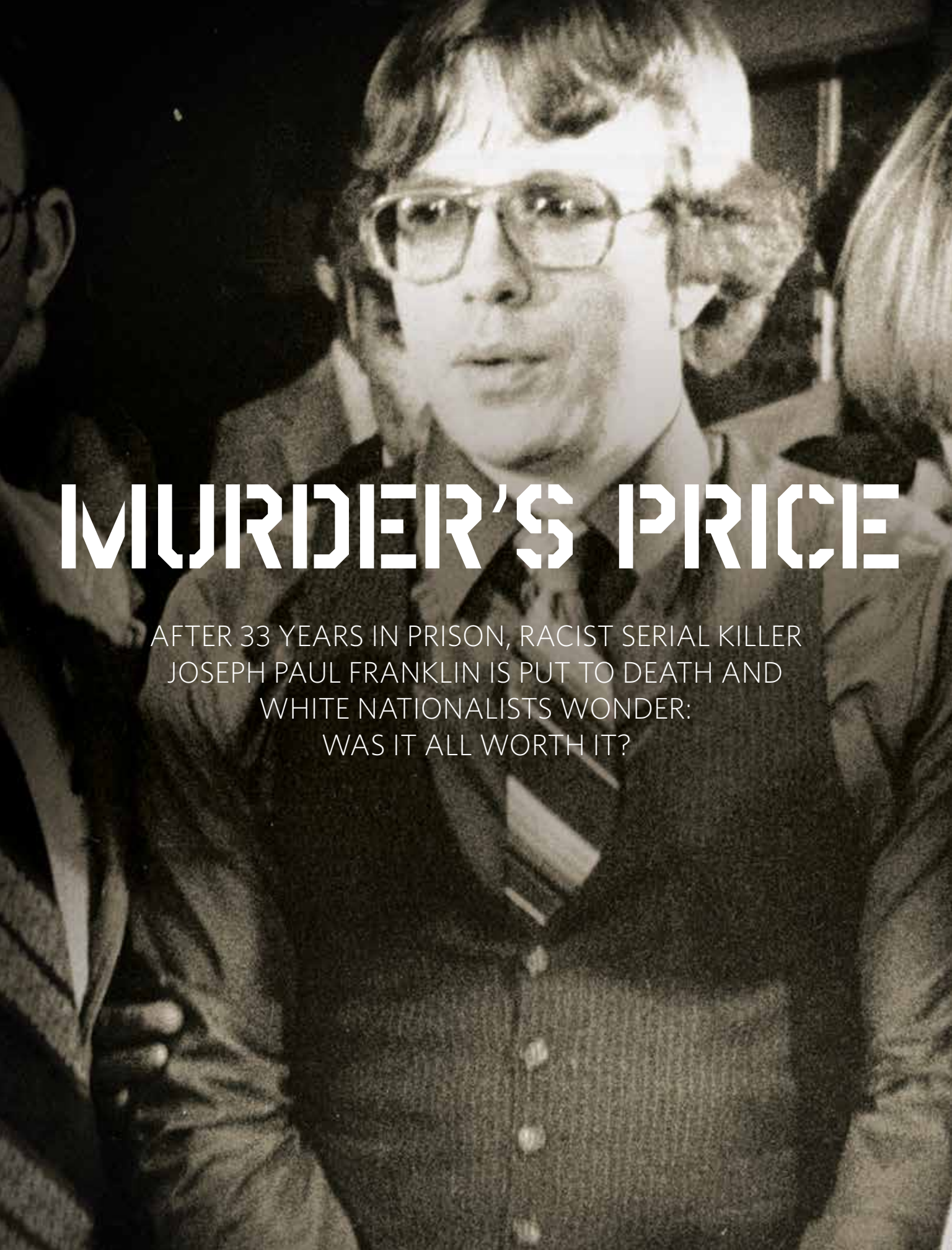
Larry Klayman, who once sued his own mother, had a special feeling for the Clinton administration, filing at least 18 lawsuits against the president, his wife and various administration officials.

had decided to destroy 200,000 copies of Jerome Corsi's *Where's The Birth Certificate? The Case that Barack Obama is not Eligible to be President*, which was about to go on sale when the president released his birth certificate. That suit was dismissed in June 2012.

A lesser man, or one who felt in any way constrained by reality, might have been daunted by such setbacks – but not Larry Klayman. In 2012, he began convening "citizens grand juries" and calling for "peaceful" revolution.

It's unclear where all of this is supposed to lead. For all his extremism, Klayman has for the vast majority of his public career worked within the system, attempting to use the system against itself. Even now he's law-abiding: amidst his talk of revolution, he proudly announced on Nov. 6 that the Reclaim America Now Coalition had a permit to demonstrate near the White House. According to its website, group intended to "CAMP OUT until we get results."

Maybe he thought something big really would happen. But more likely, as seems to have often been the case with Klayman's stunts, even he realized that there was just no there there. ▲



MURDER'S PRICE

AFTER 33 YEARS IN PRISON, RACIST SERIAL KILLER
JOSEPH PAUL FRANKLIN IS PUT TO DEATH AND
WHITE NATIONALISTS WONDER:
WAS IT ALL WORTH IT?



AP IMAGES; AP IMAGES/AL BEHRMAN (FRANKLIN)

BY DON TERRY

BONNE TERRE, Mo. — Shortly after racist serial sniper Joseph Paul Franklin was executed here in the cold, pre-dawn darkness of Nov. 20, an intense debate erupted on the white nationalist Web forum Stormfront: Was the 63-year-old drifter, who was suspected of killing as many as 20 unarmed men, women and children, a hero of the separatist cause or a curse?

The debate raged for days.

“Franklin should be getting a community service award rather than an execution,” “Disappointed American” posted to the forum just hours after Franklin was pronounced dead at 6:17 a.m. from a lethal injection of pentobarbital.

“He can burn in hell for all I care, one JPF causes more damage to our chances of succeeding than any Hollywood propaganda piece could,” “Pat88” wrote.

“The guy took 20 or so lives of monsters,” “DJW001” posted. “But to what end. If one can’t win (remain free and prosperous) it is better to try a different tactic.”

Comments pro and con poured in and eventually took up 15 pages. But as Don Black, the former Alabama Klan leader and founder of Stormfront, pointed out, “I may be the only person here who actually knew Franklin.”

“I’ve been contemplating how my life would have been different had he remained the only ‘White Nationalist’ I’d ever met,” Black wrote. “I’d have quit in disgust. I had just turned sixteen, and maybe I could have then led a ‘normal’ life.”

It is remarkable that there could be any debate about Franklin’s deeds at all. From 1977 to 1980, the Mobile, Ala., native roamed the country, killing people at random as part of his delusional “mission” to spark a race war.

The late William Pierce, founder of the neo-Nazi National Alliance,

certainly admired Franklin. Pierce attempted to immortalize Franklin’s racist killing spree by dedicating to him the 1989 novel, *Hunter*, which Pierce authored under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. The book depicts a character much like Franklin, who hunts down and murders interracial couples and government officials. Pierce called Franklin, “the Lone Hunter, who saw his duty as



The late neo-Nazi leader William Pierce dedicated his 1989 novel *Hunter* to Joseph Paul Franklin, “a responsible son of his race.” Others on the radical right were not so sure after Franklin’s November execution, with some accusing the racist serial killer of damaging their movement.

a White man and did what a responsible son of his race must do, to the best of his ability and without regard for personal consequences.”

While at least one Stormfront poster quoted Pierce’s dedication as evidence that Franklin was a hero, Black wrote, “I could never imagine why Pierce dedicated a book to him, since he must have known him.”

After *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt featured an interracial couple in his magazine, Joseph Paul Franklin shot him down on a Georgia street in 1978. Franklin was never tried for the attack, which left Flynt partially paralyzed, but confirmed shortly before his execution that he was the shooter.

Franklin mostly targeted black men and boys and interracial couples. Yet, it was the 1977 sniper slaying of a 42-year-old white man, Gerald Gordon, coming out of a synagogue after a bar mitzvah in suburban St. Louis, that resulted in Franklin's only death sentence.

Franklin's execution after 33 years behind bars was the last killing in a life twisted and consumed by murder, childhood abuse, racial hatred and madness. "I was mentally ill when I was out there, man, I mean, I was just completely out of control, to be quite honest," Franklin told the *Intelligence Report* in a series of telephone interviews in the last three weeks of his life. "That was not me out there in the streets, doing that crap. I would not even think of doing that stuff again."

He went on to renounce his racist past and anti-Semitic beliefs and expressed remorse for his crimes. His statements of regret generated more comments – and considerable disappointment – on the Stormfront forum. Franklin was criticized for his "pussified recanting of his racial views," for "groveling around for a little more time locked in a box," and for being "a pussy and a traitor" for recanting.

But a poster identified as "HenryV" was less judgmental of the remorseful racist: "It's easy to call him names from behind a computer screen but imagine the hell, not to mention the intimidation that man has faced in jail. We don't know how we might act faced with the same enemies. Were any of the Nazis at Nuremburg sieg heiling and remaining defiant[?]"

A Killer's Dreams

The slaying of Gerald Gordon went unsolved for nearly 20 years until Franklin, with a Grim Reaper tattoo on his arm, confessed in 1994 while serving two life sentences in a federal prison



in Illinois for slaying two young black men in Utah. The insanely superstitious Franklin said he admitted shooting Gordon because a dream instructed him to tell.

"I was always having dreams on the streets, telling me to do things," Franklin said. "I always felt they were messages from God, so I would obey them."

At a pre-trial hearing in 1997 for Gordon's murder, Franklin told the court that his only regret was that killing Jews wasn't legal. Franklin, who represented himself at the subsequent trial, asked the jury to sentence him to death. He flashed the jurors a thumbs-up when they followed his wishes.

"I had just totally been obsessed with *Mein Kampf* and Hitler and wanted to kill some Jews," Franklin told the *Report*. "That was another thing that was crazy. That was obviously the work of somebody who was mentally ill, because who would want to go around shooting somebody worshipping at a synagogue? I just cannot imagine myself committing a crime like that anymore. I have actually come to the conclusion over the years, a person that is anti-Semitic, that in itself is a sign of mental illness."

After interviewing Franklin in person for more than six hours in 1996, Dr. Dorothy Lewis, a New York City psychiatrist, concluded, according to *New Yorker*

magazine writer Malcolm Gladwell, that Franklin was a paranoid schizophrenic, “a psychotic,” Gladwell wrote, “whose thinking was delusional and confused, a man wholly unfit to stand trial at this time.”

Lewis reached the same conclusion in 2003 and again in 2013 after reviewing her records, reports and interviews with Franklin’s relatives — findings Franklin’s lawyers cited in their unsuccessful petition to the governor seeking commutation or reprieve of his death sentence. “Dr. Lewis finds Mr. Franklin to be,” according to the petition, “a chronically paranoid schizophrenic person who suffers psychotic behaviors such as blasphemous thoughts, auditory hallucinations, and delusional beliefs (such as the belief that he is a Nazi and a Jew).”

The prolific serial killer has been that way, the petition added, since his abusive adolescence. Franklin and his three siblings were repeatedly and brutally beaten by their parents. Franklin, his older sister Carolyn told the *Report*, “always got the worst of it.”

Their parents cursed, screamed, yelled, beat and “knocked us around unmercifully,” she said in a written statement seeking clemency for Franklin. There was plenty of poverty and almost no love in their home in the all-white public housing projects of Mobile, where Franklin grew up.

Carol said as a result of their upbringing, Franklin and her other siblings were psychologically damaged. Their younger brother Gordon, she said, has been in and out of mental institutions. “As mentally ill as my siblings are, I did not remain unscathed,” she said in the statement. “I know that I have Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Just writing about our childhood has caused me undue anguish and tears untold. I have been depressed most of my life. I have undergone psychiatric treatment for these things.”

Franklin, however, told the *Report* that he had cured himself of mental illness by meditating and reading books during his nearly three decades in solitary confinement, the last 15 with a death sentence hanging over him.

“It’s called bibliotherapy,” he said.

‘Focusing on Race-Mixers’

All told, Franklin was convicted of killing eight people, from Wisconsin to Utah. Gerald Gordon was the third person he killed. His first killing was of a young interracial couple in Madison, Wis., in August of 1977. Franklin was obsessed with black and white sex. “I still think miscegenation is wrong,” Franklin said. “But now I know it’s none of my business.”

His last killing occurred almost exactly three years after his first and the start of his “mission.” It happened on the evening of Aug. 20, 1980, in Salt Lake City when he shot and killed two young black men — David Martin, 18, and Ted Fields, 20.

“My goal at the time was just focusing on race-mixers,” he said. Franklin shot Martin and Fields from the tall weeds of a vacant lot shortly after nightfall because he saw them jogging around a park with two white teenage girls.

The two young men — a recent high school graduate

and a college student who was the son of a minister — were not Franklin’s first choice to die that night. “I intended to shoot an interracial couple coming out of a convenience store,” Franklin said. “Then I saw two interracial couples jogging through Liberty Park. I swung the rifle around real quick to my left. I was able to get a shot off real quick and drop one of the blacks.”

To Franklin’s amazement, instead of running away, the wounded man’s friends grabbed his arms and tried to pull him to safety.

“I couldn’t understand that,” Franklin said.

He quickly racked the action of the rifle, peered through the scope and “dropped the second black guy.”

“I then emptied the gun into both guys while they were lying there,” he said. “I figured I should complete the job.”

One of the white girls who watched her friends get gunned down that night is now a 49-year-old grandmother named



Joseph Paul Franklin was tried for the 1980 wounding in Indiana of civil rights leader Vernon Jordan, but the jury set him free. Franklin told the *Intelligence Report* that the jury had made a mistake in the case.

"I was mentally ill when I was out there, man, I mean, I was just completely out of control, to be quite honest. That was not me out there in the streets, doing that crap. I would not even think of doing that stuff again."



Terry Jackson-Mitchell. She still carries a scar from when a bullet tore through one of the young men and a ricocheted off the pavement. Mitchell told the *Report* that she had forgiven Franklin but still wanted him to be executed, to put him out of his lifetime of suffering.

Still, 10 days before his scheduled execution, Mitchell sent Franklin two books about spiritual healing and forgiveness. She also agreed to speak to him over the phone.

The conversation rattled her.

"He said he was glad he didn't kill me," Mitchell said. "He said he was sorry for the incident. 'The incident' is what he called what he did."

Franklin called Jackson-Mitchell two days before his execution. She said he sounded scared, scattershot and seemed afraid of dying as he apologized one more time. "He is as remorseful as he is capable of being," she said. "He said he is so grateful he didn't kill me and that he was mentally ill when he did it. I have made peace with that information."

Nothing he said, however, changed her mind or her heart about his need to be executed, despite what she said

Joseph Paul Franklin, who was convicted of killing eight people but suspected in the murders of as many as 14 more, recanted his racist views as his date with an executioner approached.

was his childhood of "incredible neglect and abuse."

"I think it did stunt his brain growth in some way," she said. "It changed who he could have been. He certainly lacked the ability for empathy. But how would he know what that looks like without ever seeing it in his moments of helplessness as a child?"

Over the years, Franklin also admitted to shooting and paralyzing *Hustler* magazine publisher Larry Flynt in Georgia in 1978 and critically wounding civil rights leader Vernon Jordan in 1980 in Indiana. Franklin was never tried for shooting Flynt and was acquitted in federal court for the sniper attack on Jordan. The jury in that case, Franklin said, made a mistake.

He said he shot Flynt because the publisher had featured an interracial couple in his magazine. Flynt, a longtime opponent of the death penalty, put aside his personal pain and near death at the hands of Franklin to speak out against

Franklin's execution, saying recently that capital punishment was not about justice, but vengeance. Flynt, with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, even went to court, hoping to stop the execution.

Nevertheless, Flynt wrote in *The Hollywood Reporter* that he would love one hour alone with Franklin "with a pair of wire cutters and pliers, so I could inflict the same damage on him that he inflicted on me."

Franklin told the *Report* that he appreciated Flynt's opposition to his execution. "But I don't like that he wanted to torture me," he said, chuckling.

In the last few weeks before his scheduled execution, Franklin seemed calm and relaxed and even joked during his interviews with the *Report*. He said while he was "pulling out all of the stops" to save his life, he was not afraid to die. "I strongly believe in reincarnation," he said, adding that he had long ago "repented his sins" and asked "the Lord for forgiveness."

But there was no doubt that he wanted to live, even if that meant spending the rest of his days locked up alone in a cell in solitary confinement, as he had been for his own protection for most of his three decades behind bars. He was stabbed 15 times in a federal prison in Illinois by a group of black inmates in 1982, trying to carry out an execution of their own.

'Pray for My Daddy'

Franklin crisscrossed the country, randomly killing strangers for three years before he was captured in 1980. He left behind dozens of grieving family members. He also left behind a tiny victim of his madness named Lori, his only child.

Lori has been haunted by her father's absence and his deeds all of her own troubled life. "He had a problem with alcohol, I have a problem with alcohol," she said. "It's in the genes."



Nearing the end: Before his execution, Joseph Paul Franklin spent his final weeks at Potosi Correctional Center in Missouri, before being transferred to Bonne Terre, Mo.

Lori was 1 year old when Franklin was arrested. “I knew he was in prison for killing blacks,” Lori told the *Report*, wiping away tears as she picked at her lunch recently. “I didn’t know how many. I didn’t know any details until I got to be 18. Then I looked it up for myself.”

Lori said she has never hugged her father or seen him in person since his arrest. She has seen him several times on television programs about notorious serial killers. She said she meant to visit her father in prison over the years, “but something always came up.”

Franklin said he put his daughter on the list of five friends and family members he is allowed to invite to witness his execution. But Lori said she would not and could not go – emotionally or financially. “We’re about as poor as you can get,” she said.

Still, she said, Franklin did his best to stay in touch through letters and telephone calls when she was growing up. She said he often sent her money when he had a prison job before he was sent to death row in 1997. “Despite him being in prison all this time, he really tried being a dad as best he could,” she said. “A lot

of guys don’t even do that and they’re out here.”

Lori said she loved her father and was praying for a miracle so that his life would be spared, at least long enough for him to meet his great-granddaughter through the thick glass of a prison visiting room. Lori was a teenage mother and so was her daughter.

About a week before Franklin’s scheduled execution, Lori talked with her father on the telephone for the first time in nearly two years. She said he was “becoming too crazy” in solitary confinement and “I needed to keep my distance.”

But time was running out. When he called, she answered.

“The first time I ever heard him laugh was yesterday in my whole life,” she said. “He apologized for not being a good father to me and asked me to please forgive him. Of course, I said yes.”

Still, Lori has kept who her father was a secret from almost everyone she knows.

“When I was in school everybody would ask me about my dad and I’d lie,” she said. “That’s when he was locked up in Illinois. I’d say he was a businessman in Illinois. Only a few choice friends know about my daddy, a couple of them are black. I used to think there was something wrong with me because I had his blood in me. Sometimes I still think that. I told a black friend sev-

eral years ago. I asked him if he thought any different about me. He said, ‘No, you didn’t do it.’”

The other day, Lori announced on her Facebook page who her father is. She is tired of hiding. She is tired of being one of Joseph Paul Franklin’s victims.

“I pray for my daddy,” she said. “That’s all I can do.”

As Lori prayed for her father’s shattered soul, the Stormfront debate about Franklin’s place in white supremacy raged on.

“He was simply another victim of the failed policy of integration,” “Freedom lover” posted. “Let his death be on the heads of every liberal asswipe who supports white genocide.”

“He was a coward, who when he wasn’t preying on those weaker than he was, shot people from ambush,” “FreeWhiteMan” wrote. “Nothing manly about him at all.”

“Garryowen” posted that all Franklin managed to do “is demonize those on the Right – as if we needed any more of that.”

“I’m sure he’s in Valhalla, drinking mead from the skulls of his victims,” “Voncyril” wrote.

“I doubt if he made it there,” Don Black fired back, “particularly after telling the SPLC Jews we were all ‘mentally ill’ for not liking Jews, hoping to save his hide a little while longer.” ▲



For more information
about William Pierce, see
sp.lc/william-pierce



THE YEAR IN HATE & EXTREMISM

THE RADICAL RIGHT LAST YEAR EXPERIENCED ITS
FIRST SIGNIFICANT DECLINE SINCE A DIZZYING RISE
BEGAN IN 2009. BUT VERY REAL DANGERS REMAIN

BY MARK POTOK ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE

A

fter four years of spectacular growth driven by the 2008 election of President Obama and the nearly simultaneous collapse of the economy, the radical right in America saw its first significant decrease in 2013. The shrinking numbers of hate groups and, especially, antigovernment “Patriot” groups appear to be the result of a host of factors, ranging from the co-opting of their issues by mainstream politicians, to an improving economy, to law enforcement crackdowns.

The year started out with a national discussion of gun control in the wake of a deadly Connecticut school massacre and a promise that action would come soon on comprehensive immigration reform, two issues that energized the right and seemed to promise an intensification of radical rage. But those issues faded away with little real action, leaving a deflated radical right to wallow unhappily in “losses” including the advance of same-sex marriage and national health care reform, the failure of various nightmarish predictions to materialize, and Obama’s re-election.

Those factors, along with the collapse or near-collapse of several major groups for a variety of reasons, seem to have taken some of the wind out of the sails of the radical right, leaving the movement both weaker and somewhat smaller. But that has not dampened the violence and terrorism coming out of the movement, as a number of cases last year, including a Klansman’s alleged attempt to build an X-ray weapon to mass murder Muslims, reflected. And while the

THE YEAR IN HATE & EXTREMISM

number of groups has diminished, they are still at historically high levels, far higher even than the very high number that was seen at the peak of the militia movement in the 1990s.

The number of hate groups last year dropped for the second year in a row, down 7% from 1,007 in 2012 to 939, after reaching a 2011 high of 1,018, according to the latest count by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). But the more significant drop came among the Patriot groups, which fell 19% from 1,360 groups in 2012 to 1,096 in 2013. That drop followed an unprecedented rise in Patriot groups, which climbed from a mere 149 in 2008 to the all-time high seen in 2012.

Enormous antipathy toward Obama clearly drove the surge in radical groups, not to mention boosting the Tea Party groups that took off in 2009 and various far-right politicians, that may now have ended. Their anger was not directed only at Obama, but at the demographic change he represented — the Census Bureau has predicted that whites will lose their white majority in the United States by 2043. But the president's 2012 re-election, which was unexpected by much of the political right, seemed to have the opposite effect, sapping the energy of many of those who had assumed that Americans would finally rise in righteous fury against him.

In other words, the same groups that were galvanized by Obama's first election and swelled dramatically as a result, were demoralized by his re-election, which seemed to signal that their battle was lost despite enormous effort.

The Changing Landscape

In addition, the radical right seems increasingly conscious that it is losing its battles on many other fronts. Well over half of Americans now support same-sex marriage, a dramatic rise since 1996, when just 27% did so. Large sections of the GOP are trying to figure out how to appeal to the rapidly growing pool of minority voters, even if they are stymied by others within their party. Global warming and rising oceans seem like an indisputable reality to ever more Americans. Legalization of recre-

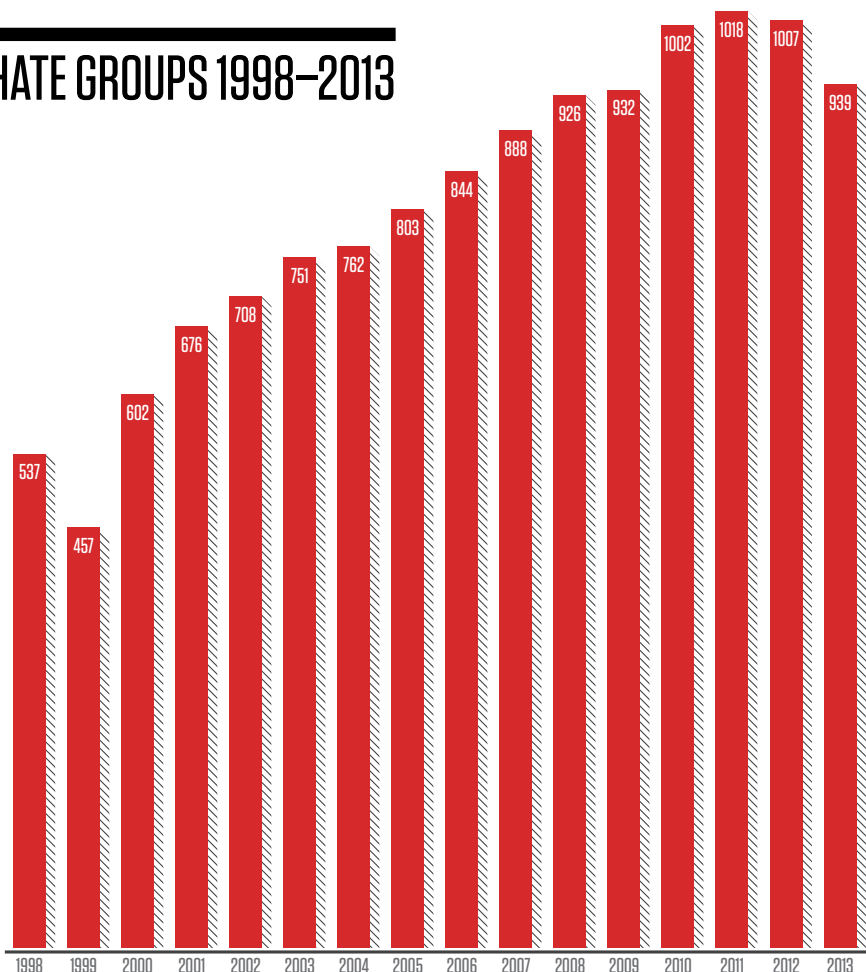
ational marijuana in two states reflects an increasingly liberal trend. Even with its troubled rollout, national health care reform is likely here to stay.

The right wing of the Republican Party suffered, too, especially in the wake of the ill-fated 16-day government shutdown led by Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Texas) and backed by the Tea Parties as a way of defunding Obamacare last October. In the shutdown's aftermath, a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll showed that 77% of respondents disapproved of the GOP's

gay marriage fight is over. It is here to stay," he wrote. "Whether the fight ends with a Constitution-twisting Supreme Court ruling or after years or decades as the states adopt it one by one, it's a done deal."

Democracy Corps, a liberal think tank whose principals include James Carville, sounded similar in an analysis last fall entitled "Inside the GOP: Report on focus groups with Evangelical, Tea Party, and moderate Republicans." "[T]he base thinks they are losing polit-

HATE GROUPS 1998–2013



actions, and 63%, the highest level in the history of the poll, had an unfavorable view of the party. Just a quarter approved of the Tea Parties, the lowest level since the question was first asked in 2010.

Kurt Schlichter, a conservative lawyer writing on Townhall.com last year, seemed to capture the demoralized mood when he urged others on the right to learn to live with gay marriage. "The

ically and losing control of the country — and their starting reaction is 'worried,' 'discouraged,' 'scared,' and 'concerned' about the direction of the country — and a little powerless to change course," it said.

Complementing that, a litany of disasters predicted by the radical right, and often echoed on the more mainstream right, failed to occur. The "gun grab" long

expected by Patriot groups and even the National Rifle Association didn't happen. The United Nations didn't invade, and martial law was not declared. The gold bubble — prices of the precious metal were pushed up to almost \$2,000 an ounce last summer by fear-driven investors who expected and were apparently preparing for a major collapse — has popped, with prices early this year at around \$1,225 and predicted to keep falling. Although many are still hurting, the economy has clearly improved, with stocks in record territory and employment ticking up.

At the same time, law enforcement officials were leaning in on criminal manifestations of the radical right. Since September 2011 — when the FBI labeled “sovereign citizens,” people who believe they don't have to follow most tax and criminal laws, as comprising a “domestic terrorist movement” — law enforcement officials have been aggressively acting against participants' illegal activities. Last year, for example, the leader of the largest sovereign group, the Republic for the United States of America, was sentenced to 18 years in federal prison for tax fraud.

That pressure seemed to intensify after neo-Nazi Wade Page murdered six people at a Wisconsin Sikh temple in August 2012, leading, among other things, to the dissolution of all 17 U.S. chapters of Volksfront, a leading neo-Nazi skinhead group founded in Oregon. A series of cases in 2013, including the assassination of the head of the Colorado prison system, added force to the apparent crackdown.

Stealing Their Fire

Finally, many issues championed by the radical right have been adopted by purportedly mainstream politicians, in much the same way that a number of state legislatures stole away the core ideas of nativist extremist groups, leading to their rapid diminution in recent years. The idea, for instance, that the United Nations sustainability program known as Agenda 21 is a one-world government conspiracy originated in radical groups like the John Birch Society. But

in January 2012 the Republican National Committee adopted a resolution describing it as a “destructive and insidious” scheme that will impose “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth” on America. In fact, the plan, which was signed by President George H.W. Bush in 1992, is completely voluntary and can force no one to do anything.

But that hasn't stopped national and local politicians around the country from joining in the hysteria over Agenda 21. Since the RNC resolution, Alabama has passed a law meant to outlaw any effects of the plan in that state. Similar needless laws have been approved by one chamber of the state legislatures in Arizona, Missouri and Oklahoma. Kansas, New Hampshire and Tennessee have all passed state resolutions condemning the plan. And major political fights over it have broken out in at least half a dozen other states and countless local communities.

Similarly, laws meant to prevent Islamic Shariah law from being imposed on American courts — a totally unnecessary measure, given that the Constitution does not allow for such an eventuality, but one that has been pushed by Islamophobes on the extreme right — have passed in Arizona, Kansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Tennessee, and are being considered elsewhere.

Other far-out fears originating on the extreme right also have found their way into the political mainstream. The idea that the Muslim Brotherhood has infiltrated the Department of Justice and the Department of Homeland Security, among others, is being plugged by U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.). Last November, U.S. Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas) suggested the president was using the Affordable Care Act as cover to set up a “secret security force.” Earlier in 2013, U.S. Rep. Steve Stockman (R-Texas), echoing many Patriot groups, falsely claimed that a proposed United Nations arms treaty “set the stage for [gun] confiscation on a global scale.”

And state legislatures around the country have either passed or considered laws, generally related to gun control

but also encompassing other issues, that purport to “nullify” federal legislation. The doctrine of nullification, of course, was originally devised as an antebellum defense of slavery and then brought back to life by Southern states resisting school desegregation and the civil rights movement. It has been repeatedly found by the nation's courts to be entirely unconstitutional.

Movement Malaise

The radical right has suffered from its own internal dynamics as well. In the last dozen years, the nation's leading neo-Nazi groups have largely fallen apart. The World Church of the Creator collapsed after its leader was sent to federal prison for soliciting the murder of a federal judge. The Aryan Nations imploded after a lawsuit brought by the SPLC and the 2004 death of its leader. The National Alliance, long the nation's most important hate group, has seen its membership fall from 1,400 people to fewer than 100 since its founder's 2002 death. The implosion has been driven by its new leader's ineptitude and the SPLC's exposure of a series of embarrassing secrets about the group and its leaders.

In the last couple of years, other important groups have also seen more than their share of troubles. The shutdown of Volksfront's U.S. chapters was followed last year by the apparent collapse of its overseas organization. The Council of Conservative Citizens, long the core of the nonviolent white nationalist movement, lost 14 chapters in 2013 and is only sporadically publishing its newsletter. The American Third Position, the nation's largest racist political party, took a new name in a bid to shore itself up but still lost almost half its chapters in 2013.

Also last year, the number of groups espousing Christian Identity, a kind of neo-Nazi reading of the Bible that has been important to both Klan and neo-Nazi groups, declined by about a third. The League of the South, a racist neo-secessionist group, lost several chapters as it struggled to remain relevant. Marginalized anti-LGBT groups increasingly turned to pushing the crim-

THE YEAR IN HATE & EXTREMISM

inalization of homosexuality abroad as a response to their loss of battle after battle in the United States.

Three of the more quixotic enterprises on the radical right also appeared to be in trouble last year. An attempt to build an armed Patriot city called III Citadel in northern Idaho to a serious hit after one of its chief promoters was revealed as a convicted con man. A nearby effort to restart Aryan Nations collapsed after the *Intelligence Report* showed the man who bought land for it was disobeying certain local laws. A stealth plan to turn Leith, N.D., into an all-white enclave — made public by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the *Bismarck Tribune* — also caved in, with its organizer jailed on terrorizing charges after allegedly threatening residents.

None of this is to suggest that the radical right in America does not remain highly dangerous. The weakening of groups often has the effect of fostering, rather than retarding, followers' decisions to finally act out violently. Despite the decline, there are still enormous numbers of radical groups operating — more than 2,000 of them, including hate and Patriot organizations. The single

most important factor that has driven the growth of the radical right over the last five years, the ongoing demographic change to a non-white majority over the course of the next three decades, is still a source of enormous angst and rage for many. And the fact that the Tea Parties and the far right of the Republican Party have lost some of their public support does not mean that millions of Americans do not still sympathize. A shocking poll by Fairleigh Dickinson University's PublicMind last spring showed that 29% of Americans think that armed rebellion may soon be necessary.

More detailed reports on radical-right sectors follow.

Anti-LGBT Groups

Anti-LGBT groups suffered a year of devastating losses in 2013 as the legalization of same-sex marriage and other developments cheered pro-LGBT groups immensely. By year's end, a total of 18 states had legalized marriage equality or had a court rule that gay marriage could not be outlawed. (At press time, Utah, one of the 18, was considering an appeal that could halt legalization there.)

And that wasn't all. Minnesota vot-

ers rejected a ballot measure that would have codified an anti-gay marriage law in the state constitution. In June, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the central provision of the Defense of Marriage Act, which prevented same-sex couples from being recognized by states as "spouses" for purposes of federal benefits. Another federal appeals court ruled that California's Proposition 8, which would have made only marriage between a man and a woman legal in California, was not constitutional, confirming a lower court decision.

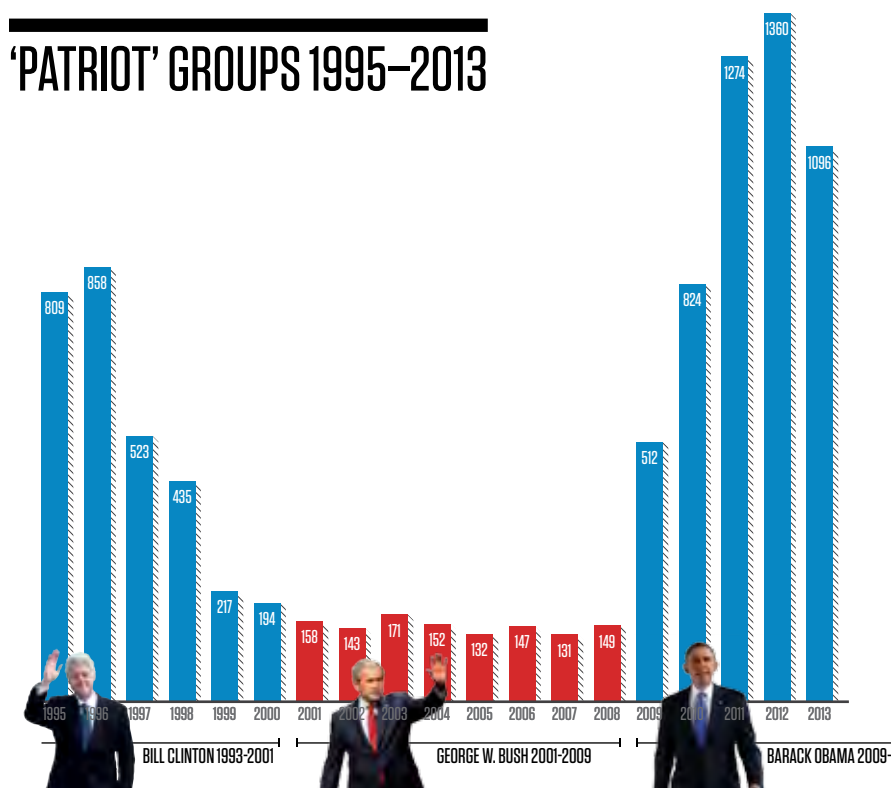
Although the number of anti-gay hate groups rose slightly over the previous year, the losses suffered by such groups clearly sent many of them abroad as they sought to prevent gay advances wherever they still could. Bryan Fischer of the American Family Association tweeted support for Uganda's draconian anti-gay law. Brian Brown of the National Organization for Marriage spoke against marriage equality in both France and Russia. The latter country, which last year passed a highly controversial law against pro-gay "propaganda," also hosted Paul Cameron, a discredited anti-gay writer who heads the Family Research Institute and spoke to the Russian parliament. Peter LaBarbera of Americans for Truth About Homosexuality went to Jamaica to speak in support of that country's hard-line anti-gay laws.

Black Separatist Groups

The longtime leader of the New Black Panther Party, the white- and Jew-bashing lawyer Malik Zulu Shabazz, relinquished his post last fall in order to focus on his legal career with Black Lawyers for Justice, a group he founded in 1996.

Replacing Shabazz, who will continue on as a "spiritual guide" to the group, was his former chief of staff, Hashim Nzinga. Nzinga, who like Shabazz is known for his anti-Semitism and anti-white racism, pleaded guilty in 2012 to writing a bad check for \$3,000, a felony. Last year, he was arrested for selling a gun at a Georgia pawn shop and held in jail for four months. But prosecutors eventually dismissed the charge, saying that Nzinga

'PATRIOT' GROUPS 1995–2013



had not been informed that, as a convicted felon, he was not allowed to possess a gun. Earlier, in March 2013, Nzinga announced the party was offering a \$10,000 bounty for the “citizen’s arrest” of George Zimmerman, the man who killed unarmed teenager Trayvon Martin but was acquitted in his death.

Christian Identity Groups

Christian Identity, a racist reading of the Bible that describes non-white people as lacking souls and Jews as the biological descendants of Satan, has since World War II provided the theological glue for many U.S. hate groups. But it is a complex theology and, while it recently had an estimated 50,000 adherents, seems to have been losing followers in recent years, especially among young people.

That trend appeared to continue last year as the number of groups that are primarily about Identity dropped from 54 to just 37, mainly because the Chillicothe, Ohio-based Crusaders for Yahweh shut down all 30 of its chapters. A new Identity group, Identity Nation, did appear in 2013 with 10 chapters, but that was not enough to offset the overall decline. That group, based in Franklin, Ind., at first teamed up with a remnant of the Aryan Nations headed by Morris Gullet, but then broke away and began working with another faction of Aryan Nations that is associated with a biker group called Sadistic Souls MC. The Franklin group has begun calling itself a “Christian Identity Brotherhood” and says it has done away with military ranks.

Ku Klux Klan Groups

Although the number of Klan groups held steady at 163 chapters, or klaverns, last year saw what may be the beginning of a trend: Klan groups moving off the Internet in an apparent bid to regain the secrecy that marked their heyday. The United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Texas with 30 klaverns, was the first example of that, although others are moving in the same direction.

‘NATIVIST EXTREMIST’ GROUPS DECLINE AGAIN

The movement of “nativist extremist” groups — anti-immigration organizations that go beyond mere advocacy to confront suspected undocumented immigrants and those who hire or help them — reached its vitriolic peak in 2010, when it counted some 319 groups. Since then, the movement has declined rapidly, a trend that continued in 2013, when there were just 33 of the organizations.

The decline, like that seen in earlier years, was due to movement infighting, the adoption of many of the movement’s goals by state legislatures like those of Arizona and Alabama, and criminal scandals. The worst of those scandals was the 2011 Arizona murder of a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter by a group led by Shawna Forde, the head of Minuteman American Defense who now sits on death row. But in 2013, another important leader, Chris Simcox of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, was arrested on charges of molesting several young children.

The movement last year also lost one of its shrillest voices with the August death of Barbara Coe, the racist founder and longtime leader of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, which was instrumental in passing 1994’s anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California, although the measure was killed later. Coe, who was also a member of the segregationist Council of Conservative Citizens and a one-time board member of the border-patrolling Minuteman Project, was known for baseless rants about immigrants like this 2005 keeper: “We are suffering robbery, rape and murder of law-abiding citizens at the hands of illegal barbarians who are cutting off the heads and appendages of blind, white, disabled gringos.”

Most of the patrolling of the borders carried out by the Minutemen and related groups has now ended, but a border vigilante who identified himself as a “militia Minuteman” was arrested last August after pointing a military-style assault rifle at a sheriff’s deputy during a desert confrontation. In south Texas, meanwhile, the Texas Border Volunteers continued to carry out armed patrols of the Mexican border.

What follows is a list of nativist extremist groups active in 2013:

ARIZONA (3)

American Freedom Riders

Phoenix

Arizona Border

Recon

Phoenix

Mohave County Residents for Constitutional Rights

Arizona

Mohave County

CALIFORNIA (3)

Long Beach Minuteman Project

Long Beach

Minuteman Project (MMP)

Laguna Hills

WE THE PEOPLE California’s Crusader

Victorville

FLORIDA (2)

Floridians for Immigration Enforcement, Inc.

Pompano Beach

Report Illegals

Pompano Beach

GEORGIA (1)

The Dustin Inman Society

Marietta

MARYLAND (15)

Help Save Maryland

Anne Arundel County

Baltimore

Baltimore County

Calvert County

Caroline County

Carroll County

Frederick County

Harford County

Howard County

Montgomery County

Prince George’s County

Queen Anne’s County

Rockville

St. Mary’s County

Talbot County

MINNESOTA (1)

Minnesotans Seeking Immigration Reform

Hanska

NEW JERSEY (2)

New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control

Carlstadt

United Patriots of America

Lindenhurst

NORTH CAROLINA (2)

Federal Immigration Reform & Enforcement (FIRE)

Coalition

Statewide

North Carolinians for Immigration Reform and Enforcement

Wade

OREGON (1)

Oregonians for Immigration Reform

McMinnville

PENNSYLVANIA (1)

Voice of the People

Hazleton

RHODE ISLAND (1)

Rhode Islanders for Immigration Law Enforcement

Central Falls

TEXAS (1)

Texas Border Volunteers

Waxahachie

Most recently, the Fraternal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a group with 10 klaverns based in Tennessee, announced that it had “gone underground so we can be more productive in our struggle. The only way you will be able to contact us from now on is through the old way, word of mouth. ... We are everywhere.”

Klan groups made the news in several ways last year.

In Memphis, Tenn., when one Klan group, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, organized a March rally against the City Council’s decision to change the Confederate-themed names of three high schools, another — the United Klans of America (UKA), based in Alabama — said it opposed the rally and even attempted to work with a local black street gang against racism. Later in the year, in another bizarre moment, a Montana UKA leader met with a local NAACP chapter.

And in upstate New York, Glendon Crawford, a member of the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was arrested and charged with working to construct an X-ray weapon that he allegedly intended for use on crowds of Muslims. He called it “Hiroshima on a light switch.” Crawford was arrested after trying to get financing from two Jewish agencies and another Klan group.

Neo-Nazi Groups

The decline of the National Alliance, once America’s most important and best-organized hate group, continued last year. At one point, its leader, Erich Gliebe, said he was ending the system of dues-paying members and instead asking people to simply support the organization financially. Although Gliebe portrayed the change as one that would make the group stronger, it seemed clear that he was trying to hold on to a bequest of some \$160,000 from a deceased Canadian member.

The man’s bequest is being challenged in court by his sister and several human rights groups in Canada. An affidavit by the challengers listed the criminal acts of a large number of Alliance members,

which could cause Gliebe to lose the case — and the bequest. It appeared likely that Gliebe hoped that by ending memberships he would have a better shot at winning the Canadian case.

Racist Skinhead Groups

Since 1994, Volksfront has been one of the country’s most important groups of neo-Nazi skinheads. Formed in prison by founder Randal Krager, the group had 17 chapters by 2012 as well as an extensive overseas network of chapters.

In the aftermath of Wade Page’s 2012 mass murder at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wis., however, an apparent law enforcement crackdown seemed to push Krager into the decision later that year to shut down all U.S. operations, even though the group had amassed a number of properties and other assets. He also was clearly tired of the struggle with militant anti-racists, who had forced him to leave Portland, Ore., where Volksfront was founded, and wanted to raise his children in peace.

Then, late last year, the *Intelligence Report* published a major investigative story on Volksfront’s overseas operations, which encompassed the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Slovakia, Portugal and Spain. In response, the units shut down their websites and seemed to disappear from public activism. Some sources have suggested that the units may be active underground, but that is not clear.

Another racist skinhead group, Die Auserwählten (German for “The Chosen Few”), rose and fell with stunning rapidity last year. Formed last May in Pleasanton, Neb., the group, also known as Crew 41, seemed to fall apart a few months later when its leader, Jonathan “Monster” Schmidt, was arrested after allegedly pulling a man from a vehicle and fracturing his skull. Around the same time, the group’s South Carolina representative, Jeremy Moody, was arrested with his wife for their alleged murder of a local man who was a registered sex offender and his wife. After that, the group, which contains a number of men with criminal histories, went quiet, although its website remained up, albeit with little activity, at press time.

White Nationalist Groups

The Council of Conservative Citizens, a St. Louis, Mo.-based group that is the direct descendant of the White Citizens Councils that fought against desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s, saw its chapters fall from 38 in 2012 to 24 in 2013, an indication that it is losing steam as founder Gordon Lee Baum ages. The group, which says in its mission statement that it opposes “all efforts to mix the races of mankind,” is now only sporadically publishing its once-important *Citizens Informer* newsletter, and its website is less active than in recent years.

The South Africa Project, a racist group based in Mandeville, La., that seeks to draw attention to the imagined genocide of white people in that country, also plummeted, falling from a robust 13 chapters in 2012 to just two last year.

The Pioneer Fund, a group founded in 1937 that has been giving large grants to racist “scientists” for years to study matters related to race and intelligence, was reorganized last year after the death of its head, Jean-Philippe Rushton. A large portion of its remaining assets went to Rushton’s son, Stephen, who appears to not be involved in the academic racist movement and who shut down the Michigan-based Charles Darwin Research Institute started by his father in 1989.

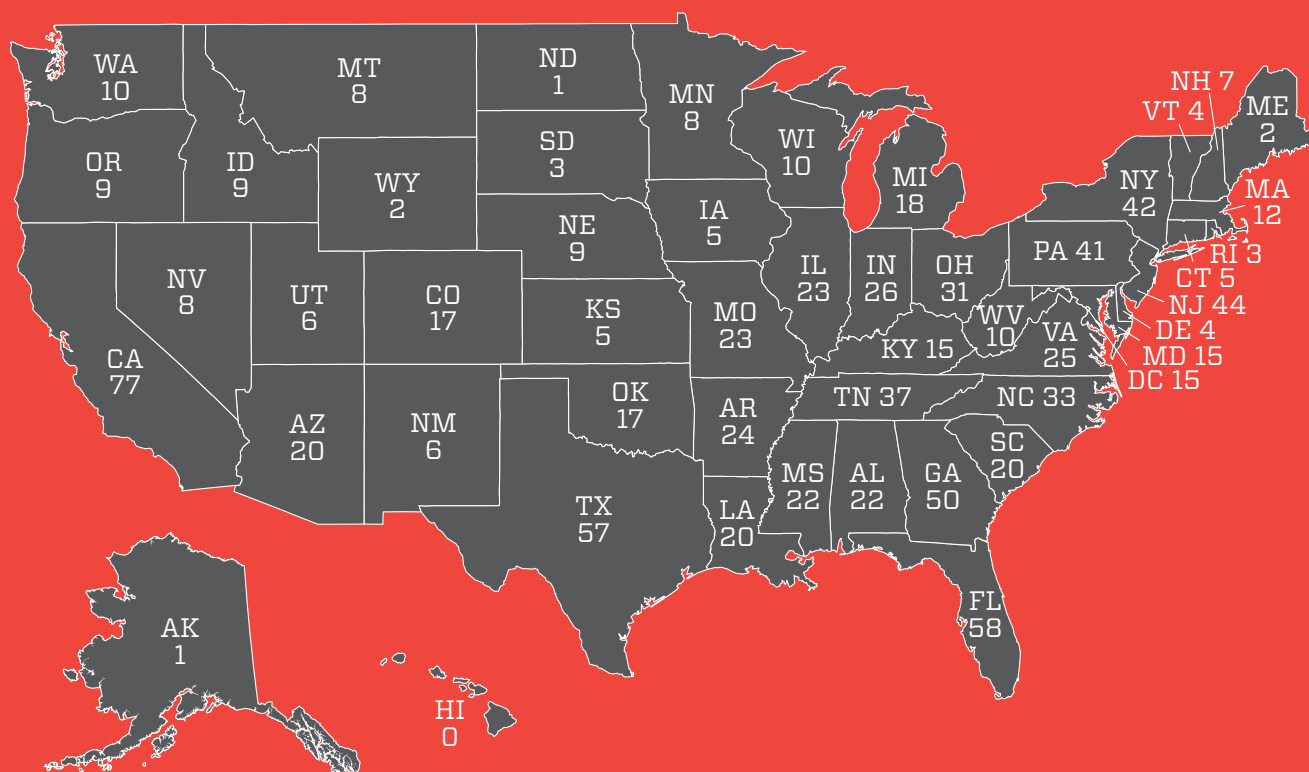
The American Third Position is a group that was started in 2009 and has been led for most of its existence by William D. Johnson, who in 1985 began promoting a constitutional amendment that would deport all Americans with “an ascertainable trace of Negro blood.” In the years since its founding, it has managed to accumulate some of the nation’s best-known white nationalists on its board, and in 2012 it made a major effort to run candidates in various races around the country (none won).

In early 2013, the group changed its name to the American Freedom Party, supposedly because it had done so well in the 2012 elections and wanted to capitalize on that success by picking a more appealing name. But the reality is that the party did terribly in the election, was repeatedly revealed as blatantly racist at its core, and saw its chapter count fall from 17 in 2012 to just nine in 2013. ▲

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2013

This list of 939 active hate groups (map, p. 43), down from the 1007 groups listed a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2013, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafletting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations.



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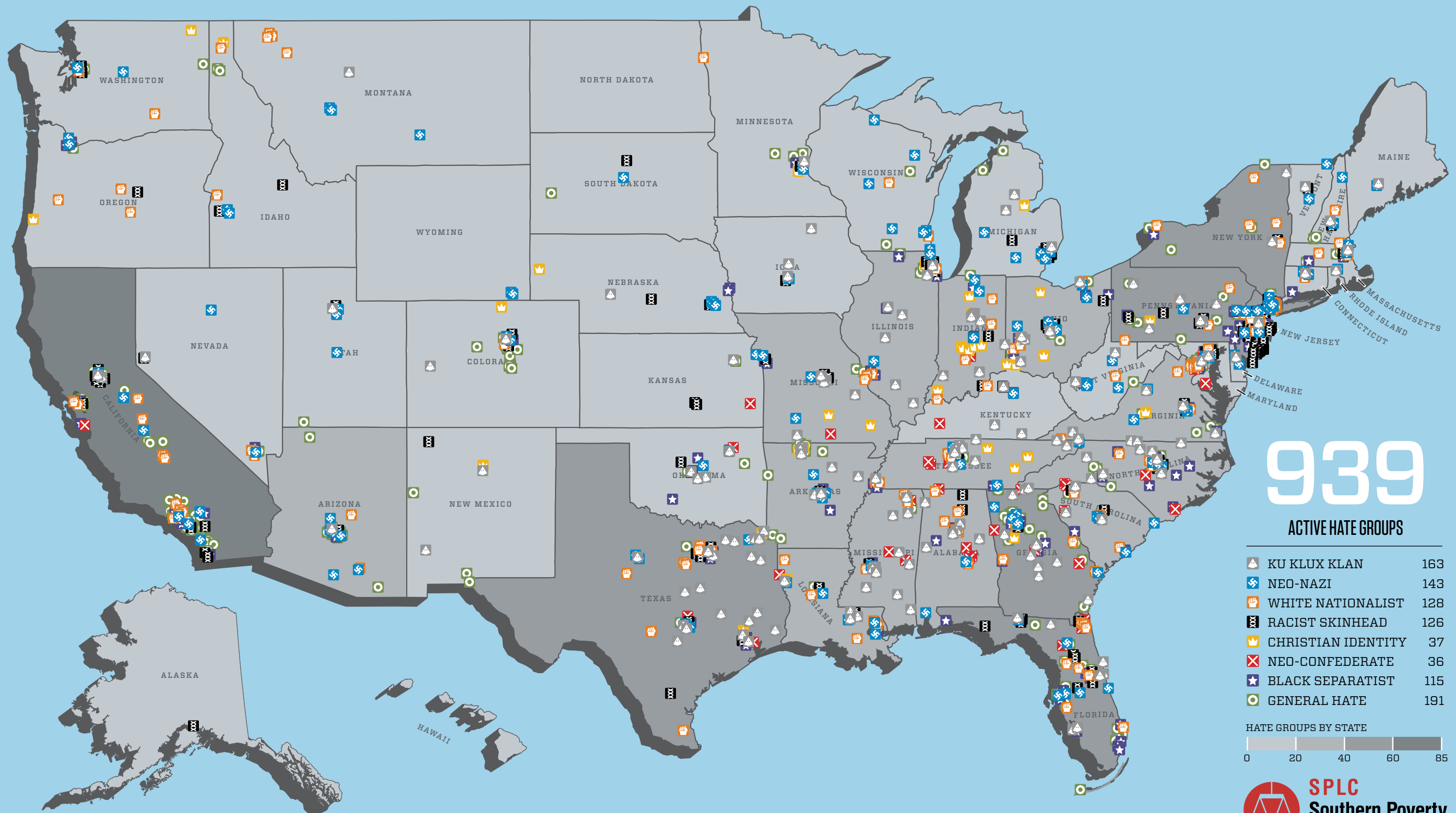
detailed map inside

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

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2013

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Report**

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FOR SPECIFIC DETAILS ABOUT HATE GROUPS IN YOUR STATE, GO TO WWW.SPLCENTER.ORG/HATEMAP

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KU KLUX KLAN

With its long history of violence, the Klan is the most infamous — and oldest — of American hate groups. When the Klan was formed in 1865, it was a single, unitary organization. Today, there are dozens of competing Klan groups. Although black Americans have typically been the Klan's primary target, it has also attacked Jews, immigrants, homosexuals, and Catholics.

Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Converse, LA

Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Kings Mountain, NC

Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Baltimore, MD

Crusader Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dekalb, TX

Dixie Rangers Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Walker, LA

East Coast Knights of the True Invisible Empire

Girardville, PA

Fort Christmas

Knights Ku Klux Klan

Christmas, FL

Fraternal White

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Woodbury, TN*

Alabama

Florida

Georgia

Illinois

Iowa

Slaughter, LA

Missouri

Lucedale, MS

Plattsburgh, NY

Amelia, OH

International

Keystone Knights of the Ku Klan Klan

Vanndale, AR*

Pinson, AL

Blairsville, GA

Young Harris, GA

Elwood, IN

Cleveland, OH

Invisible Knights

of the Fiery Cross

Gladwin, MI

Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Live Oak, FL*

Little Rock, AR

Fort Myers, FL

Brunswick, GA

Byron, GA

Ellijay, GA

Rochelle, GA

Eldorado, IL

Lemont, IL

Nashville, TN

Shady Valley, TN

Dallas, TX

Abingdon, VA

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Harrison, AR*

Concord, AR

Knights Party

Veterans League

Harrison, AR

Ku Klos Knights

of the Ku Klux Klan

Church Hill, TN*

Cape Coral, FL

Kokomo, IN

Monroe City, IN

Munfordville, KY

Lenoir, NC

Beaver Falls, PA

Oil City, PA

Tennessee

Johnson City, TN

LaFayette, TN

Memphis, TN

Gatesville, TX

Lone Wolf Brigade

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Pennsylvania

Livingston, TX

Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Eden, NC*

Alabama

Birmingham, AL

Arizona

Arkansas

California

Denver County, CO

Eckert, CO

Connecticut

Delaware

Florida

New Smyrna Beach, FL

Georgia

Illinois

Bloomington, IL

Kokomo, IN

Iowa

Kansas

Kentucky

Glens Fork, KY

Louisiana

Maine

Maryland

Massachusetts

Minnesota

Missouri

Benson, NC

Burlington, NC

Pelham, NC

Roanoke Rapids, NC

Nebraska

Nevada

New Hampshire

New Jersey

New Mexico

Silver City, NM

New York

Ohio

Oklahoma

Pennsylvania

Friedens, PA

Rhode Island

South Carolina

Tennessee

Nashville, TN

Texas

Utah

Vermont

Virginia

Portsmouth, VA

Staunton, VA

West Virginia

Mississippi White

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Bruce, MS*

Brookhaven, MS

Jackson, MS

Meridian, MS

Pearl, MS

Petal, MS

Philadelphia, MS

Shannon, MS

Star, MS

Mystic Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dayton, OH

New Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Abbeville, SC*

Newnan, GA

Ames, IA

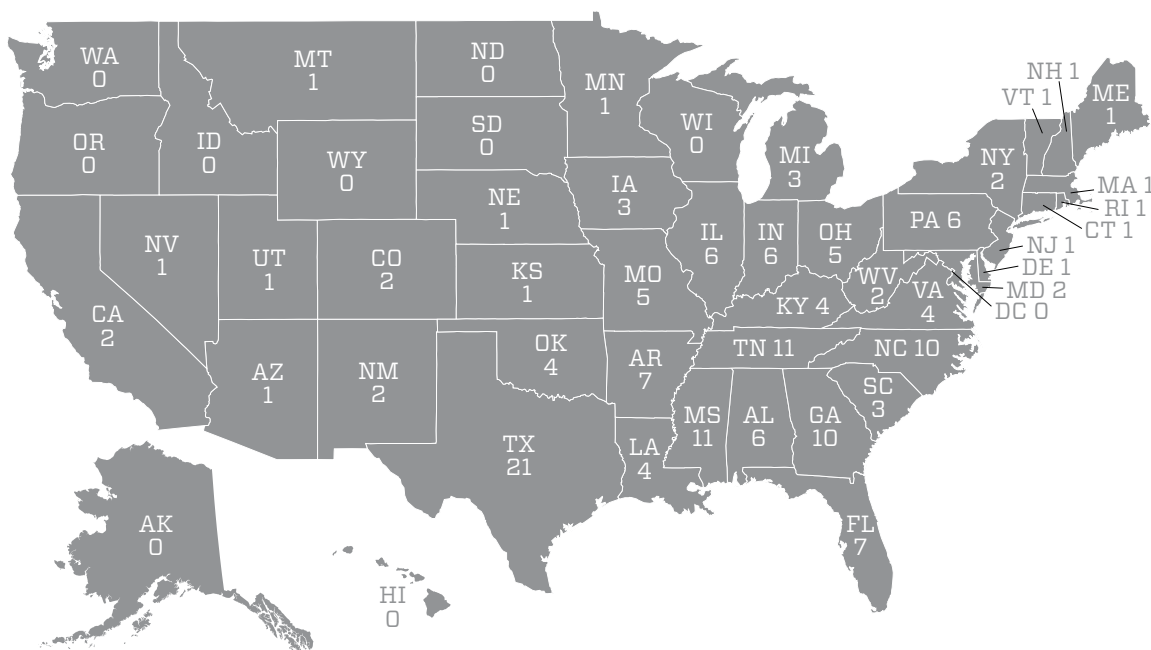
Scottsburg, IN

Corbin, KY

Beal City, MI

Branson, MO

Charlotte, NC



Durham, NC
Dayton, OH
Dallas, TX
Longview, TX
Hurricane, WV

**North Mississippi
White Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**
Dumas, MS*
Red Bay, AL
**Order of the
Confederate
Brotherhood Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Tennessee*
California
Texas

**Soldiers of the Cross
Training Institute**
Harrison, AR
**Traditionalist
American Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Potosi, MO*
Bryan, TX
Greensville, TX
Houston, TX
Lone Oak, TX
Mt. Pleasant, TX
Waco, TX

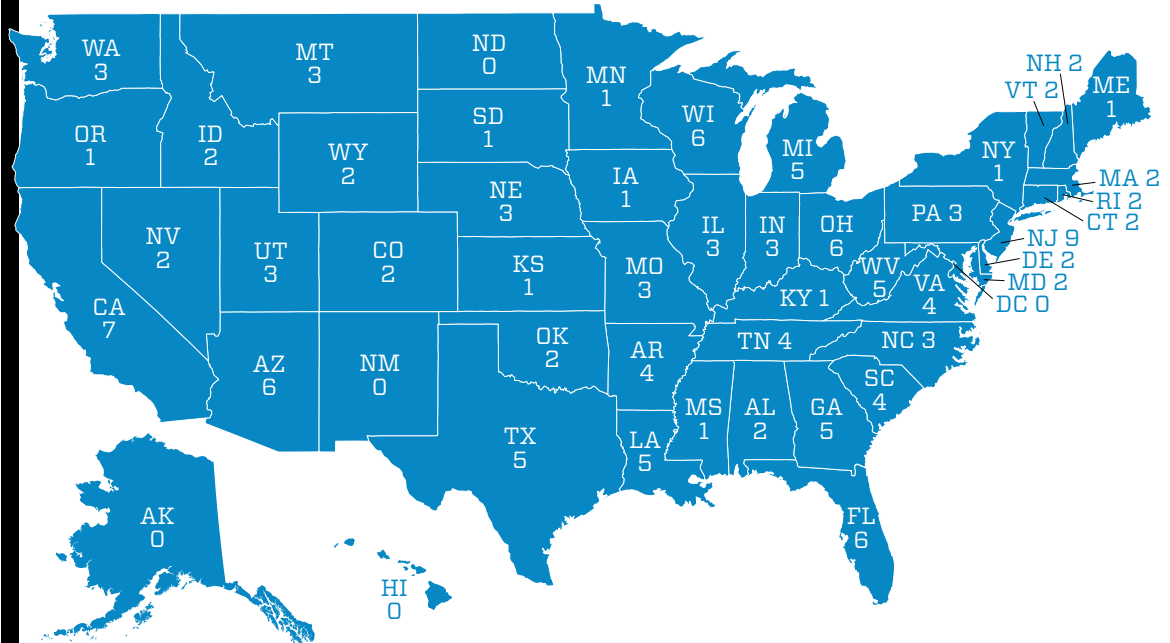
**United Klans
of America**
Ashland, AL*
Great Falls, MT
**United Northern and
Southern Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**
Fraser, MI*
Rockledge, GA
Chicago, IL
West College
Corner, IN
Missouri
North Carolina
Spartanburg, SC
Texas
**United White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**
Omaha, TX*
Oklahoma City, OK
Shawnee, OK
Tulsa, OK
Abilene, TX
Beaumont, TX
New Braunfels, TX
**White Camelia
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**
Cleveland, TX*
Pasadena, TX

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NEO-NAZI

These groups share a hatred for Jews and an admiration for Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. While they also hate other minorities, homosexuals, and even sometimes Christians, they perceive “the Jew” as their cardinal enemy and trace social problems to a Jewish conspiracy that supposedly controls governments, financial institutions, and the media.



American Nazi Party

Westland, MI*
Arizona
Rialto, CA
Ohio
Texas
Virginia
West Virginia

Aryan Nations

Converse, LA*
Bartow, FL
Boise, ID
Danvers, MA
Milan, NH
Midland Park, NJ
North Bergen, NJ
Moneta, VA
Norton, VT
Seattle, WA
Mercer, WI

Battalion 14

Jackson, MI

**Christian Defense
League**

Mandeville, LA

**The Creativity
Alliance**

Arkansas

Clovis, CA
Florida
Georgia
Montana
Nevada
North Carolina
Philadelphia, PA
South Carolina
Mountain City, TN
Texas

Draper, UT
Virginia
West Virginia

**The Creativity
Movement**

Zion, IL*
Alabama
Arizona
Arkansas
Denver County, CO
Connecticut
Palm Bay, FL
Kansas City, MO
Billings, MT
Covington, OH
Mt. Vernon, TX
Washington
Mountain, WI

Laramie County, WY
West Virginia

The Forssaken

Motorcycle Club
Center Ridge, AR
Gallows Tree

Wotansvolk Alliance

Grand Rapids, MI*
Indiana

Rhode Island

Wisconsin

Heathens

Motorcycle Club

Rome, GA

**Maryland National
Socialist Party**

Elkridge, MD
National Alliance
Hillsboro, WV*
Los Angeles, CA
Las Vegas, NV
Raleigh, NC
Parma, OH

Nationalist Coalition

St. Petersburg, FL

National Socialist

Freedom Movement

Tulsa, OK*

Arizona
California
Delaware
Georgia
Louisiana
Maryland
Ohio
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas

National Socialist

German Workers

Party

Lincoln, NE

**National Socialist
Movement**

Detroit, MI*
Mobile, AL
Arkansas
Higley, AZ
Tucson, AZ
California
Orange County, CA
San Diego, CA
Colorado
Connecticut
Delaware

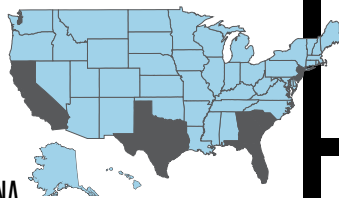
CONTINUED »

NEO-NAZI CONT'D

Florida	Myrtle Beach, SC
Tampa Bay, FL	South Dakota
North Georgia	Central Tennessee
Savannah, GA	Texas
Idaho	Utah
Chicago, IL	Vermont
Wakarusa, IN	Virginia
Iowa	Vancouver, WA
Lansing, KS	New Berlin, WI
Kentucky	Kanawha County, WV
Louisiana	Wyoming
Maine	New Order
Suffolk County, MA	Milwaukee, WI
Minnesota	NS Publications
Mississippi	Wyandotte, MI
Springfield, MO	Revolutionary Order
Montana	of the Aryan Republic
Nebraska	Chattanooga, TN
New Hampshire	Sadistic Souls
New Jersey	Motorcycle Club
Bayonne, NJ	Brighton, IL*
Browns Mills, NJ	Arizona
Central New Jersey	Louisiana
Clifton, NJ	Missouri
Holland Township, NJ	Ohio
Newark, NJ	Oklahoma
New York	Pennsylvania
North Carolina	Utah
Ohio	Wisconsin
Oregon	Third Reich Books
East Pennsylvania	Lincoln, NE
Rhode Island	White Aryan
Charleston, SC	Resistance
	Warsaw, IN

TOP SIX STATES FOR HATE GROUPS 2003-2013

CALIFORNIA
TEXAS
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NEW JERSEY



Though the number of hate groups fluctuates each year, states with large populations like California regularly have the most. But Southern states with far smaller populations are often in the top as well, reflecting the region's long history of white supremacy. Due to its thriving racist skinhead culture, New Jersey regularly makes the top six.

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WHITE NATIONALIST

White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of non-whites. Groups listed in several other categories — Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist Skinhead, and Christian Identity — could also be described as white nationalist.

Advanced White Society

Birmingham, NJ

Alternative Right

Whitefish, MT

American Freedom Party

Las Vegas, NV*

Los Angeles, CA

Jacksonville, FL

Lakewood Ranch, FL

Grand Forks, ND

New York, NY

Granbury, TX

Wisconsin

Maidsville, WV

American Nationalist Association

Porterville, CA

American Nationalist Union

Las Vegas, NV

American Renaissance/New Century Foundation

Oakton, VA*

Arlington, VA

Aryan Wear

Keller, TX

Atlanta Area White Student Union

Atlanta, GA

Bob's Underground

Graduate Seminar/BUGS

Columbia, SC

carolynyeager.net

Kerrville, TX

Caucasian

Persuasion

New York, NY

Confederate Patriot

Voters United

Baldwyn, MS

Conservative

Citizens Foundation, Inc.

St. Louis, MO

Council for Social and Economic Studies

Washington, DC

Council of

Conservative

Citizens

St. Louis, MO*

Birmingham, AL

Cullman, AL

Florence, AL

Jasper, AL

Montgomery, AL

San Francisco, CA

Beverly Hills, FL

East Georgia

Shreveport, LA

Silver Spring, MD

St. Louis, MO

Clemmons, NC

Raleigh, NC

New Jersey

New York, NY

Parishville, NY

Ohio

Springboro, OH

Revere, PA

Franklin, TN

Knoxville/

Chattanooga, TN

Memphis, TN

Grandbury, TX

Counter-Currents Publishing

San Francisco, CA

Crescenta Valley

European American Society

La Crescenta, CA

Los Angeles

County, CA

European American Action Coalition

Pittston, PA

European-American Unity and Rights Organization

Mandeville, LA*

Jacksonville, FL

Columbus, GA

Savannah, GA

Thibodaux, LA

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RACIST SKINHEAD

Racist Skinheads form a particularly violent element of the white supremacist movement and have often been referred to as the “shock troops” of the hoped-for revolution. The archetypal Skinhead look is a shaved head, black boots with red laces, jeans with suspenders, and an array of typically racist tattoos. Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups.

Ripley, MS
Cleveland, OH
Tulsa, OK
Columbia, SC
Woodruff, SC
Dallas/Fort Worth, TX
Richmond, VA

Faith and Heritage
Southeast Texas

Family Home
Northwest

Payette, ID

The Fitzgerald Griffin
Foundation

Vienna, VA

Free American

Tucson, AZ

Free America Rally

Central California

Massachusetts

Oregon

Pennsylvania

Tennessee

Washington/Idaho

West Virginia

Free Edgar Steele

Sagle, ID

Golden Dawn

Los Angeles, CA

Astoria, NY

Heritage and Destiny

Falls Church, VA

H.L. Mencken Club

Elizabethtown, PA

The Kinist Institute

Orlando, FL

Malevolent Freedom

Lowell, MA

Middle American News

Raleigh, NC

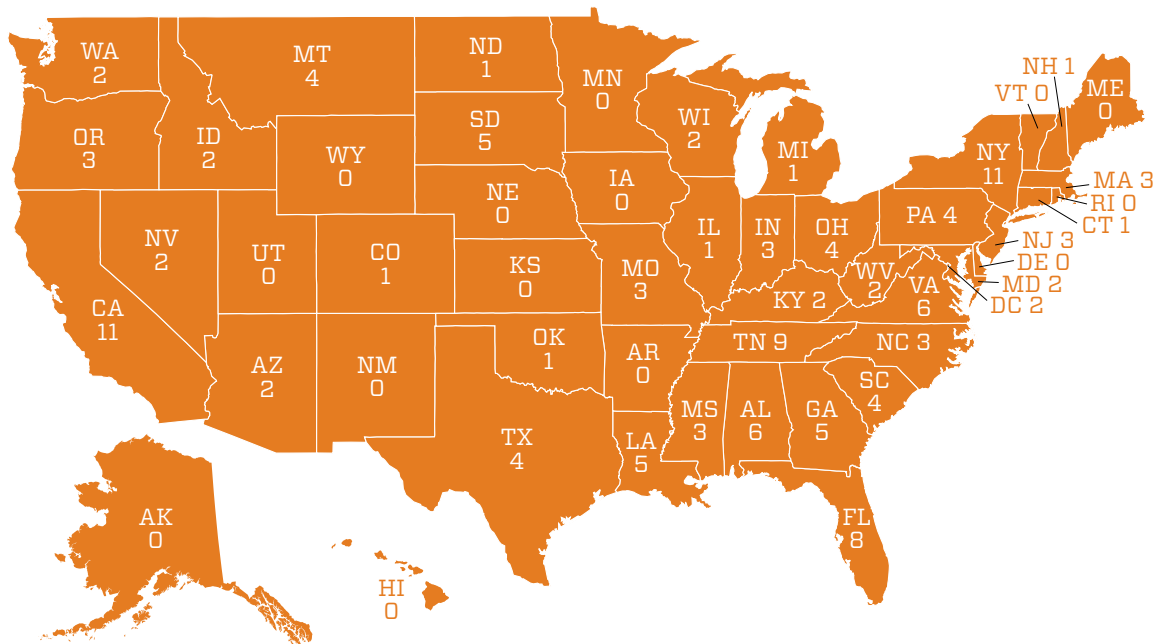
NAAWP Florida

Chapter Inc.

Jacksonville, FL

Nationalist Movement

Learned, MS



Nationalist Socialist
Aryan Workers Party

Albany, NY

National Policy
Institute

Whitefish, MT

New Century
Productions

Littleton, CO

Northwest Front

Seattle, WA

NPI TV

Brooklyn, NY

Occidental Dissent

Birmingham, AL

Occidental
Quarterly/Charles

Martel Society

Atlanta, GA

Pacifica Forum

Eugene, OR

Patriotic Flags

Summerville, SC

Pioneer Fund

New York, NY

Pioneer Little Europe

Kalispell Montana

Kalispell, MT

The Political Cesspool

Bartlett, TN

Protestant White

Nationalist Party

of Kentucky/

Uncreated Light

Louisville, KY

Racial Nationalist

Party of America

Lockport, NY

Red October

Arizona

California

Connecticut

Florida

Chicago, IL

Henderson, KY

Louisiana

Boston, MA

New Hampshire

New Jersey

New York

Hamilton, OH

Oregon

Texas

Wisconsin

Scott-Townsend

Publishers

Washington, DC

South Africa Project

Mandeville, LA*

New York

Southern European

Aryans League Army

Muncie, IN

Stormfront

West Palm Beach, FL

Traditionalist Youth

Network

Bloomington, IN

Towson, MD

VDARE Foundation

Warrenton, VA

Voice of Reason

Broadcast Network

Pasadena, CA

Washington

Summit Publishers

Whitefish, MT

The White Network

Kerrville, TX

White Rabbit Radio

Dearborn Heights, MI

White Student Union

of Tarrant County

North Richland

Hills, TX

World View

Foundations

Porterville, CA

WTM Enterprises

Roanoke, IN

AC Skins

Absecon, NJ

Atlantic City, NJ

Brick, NJ

Brigantine, NJ

Browns Mills, NJ

Galloway, NJ

Little Egg Harbor
City, NJ

Marlton, NJ

Marmora, NJ

Mays Landing, NJ

Pine Hill, NJ

Somers Point, NJ

Wildwood, NJ

Woodbine, NJ

American Front

Sacramento, CA

Lynn Haven, FL

St. Cloud, FL

Hackensack, NJ

Haledon, NJ

Roselle, NJ

Aryan Strikeforce

California

Florida

Iowa

Kentucky

Somerville, NJ

New York

Ohio

Pennsylvania

Vermont

Aryan Terror Brigade

Flemington, NJ*

Arkansas

California

Florida

Kentucky

Louisiana

Massachusetts

Missouri

Nebraska

Nevada

New York

Ohio

Oklahoma

Oregon

Pennsylvania

Virginia

West Virginia

Bergen County

Hooligans

Brooklyn, NY

Blood and Honour

U.S.A.

Littleton, CO

Fords, NJ

Salem, OH

Altoona, PA

Richardson, TX

Confederate

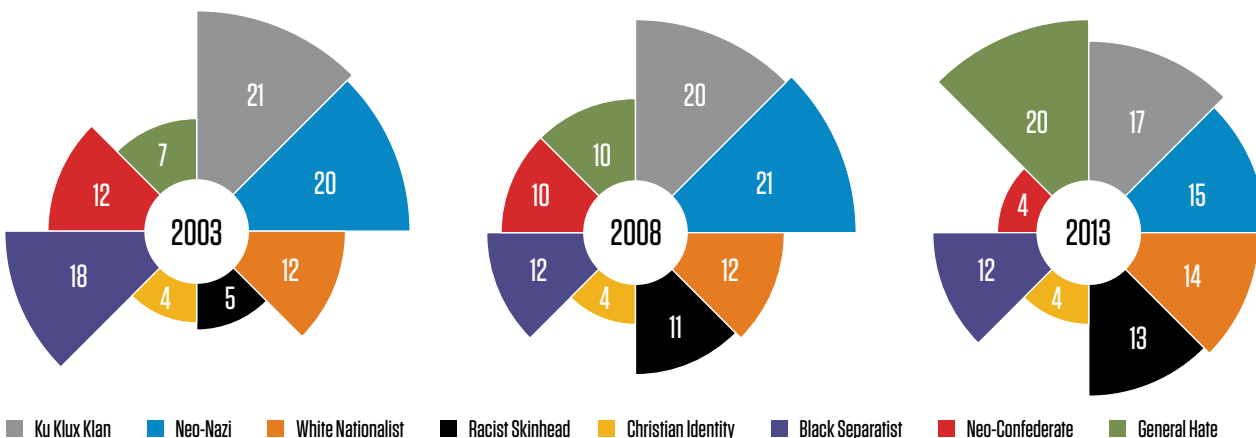
Hammerskins

Orlando, FL*

CONTINUED »



HATE GROUP COUNT BREAKDOWN IN PERCENTAGES



Over the last decade, the composition of the hate movement has changed. The percentage of Klan and neo-Nazi hate groups has dipped, while the share of racist Skinhead crews has grown. The neo-Confederate movement has fallen, while Christian Identity has remained static. Rising anti-Muslim and anti-LGBT sentiment has contributed to considerable growth in the general hate category.

Black separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. These groups typically oppose integration and racial intermarriage, and want separate institutions — or even a separate nation — for blacks. Most forms of black separatism are strongly anti-white and anti-Semitic.

All Eyes On Egypt

Bookstore

Milledgeville, GA
Macon, GA

Black Riders

Liberation Party

Los Angeles, CA*
Oakland, CA

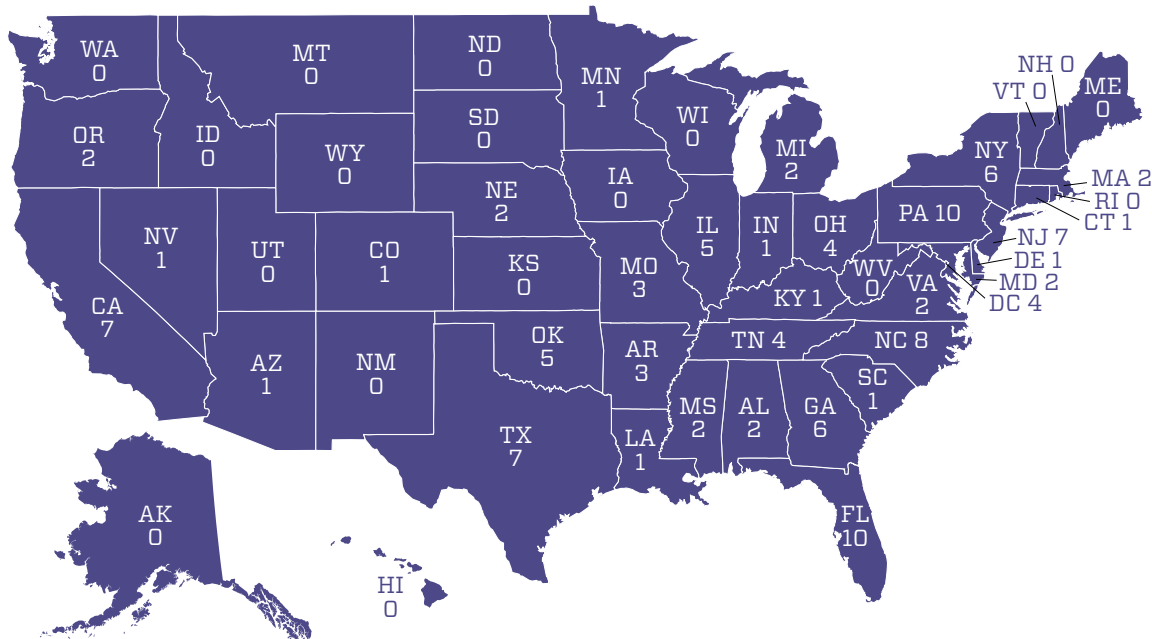
The Israelite Church of God in Jesus Christ

New York, NY*
Washington, DC
Fort Myers, FL
North Miami, FL
Orlando, FL
West Palm Beach, FL
Baltimore, MD
North Minneapolis, MN
Kansas City, MO
Fayetteville, NC
Goldsboro, NC
Wilmington, NC
Omaha, NE

Asbury Park, NJ
Camden, NJ
Jersey City, NJ
Vineland, NJ
Harlem, NY
Langston, OK
Lawton, OK
Oklahoma City, OK
Tulsa, OK
Beaverton, OR
Portland, OR
Allentown, PA
Coatesville, PA
Norristown, PA
Philadelphia, PA (2)
Pittsburgh, PA
National Black Foot Soldier Network
Harlem, NY
Ardmore, OK
Knoxville, TN
Dallas, TX

Nation of Islam

Chicago, IL*
Birmingham, AL
Tuscaloosa, AL
Little Rock, AR



Pine Bluff, AR
Phoenix, AZ
Compton, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Rialto, CA
Sacramento, CA
San Diego, CA
Aurora, CO
Bridgeport, CT
Washington, DC
Wilmington, DE
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Miami, FL
Orlando, FL
Pensacola, FL
St. Petersburg, FL
Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA
Columbus, GA
East St. Louis, IL
Peoria, IL
Rockford, IL
Indianapolis, IN
Lexington, KY
New Orleans, LA
Boston, MA
Springfield, MA

Baltimore, MD
Detroit, MI
Grand Rapids, MI
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Jackson, MS
Southaven, MS
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Greenville, NC
Raleigh, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Omaha, NE
Camden, NJ
Newark, NJ
Plainfield, NJ
Las Vegas, NV
Brooklyn, NY
Buffalo, NY
Harlem, NY
Akron, OH
Cincinnati, OH
Dayton, OH
Youngstown, OH
Harrisburg, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA

Charleston, SC
Chattanooga, TN
Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
Norfolk, VA
Richmond, VA
New Black Panther Party
Washington, DC*

Pulaski County, AR
Tampa/St. Petersburg, FL
Atlanta, GA
Chicago, IL
Philadelphia, PA
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
War On The Horizon
Washington, DC

While the number of groups has diminished, they are still at historically high levels, far higher even than the very high number that was seen at the peak of the militia movement in the 1990s.

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CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. It asserts that whites, not Jews, are the true Israelites favored by God in the Bible. In most of its forms, Identity theology depicts Jews as biologically descended from Satan, while non-whites are seen as soulless “mud people” created with the other Biblical “beasts of the field.” Some groups listed in other categories, such as the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and several Klan groups, also hold Christian Identity beliefs.

11th Hour Remnant Messenger

Santa Fe, NM
Abundant Life Fellowship
Morgantown, IN

America's Promise Ministries

Sandpoint, ID
Church of Jesus Christ Christian/
Aryan Nations

Bainbridge, OH*

Coos Bay, OR

Johnstown, PA

Church of the Sons of Yhvh

Converse, LA

Covenant People's Ministry

Brooks, GA

Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel (ECRCI)

Chicago, IL

Faith Baptist Church and Ministry

Houston, MO

Fellowship of God's Covenant People

Union, KY

First Century

Christian Ministries

The Woodlands, TX

Holy Order Ministry

De Kalb, TX

Identity Nation

Franklin, IN*

Cookeville, TN

Knoxville, TN

Nashville, TN

Kingdom Identity Ministries

Harrison, AR

Kinsman Redeemer Ministries

Alexandria, KY

Knights of the Holy Identity

Indiana

Mission to Israel

Scottsbluff, NE

Non-Universal

Teaching Ministries

Fostoria, OH

Our Place Fellowship

Colville, WA

Scriptures for America Ministries

Laporte, CO

The Shepherd's

Call Ministries

Sweetwater, TN

Thomas Robb

Ministries

Bergman, AR

United Identity

Church of Christ

Simms, TX

Virginia Publishing Company

Lynchburg, VA

Watchmen Bible

Study Group

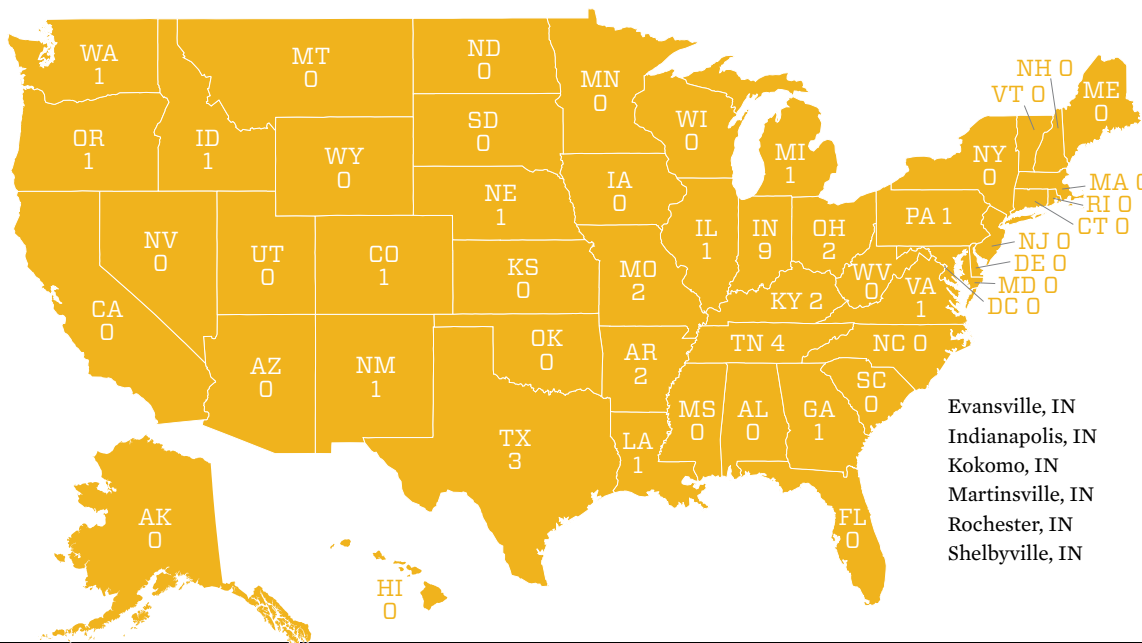
Wappapello, MO

Weisman Publications

Apple Valley, MN

Yahweh's Truth

Linwood, MI



Evansville, IN
Indianapolis, IN
Kokomo, IN
Martinsville, IN
Rochester, IN
Shelbyville, IN

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GENERAL HATE

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

ANTI-LGBT (40)

Abiding Truth

Ministries

Springfield, MA

American College

of Pediatricians

Gainesville, FL

American Family

Association

Tupelo, MS*

Franklin, PA

Americans for Truth

About Homosexuality

Naperville, IL

American Vision

Powder Springs, GA

Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute (C-FAM)

Washington, DC

New York, NY

Chalcedon Foundation

Vallecito, CA

Christ the King Church

Larkspur, CO

Faithful Word

Baptist Church

Tempe, AZ

Family Research

Council

Washington, DC

Family Research Institute

Colorado Springs, CO

Family Watch

International

Gilbert, AZ

Generations

With Vision

Elizabeth, CO

Help Rescue

Our Children

Monsey, NY

Heterosexuals

Organized for a

Moral Environment

(H.O.M.E.)

GENERAL HATE CONT'D

Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement
Framingham, MA
Federation for American Immigration Reform
Washington, DC
New Yorkers for Immigration Control and Enforcement (NYICE)
New York, NY
Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI
United for a Sovereign

Defense Initiative
New York, NY
Atlas Shrugs
New York, NY
Bare Naked Islam
Marina Del Rey, CA
Casa D'Ice Signs
North Versailles, PA
Christian Action Network
Forest, VA
Christian Guardians
San Francisco, CA
Christian Phalange
Newton, NC
Citizens for National Security
Boca Raton, FL

Lone Tree, CO
Islam: Making a True Difference in the World — One Body at a Time
Marietta, GA
islam: the Religion of Peace (and a big stack of dead bodies)
Marietta, GA
Islamthreat.com
Walnut Creek, CA
Jihad Watch
Sherman Oaks, CA
Political Islam
Nashville, TN
Prophet of Doom
St. Louis, MO
Radio Jihad

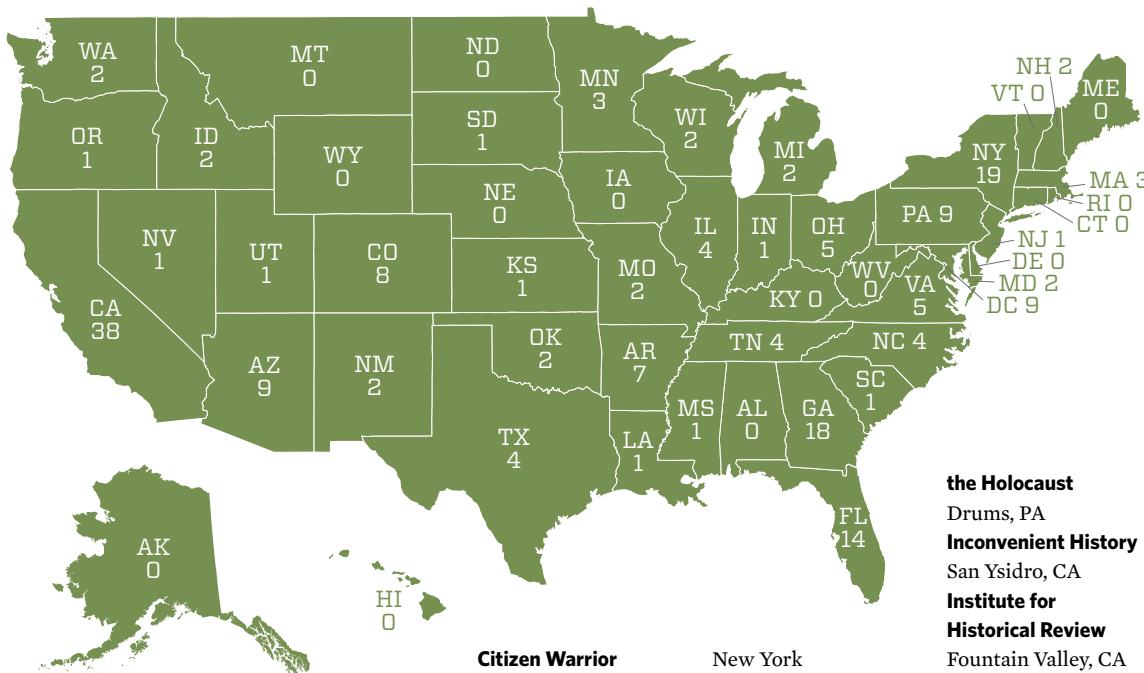
United States Justice Foundation
Ramona, CA
The United West
Lake Worth, FL
HOLOCAUST DENIAL (10)
Barnes Review/ Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
Washington, DC
Campaign for Radical Truth in History
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Castle Hill Publishers
New York, NY
Committee for Open Debate on

ISD Records
Lancaster, OH
Label 56
Maryland
Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade, NJ
MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO
Poker Face
Allentown, PA
Tightrope
Calico Rock, AR

RADICAL TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC (17)

Alliance for Catholic Tradition
Pleasant Unity, PA
Catholic Action Resource Center
Orlando, FL
Catholic Counterpoint
Broomall, PA
Catholic Family News/ Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.
Niagara Falls, NY
Christ or Chaos
West Chester, OH
Culture Wars/ Fidelity Press
South Bend, IN
Fatima Crusader/ International Fatima Rosary Crusade
Constable, NY

IHM Media
Richmond, NH
IHS Press
Norfolk, VA
In the Spirit of Chartres Committee
Carrolton, VA
Most Holy Family Monastery
Fillmore, NY
OMNI Christian Book Club
Palmdale, CA
The Remnant/ The Remnant Press
Forest Lake, MN
Robert Sungenis
State Line, PA
Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
Richmond, NH
St. Michael's Parish/ Mount St. Michael
Spokane, WA



America (USA)
Phoenix, AZ
US Border Guard & Border Rangers
Mesa, AZ

ANTI-MUSLIM (36)
9/11 Christian Center at Ground Zero
New York, NY
Aggressive Christianity
Berino, NM
Fence Lake, NM
The American Defence League
New York, NY
American Freedom

Citizen Warrior
Nashville, TN
Concerned American Citizens
Wildomar, CA
Concerned Citizens for the First Amendment
Hemet, CA
Counter Jihadist Coalition of Southern California
Santa Monica, CA
Escaping Islam
Wildomar, CA
Faith Freedom
Bellevue, WA
Freedom Defense Initiative
New York, NY
Gold is Money

New York
Sharia Awareness Action Network
Washington, DC
Silver Bullet Gun Oil
Courtland, VA
Stop the Islamization of America (SIOA)
New York, NY
Stop the Islamization of Nations (SION)
New York, NY
Sultan Knish
New York, NY
Tennessee Freedom Coalition
Nashville, TN
United States Defense League
Monroe, NC
the Holocaust
Drums, PA
Inconvenient History
San Ysidro, CA
Institute for Historical Review
Fountain Valley, CA
Institute for Historical Review Store
Newport Beach, CA
The International Conspiratological Association
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Irving Books
Key West, FL
Noontide Press
Newport Beach, CA
RACIST MUSIC (9)
Desastrious Records
Springtown, TX
Get Some 88
Castaic, CA
Heritage Connection
Harrison, AR

Tradition in Action
Los Angeles, CA

OTHER (68)

a2z Publications
Las Vegas, NV
Agenda21Today
Shady Grove, FL
American Free Press
Washington, DC
Artisan Publishers
Muskogee, OK
As-Sabiqun
Washington, DC*
Los Angeles, CA
Oakland, CA
Sacramento, CA
San Diego, CA
Philadelphia, PA
Barnhardt Capital Management, Inc.
Lone Tree, CO
Bill Keller Ministries
St. Petersburg, FL
The Brother Nathanael Foundation
Frisco, CO
Chick Publications
Ontario, CA

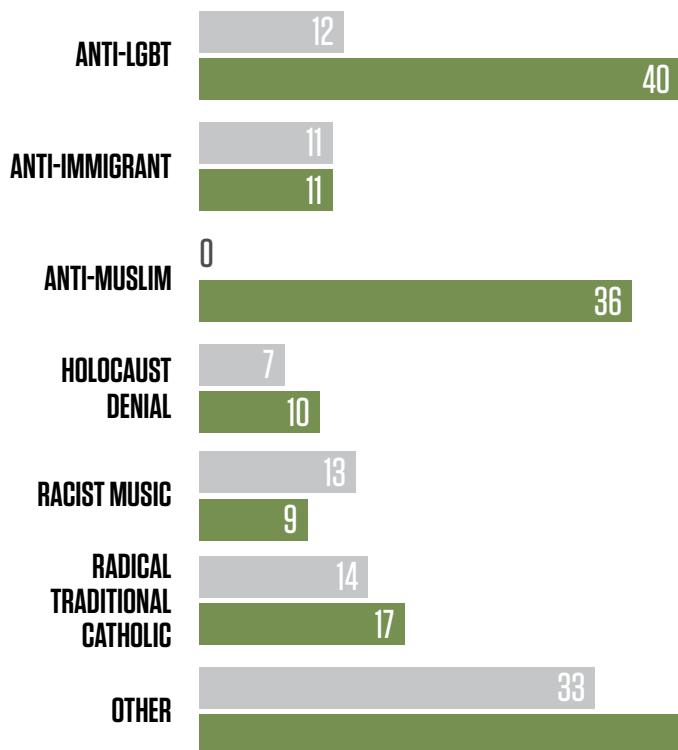
Christian Anti-Defamation Commission
Vista, CA
Christian Books and Things
Harrison, AR
The church at Kaweah
Kaweah, CA
Cultural Studies Press
New York, NY
The Dakota Voice
Rapid City, SD
DefendStudents.org
Vista, CA
Dove World Outreach Center
Bradenton, FL
European-American Evangelistic Crusades
Carmichael, CA
Florida Family Association
Tampa, FL
Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints
Hildale, UT*
Colorado City, AZ
Geauga

Constitutional Council
Mayfield Heights, OH
Georgia Militia
Bulloch County, GA
Camden County, GA
Catoosa County, GA
Cobb County, GA (2)
Franklin County, GA
Fulton County, GA
Gwinnett County, GA
Newton County, GA
Paulding County, GA
Richmond County, GA
Stephens County, GA
Holy Nation of Odin
Kingsburg, CA
Insight USA
Longwood, FL
Invictus Books
Wentzville, MO
Jamaat al-Muslimeen
Baltimore, MD
Jewish Task Force
Fresh Meadows, NY
M.A.C.S. Klan Merchandise
Louisiana
Masjid Al-Islam
Washington, DC*

Oakland, CA
National Prayer Network
Clackamas, OR
Official Street Preachers
Los Angeles, CA
Original North Phoenix Tea Party
North Phoenix, AZ
Ozark Craft LC
Harrison, AR
Power of Prophecy
Austin, TX
Reformation-Bible Puritan-Baptist Church
Newmanstown, PA
Samanta Roy Institute of Science and Technology
Shawano, WI
Sharkhunters International
Hernando, FL
Society for the Practical Establishment and Perpetuation of the Ten Commandments
Eatonton, GA

SonnyThomas.com
Springboro, OH
Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club
Arizona
Tea Party Nation
Franklin, TN
Tony Alamo Christian Ministries
Fouke, AR*
Fort Smith, AR
Canyon Country, CA
New York, NY
Texarkana, TX
Truth At Last
Marietta, GA
Truth Triumphant
Eustis, FL
Vinland Folk Resistance
Kingsburg, CA
Voz de Aztlan
Whittier, CA
White Pride Home School Resource Center
Bergman, AR ▲

GENERAL HATE COUNT BREAKDOWN

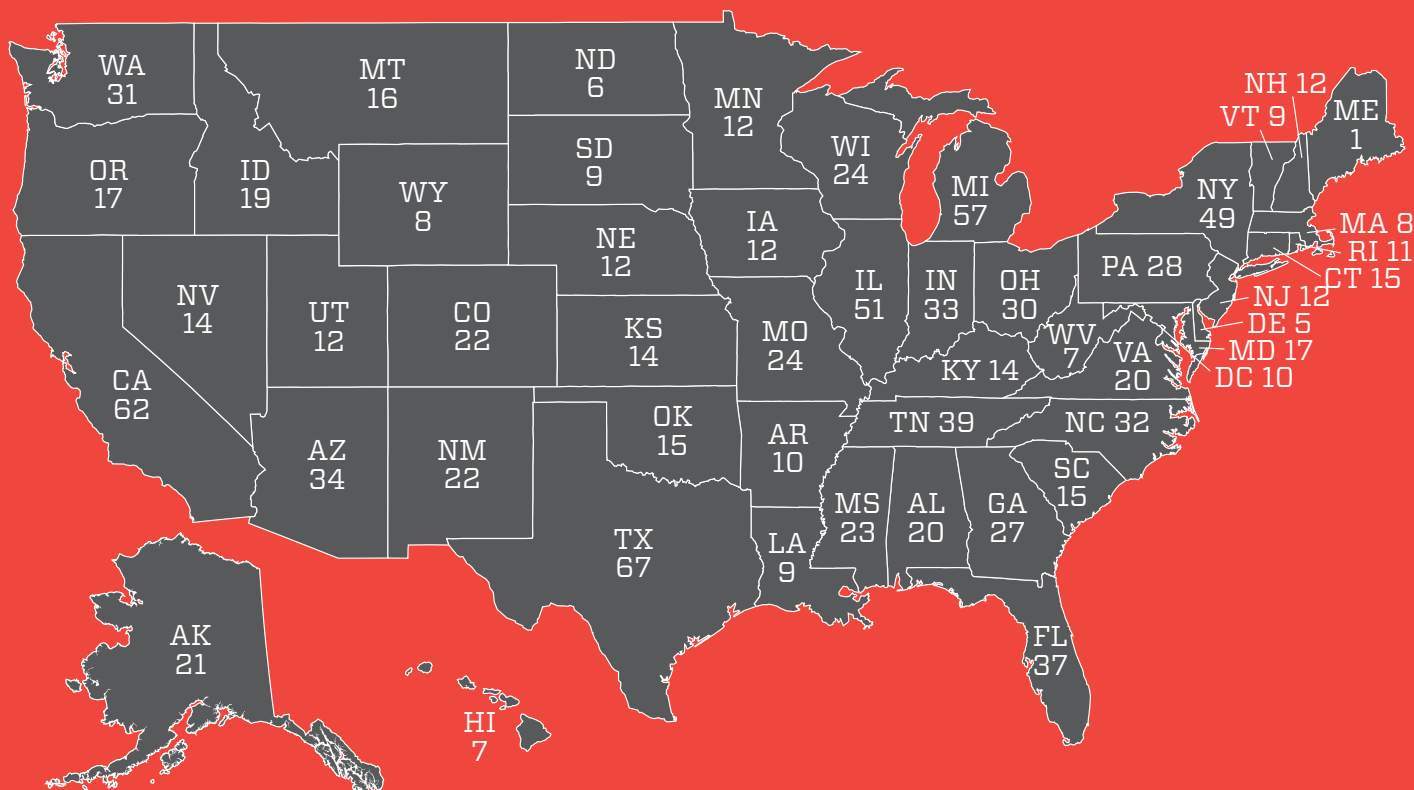


■ 2008 ■ 2013

Certain sectors of the hate movement have exploded over the last five years. Anti-Muslim hate groups mushroomed after the 2010 dispute over the so-called "Ground Zero" mosque and the anti-LGBT movement expanded. The number of anti-immigrant, Holocaust denial and Radical Traditionalist Catholic groups remained about the same. The catch all category, other, saw major growth.

ACTIVE 'PATRIOT' GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2013



THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT IDENTIFIED 1096 ANTI-GOVERNMENT "PATRIOT" GROUPS

THAT WERE ACTIVE IN 2013. Of these groups, 240 were militias, marked with an asterisk, and the remainder includes "common-law" courts, publishers, ministries and citizens' groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the "New World Order," engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located.

ALABAMA (20)

America Can Be Free

Newton

Constitution Party of Alabama

Montgomery

Divine Province

North America

Hazel Green

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Freedom Yell

Ozark

Free Patriot Press

Birmingham

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

LewRockwell.com

Auburn

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united

States of America

Dothan

Skipperville

Republic for the united States

of America – Republic Congress

Skipperville

Statewide

Southeast Constitutional

Militia*

Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

THREE%ER

Pinson

Watchmen of Alabama*

Statewide

We Are Change

Huntsville

Leesburg

ALASKA (21)

Alaska Citizens Militia*

Nikiski

Anchorage Municipality

Defense Force*

Anchorage

Bethel Citizens Militia*

Bethel

Central Alaska Militia*

Delta Junction

Fairbanks

Glenallen

North Pole

Tok

Constitution Party

Soldotna

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Juneau Territorial Guard*

Juneau

Kenai Peninsula

Citizens Militia*

Kenai

North Slope Militia*

Deadhorse

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united

States of America

Statewide

Republic for the united States

of America – Republic Congress

Statewide

Spartan Marine Corps

of Alaska*

Juneau

Valdez

We the People

ARIZONA (34)

American Patriot

Friends Network

Peoria

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Arizona Militia*

Glendale

Committee of Safety

Mesa

Committees of Safety

Tucson

Constitution Party

Cochise County

Glendale

Goodyear

Graham County

Maricopa County

Pinal County

Tempe

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Freedom's Phoenix

Glendale

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Hour of the Time

Eagar

John Birch Society

Statewide

Molon Labe

Phoenix

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united

States of America

Coconino County

Maricopa County

Scottsdale

Yavapai County

Republic for the united States

Statewide

Riders United for a Sovereign

America, Corp.

Phoenix

SheriffMack.com

Pima

Southeast Valley Tea

Party Patriots

Santan Valley

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

Watchmen of Arizona

Statewide

We Are Change

Statewide

Tucson

We the People

Phoenix (2)

You Have the Right

Statewide

ARKANSAS (10)

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Constitution Party of Arkansas

Fayetteville

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united

States of America

Statewide

Republic for the united States

of America – Republic Congress

Statewide

Secure Arkansas

Little Rock

We the People

North Little Rock

CALIFORNIA (62)

Aggressive Commentary By

Dr. Jerome Corsi – 1776 Nation

Irvine

American Armenian Militia*

Burbank

American Independent Party

Vacaville

Beverly Hills Tea Party

Beverly Hills

California State Militia – 31st

Field Force Squad Alpha/SOG*

Orange County

The Constitution Club

Hemet

Constitution Party

San Diego

DEMOCRATS AGAINST

U.N. AGENDA 21

Santa Rosa

Dprogram.net

Sebastopol

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Educate Yourself

Costa Mesa

Freedom Advocates

Santa Cruz

Freedom Force International

Thousand Oaks

Freedom Law School

Phelan

Free Enterprise Society

Fresno

Free Republic

Fresno

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

HISAdvocates.org

Costa Mesa

Inland Empire Oath Keepers

Riverside

Jefferson Home Guard*

Lookout Junction

John Birch Society

Sacramento

Liberty Under Fire

Freedom Fighters

Taft

National Veterans Coalition

Anaheim Hills

Northern California

State Militia*

Butte County

Sacramento

Solano County

Stockton

Sunnyvale

Tehama County

Nullify Now!

Los Angeles

Oath Keepers

Banning

High Desert

Mecca

Orange County

Rialto

Riverside

Sacramento

San Bernardino

Southern California

Temecula

The Post Sustainability

Institute

Santa Rosa	Colorado Springs	Bear	Statewide
Radio Liberty	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Reclaim America Now Coalition
Soquel	Statewide	Statewide	Ocala
Republic for the united States of America	John Birch Society	John Birch Society	Republic for the united States of America
Placer County	Statewide	Statewide	Brevard County
Riverside County	Oath Keepers	Oath Keepers	Statewide
Statewide	Statewide	Statewide	Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress	Republic for the united States of America	States of America	Statewide
Statewide	Statewide	Statewide	Southeast Constitutional Militia*
The Resistance – Mark Dice’s Official Website	Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (10) Constitutional Rights PAC	Sarasota
San Diego	Statewide	Washington, DC	Tea Party Solutions, Inc.
Second Amendment Committee	SteveQuayle.com	Eagle Forum	Ocala
Hanford	Pueblo West	Washington, DC	Tenth Amendment Center
Southern California State Militia, El Toro Platoon*	Team Law	National Committee Against the U.N. Takeover	Pensacola
Riverside County	Grand Junction	Washington, DC	Tampa Bay
Tenth Amendment Center	Huerfano County	Oath Keepers	Tri-County Tea Party
Los Angeles	Statewide	Washington, DC	Oxford
Statewide	We Are Change	Political Media	Watchmen of Florida*
Truth Radio	Huerfano	Washington, DC	Statewide
Nipomo	Statewide	Renew America	We Are Change
UCC Class	We the People	Washington, DC	Miami
Rocklin	Delta	Special Operations Speaks	Orlando
Ventura County Tea Party	Peyton	Washington, DC	Palm Beach
Ventura County	CONNECTICUT (15)	We the People	Port St. Lucie
Washitaw Empire de Dugdahmoundyah	Connecticut Survivalist Alliance	Washington, DC	Tampa
San Pedro	Middlefield	WND Books	We the People
Watchmen of California	Constitution Party of Connecticut	Washington, DC	Hallandale Beach
Statewide	Plantville	WorldNetDaily	Hudson
We Are Change	Eagle Forum	Washington, DC	Jacksonville
Bakersfield	Statewide	FLORIDA (37)	New Port Richey
Chico	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	American Patriot Party	Sanford
Fresno	Statewide	Statewide	Tampa Bay
San Francisco East Bay	John Birch Society	Chief Kessler’s Constitution Security Force*	GEORGIA (27)
We the People	Statewide	Statewide	American Patriot Party
Riverside	Oath Keepers	Commercial Redemption	Statewide
San Leandro	Statewide	Chipley	American Resistance Radio
COLORADO (22)	The Post & Email	Constitution Party	Martinez
American Constitution Party	Stafford Springs	Deland	Confederate States Home Guard*
Arvada	Republic for the united States of America	Hollywood	Tate
American Freedom Network	Statewide	Jupiter	Constitution Party
Johnstown	Statewide	Ocala	Woodstock
American Patriot Party	Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress	St. Augustine	Discount Book Distributors/ The Patriot Depot
Statewide	Statewide	Eagle Forum	Powder Springs
Chief Kessler’s Constitution Security Force*	Tenth Amendment Center	Statewide	Eagle Forum
Statewide	Statewide	Sarasota	Statewide
Colorado Western Slope Militia*	We Are Change	Florida Constitution Guard*	Freedom Fighter Radio
Aspen	Deep River	Orlando	Martinez
Discharge Debt	Wallingford	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Georgia Militia-CSRA Militia*
Broomfield	Waterbury	Statewide	Augusta
Eagle Forum	We the People	John Birch Society	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide	Waterbury	Statewide	Statewide
eMilitary Manuals	We the People – Constitution Lobby of Connecticut	North Florida Survival Group*	John Birch Society
Montrose	Waterbury	North Florida	Statewide
Freedom First Society	DELAWARE (5)	Now the End Begins	Liberty Alliance
	Constitution Party of Delaware	Jacksonville	Powder Springs
		Oath Keepers	The Moorish Science Temple

of America 1928

Atlanta

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united

States of America

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

**Southeast Constitutional
Militia***

Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center

Northwest

Statewide

True Patriots

Dallas

We Are Change

Atlanta

We the People

Baldwin

Cumming

Gainesville

Jefferson

Marietta

Richmond Hill

Woodstock

HAWAII (7)

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

**Republic for the united
States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

We are Change

Maui

Pahoa

We the People

Wailuku

IDAHO (19)

**Ada County '1/43' Light
Foot Militia***

Ada County

Constitution Party

Coeur d'Alene

Eagle Forum

Statewide

First American Patriot Church

Boise

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Idaho Observer

Spirit Lake

John Birch Society

Statewide

The Micro Effect

Kamiah

North Idaho Light Foot Militia*

Benewah County

Bonner County

Boundary County

Kootenai County

Shoshone County

Oath Keepers

Statewide

**Palouse Lightfoot Militia –
Alpha Company, 57th
Battalion, 43rd Field Force***

Moscow

**Police & Military Against
the New World Order**

Kamiah

**Republic for the united
States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

We the People

Parma

ILLINOIS (51)

America First Party of Illinois

St. Charles

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Constitution Party

Belknap

Eagle Forum

Alton

Eagle Forum Operations Center

Alton

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Illinois Sons of Liberty*

Adams County

Bureau County

Champaign County

Chicago

Christian County

Clark County

Clay County

Coles County

Cook County

De Witt County

Douglas County

Edgar County

Ford County

Grundy County

Henry County

Iroquois County

Jackson County

Kane County

Kankakee County

Kendall County

Macon County

Macoupin County

McHenry County

McLean County

Moultrie County

Peoria County

Pike County

Piatt County

Rockford

Saline County

Shelby County

Statewide

St. Clair County

Vermilion County

Warren County

Will County

John Birch Society

Statewide

Martial Law Survival

Thomson

Oath Keepers

Statewide

**Republic for the united
States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

Restore the Republic

Northbrook

The Roger Sherman Institute

Altona

We Are Change

Chicago

We the People

Chicago

INDIANA (33)

American Patriot Party

Statewide

**Chief Kessler's Constitution
Security Force***

Statewide

The Constitutional Patriots

Carmel

Constitution Preservation

Hammond

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Indiana Militia Corps*

Ingalls

Northeast

Northwest

Southeast

Southwest

Indianapolis Baptist Temple

Indianapolis

Indiana Sons of Liberty*

Benton County (2)

Daviess County

Hamilton County

Henry County

Howard County

Huntington

Monroe County

Steuben County

Vanderburgh County

Wabash County

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

**Republic for the united
States of America**

Wabash

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

Sons of Liberty

Columbus

Watchmen of Indiana*

Statewide

We Are Change

Allen County

Jasper

Wells County Patriots

Bluffton

We the People

Statewide

IOWA (12)

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Constitution Party

Eldon

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

**Republic for the united
States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

We Are Change

Sioux City

We the People

Burlington

Davenport

We the People – Constitution

Lobby of Iowa

Elkader

KANSAS (14)

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Constitution Party

Wichita

Eagle Forum

Statewide

The Freeman Perspective

Lawrence	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Kensington	Eagle Forum
Statewide	Statewide	Cecil County Patriots	Statewide
Kansas State Militia*	Oath Keepers	Elkton	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Wichita	Statewide	The Citadel	Statewide
Oath Keepers	Republic for the united	Gaithersburg	The Heartland USA
Statewide	States of America	Constitution Party	Crystal Falls
Patriot Freedom Alliance	Statewide	Rockville	Jack Van Impe Ministries
Hutchinson	Republic for the united States	Eagle Forum	International
The Prophecy Club Resources	of America – Republic Congress	Statewide	Troy
Topeka	Statewide	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	John Birch Society
Republic for the united	Southeast Constitutional	Statewide	Statewide
States of America	Militia*	The Institute on the	Liberty Tree Radio
Statewide	Statewide	Constitution (American View)	Dexter
Republic for the united States	Washitaw Empire de	Pasadena	Lost Horizons
of America – Republic Congress	Dugdahmoundyah	John Birch Society	Commerce Township
Statewide	Monroe	Statewide	Michigan Downriver
Tenth Amendment Center	MAINE (16)	Oath Keepers	Volunteer Militia*
Statewide	Citizens of the	Statewide	Wayne County
We Are Change	American Constitution	Republic for the united	Michigan Patriot Alliance*
Manhattan	Bingham	States of America	Arenac County
We the People	Constitution Party	Statewide	Bay County
Burlington	Millinocket	Republic for the united States	Cheboygan County
KENTUCKY (14)	Discerning Today	of America – Republic Congress	Clinton County
Chief Kessler's Constitution	Bangor	Statewide	Crawford County
Security Force*	Eagle Forum	Save A Patriot Fellowship	Genesee County
Statewide	Statewide	Westminster	Gladwin County
Constitution Party	EPI – Environmental	We Are Change	Gratiot County
Lexington	Perspectives Incorporated	Frederick	Huron County
Eagle Forum	Bangor	We the People	Jackson County
Statewide	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Frederick/Urbana	Lapeer County
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Statewide	MASSACHUSETTS (8)	Macomb County
Statewide	John Birch Society	America First Party	Midland County
John Birch Society	Statewide	of Massachusetts	Oakland County
Statewide	Maine Highlands	New Bedford	Oceana County
Kentucky Tea Party	Defense Force*	Constitution Party	Presque Isle County
Statewide	Bangor	Townsend	Saginaw County
Oath Keepers	Maine Patriot Books	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Sanilac County
Statewide	Brunswick	Statewide	Shiawassee County
PatriotResistance.com	Maine Patriot Militia*	John Birch Society	Statewide
Lexington	Berwick	Statewide	St. Clair County
Republic for the united	Oath Keepers	Oath Keepers	Tuscola County
States of America	Statewide	Statewide	The Moorish Divine and
Statewide	Republic for the united	Republic for the united	National Movement of the World
Republic for the united States	States of America	States of America	Oakland
of America – Republic Congress	Statewide	Worcester	Northern Michigan Backyard
Statewide	Republic for the united States	Republic for the united States	Protection Militia*
Take Back Kentucky	of America – Republic Congress	of America – Republic Congress	Northern Michigan Area
Clarkson	Statewide	Statewide	Oath Keepers
Watchmen of America	Tenth Amendment Center	We Are Change	Farmington Hills
Lexington	Central Maine	Boston	Republic for the united
We Are Change	Statewide	MICHIGAN (57)	States of America
Highland Heights	We the People	American Patriot Party	Statewide
Lexington	Thomaston	Alger County	Republic for the united States
LOUISIANA (9)	MARYLAND (17)	Capitol City Militia*	of America – Republic Congress
American Patriot Party	III Percent Patriots	Ingham County	Statewide
Statewide	Gaithersburg	Constitution Party	Southeast Michigan
Constitution Party	America's Survival, Inc.	Grand Rapids	Volunteer Militia*
Eunice	Owings	Delta 5 Mobile Light	Detroit
Eagle Forum	American Patriot Party	Infantry Militia*	Livingston County
Statewide	Statewide	Calhoun County	Macomb County
	Beverly Eakman	Eaton County	Monroe County

Oakland County
Washtenaw County
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Clio
Flint
West Central Michigan Volunteer Militia*
Ionia County
West Michigan Volunteer Militia*
Kent County
Muskegon County
Newaygo County
Oceana County
Ottawa County
We the People
Novi
West Bloomfield
MINNESOTA (12)
American Patriot Party
Statewide
Black Snake Militia*
Montevideo
Constitution Party
Redwood Falls
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Genesis Communication Network
Eagan
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Hennepin County
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We the People
Duluth
MISSISSIPPI (23)
912 Project Hattiesburg
Hattiesburg
America First Party of Mississippi
Greenwood
Constitution Party
Guntown
Seminary
Eagle Forum
Statewide
East Central Mississippi Militia*
East Central

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Mississippi Militia*
Southaven
Mississippi Preparedness Project*
East Central
Northeast
Northwest
Southeast
Southwest
Statewide
West Central
Mississippi Tea Party
Jackson
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Southeast Constitutional Militia*
Statewide
South Mississippi State Militia*
South Mississippi
We the People
Oxford
Perkinston
MISSOURI (24)
America First Party of Missouri
Imperial
Chief Kessler's Constitution Security Force*
Statewide
Constitution Party
Buffalo
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Eagle Forum Education Center
St. Louis
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Heal Our Land Ministries
Branson
Missouri Militia*
Kansas City
Springfield/Joplin
St. Louis
Oath Keepers
Statewide
The Power Hour
Versailles
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide

Take Back Washington
Versailles
Tenth Amendment Center
Southwest
Statewide
We Are Change
Branson
Springfield
Statewide
St. Charles
We the People
Cedar Hill
High Ridge
William Lewis Films
Columbia
MONTANA (16)
Celebrating Conservatism
Missoula
Constitution Party
Helena
Kalispell
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Missoula County
John Birch Society
Kalispell
Liberty Defense League
Kalispell
Lincoln County Watch
Bozeman
Militia of Montana*
Noxon
Oath Keepers
Bozeman
Republic for the united States of America
Hamilton
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Stand Up America U.S.
Big Fork
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
We Are Change
Billings
We the People
Billings
NEBRASKA (12)
37 Nebraska Volunteer Militia*
Hastings
American Patriot Party
Statewide
Constitution Party
Omaha
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society

Statewide
The Nebraska State Militia*
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
We Are Change
Gibbon
We the People – Constitution Lobby of Nebraska
Bellevue
NEVADA (14)
Battle Born 36/3rd Patriots*
Statewide
Center for Action
Sandy Valley
Eagle Forum
Statewide
General Post Office
Gardnerville
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Independent American Party of Nevada
Elko
John Birch Society
Statewide
Nevada Action Coalition
Las Vegas
Oath Keepers
Henderson
Las Vegas
Republic for the united States of America
Gardnerville
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Southern Nevada Militia*
Southern
We the People
North Las Vegas
NEW HAMPSHIRE (12)
America First Party of New Hampshire
Windham
American Patriot Party
Statewide
Constitution Party
Fremont
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide

New Hampshire Patriot Militia*

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united**States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

We the People

Manchester

What Really Happened

Concord

NEW JERSEY (12)**Chief Kessler's Constitution****Security Force***

Statewide

Constitution Party

Sussex

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

R.V. Bey Publications

Pleasantville

Republic for the united**States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

We Are Change

Bridgewater

We the People

Jacksonville

Monmouth

NEW MEXICO (22)**Constitution Party**

Albuquerque

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

New Mexico Citizen's Militia*

Chaves County

Dona Ana County

Grant County

Los Lunas

Otero County

Sandoval County

San Juan County

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic for the united**States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

Southern New Mexico Militia*

Curry County

Dona Ana County

Lea County

Otero County

Roosevelt County

We Are Change

Albuquerque

Santa Fe

We the People

Albuquerque

Los Lunas

NEW YORK (49)**Aboriginal Law Institute**

New York

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Chief Kessler's Constitution**Security Force***

Statewide

Constitution Party

Albany County

Buffalo

Cattaraugus County

Cayuga County

Chautauqua County

Chemung County

Dutchess County

Erie County

Genesee County

Greene County

Monroe County

Montgomery County

Niagara County

Oneida County

Onondaga County

Ontario County

Orange County

Rensselaer County

Rockland County

Schoharie County

Schuyler County

Steuben County

Tompkins County

Westchester County

Free America Rally

Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

**New York Mutual
Assistance Group***

Suffolk County

Oath Keepers

Astoria

Bay Shore

Chatham

Republic for the united**States of America**

Statewide

**Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress**

Statewide

Tenth Amendment Center

Statewide

Watchmen of New York*

Statewide

We Are Change

Buffalo

New City

Syracuse

White Plains

We the People

Binghamton

Cooperstown

East Islip

New Baltimore

Queensbury

Watertown

We the People – Constitution**Lobby of New York**

Queensbury

NORTH CAROLINA (32)**American Patriot Party**

Statewide

America's Remedy

Charlotte

Constitution Party

Charlotte

Cultural Freedom

Fayetteville

Cultural Freedom Bookstore

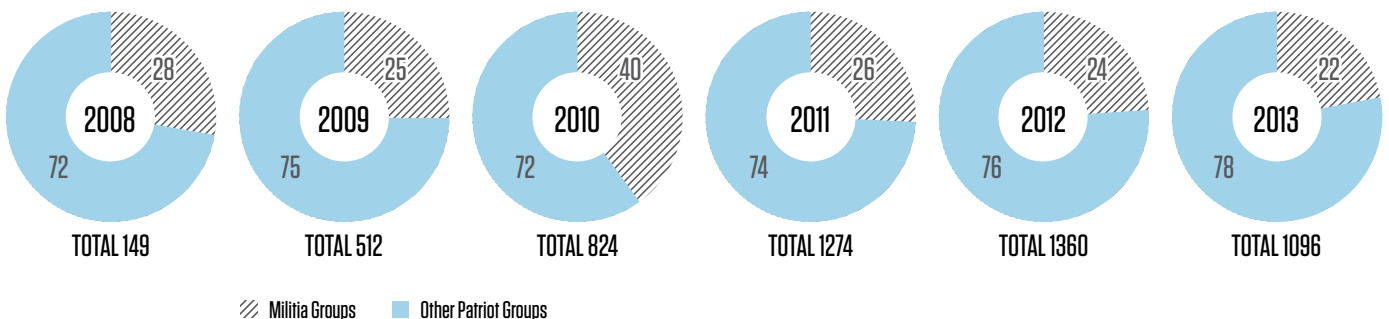
Fayetteville

Eagle Forum

Statewide

Freedom Warriors**National Militia***

Hickory

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)**ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOT' ORGANIZATIONS IN PERCENTAGES**

The number of 'Patriot' antigovernment groups has fluctuated from just 149 organizations in 2008 to 1,096 in 2013. But the percentage of the count that consists of militias, meaning groups that actively engage in military-style training, has remained remarkably constant. Over the years, militias account for about a quarter of the total number of groups.

Statewide
Granny Warriors
 Leicester
Moccasin Creek Minutemen
 Zebulon
NCRenegade
 Raleigh
NORTH-CAROLINA
American Republic
 Charlotte
 Forsyth County
 Gaston County
 Haywood County
 Lincoln County
 Rowan County
 Rutherford County
 Yadkin County
North Carolina Citizens Militia*
 Charlotte
 Coastal Area
 Sandhills Area
 Waynesville
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Preamble Trust
 Charlotte
Republic for the united
States of America
 Statewide
Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress
 Statewide
Stokes County Militia*
 Pinnacle
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
Washitaw Empire de
Dugdahmoundyah
 High Point
We Are Change
 Purlear
We the People
 Winston-Salem
NORTH DAKOTA (6)
Constitution Party
 White Earth
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Republic for the united
States of America
 Statewide
Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Bismarck
OHIO (30)
America First Party of Ohio
 Cleveland

American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Delaware
 Eaton
Don't Tread on Me
 Cleveland
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
 Willoughby
Ohio Defense Force
Home Guard*
 Northeast
 Northwest
 Southeast
 Southwest
Ohio Minutemen Militia*
 Central
 Fremont
 Northeast
 Northwest
 Southwest
 Statewide
Ohio Patriot Guard*
 Ashtabula County
Republic for the united
States of America
 Statewide
Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress
 Statewide
Sons of Liberty Academy
 Cleveland
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We are Change
 Athens
 Mansfield
We the People
 Beavercreek
 Lebanon
Zanesville Patriots
 Frazeysburg
OKLAHOMA (15)
American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Chandler
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
Oath Keepers

Owasso
 Statewide
OK SAFE, Inc.
(Oklahomans for Sovereignty
and Free Enterprise)
 Tulsa
Overpasses for America
 Tecumseh
Republic for the united
States of America
 Statewide
Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Tulsa
We the People
 Tulsa
Women's International
Women Group
 Yukon
OREGON (17)
American Patriot Party
 Ashland
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Hubbard
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
Embassy of Heaven
 Stayton
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
McCutcheons Ink.
 Central Point
News With Views
 Merlin
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Paper Advantage
 Portland
Republic for the united
States of America
 Harrisburg
 Talent
Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress
 Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
The Voice of Freedom
 Klamath Falls
We the People
 Grants Pass
We the People
 Junction City
PENNSYLVANIA (28)
Alt Market
 Pittsburgh

American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Berks County Tea Party
 Reading
Chief Kessler's Constitution
Security Force*
 Frackville
Constitution Party
 Lancaster
 McAlisterville
 Newport
 Pittsburgh
 Sharon
 Tioga
Eagle Forum
 Philadelphia
 Pittsburgh
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
Liberty Dollar of Chambersburg
 Marion
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Pennsylvania American
Patriot Radio
 Crawford County
Pocono Gun Supplies
 Blakeslee
Republic for the united
States of America
 Statewide
Republic for the united States
of America – Republic Congress
 Statewide
Sons of Liberty Militia*
 Philadelphia
Tenth Amendment Center
 Statewide
The Unsolicited Opinion
with Maggie
 Norristown
Watchmen of Pennsylvania*
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Philadelphia
We the People
 Greensburg
 Delaware County
WING TV
 State College
RHODE ISLAND (11)
American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Middletown
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide

Oath Keepers	Statewide	Chakchiuma Sektchi Clan	Memphis	John Birch Society	Statewide
Patriot Freedom	West Warwick	We Are Change	Maryville	Oath Keepers	Austin
Republic for the united States of America	Statewide	We the People	Nashville		Houston
Rhode Island Citizen Militia*	Statewide	TENNESSEE (39)	Etowah	Republic Broadcasting	Statewide
We Are Change	Blackstone	Black Robe Regiment	Fayetteville	Round Rock	
	Statewide	Constitution Party	Greenback	Republic for the united States of America	Statewide
We the People	Wakefield		Greenville	Republic for the united States of America - Republic Congress	Statewide
SOUTH CAROLINA (15)		TEXAS (67)	Knoxville	Republic of Texas	Bastrop County
Chief Kessler's Constitution Security Force*	Statewide	Adask's Law	Riceville	Rule of Law Radio	Austin
Christian Exodus	Pelzer	The American Driver	Nocona	Silver Bear Café	Garland
Constitution Party	Taylors	The American Open Currency Standard	Frisco	Tenth Amendment Center	South
Eagle Forum	Statewide	American Patriot Party	Statewide		Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (G000H)	Statewide	Anti-Shyster Magazine	Utopia		Williamson County
Oath Keepers	Statewide	Baylor County Tea Party	Baylor County	The Texas Militia*	Abilene
The Patriot Network	Anderson	Brave New Books	Austin		Amarillo
Republic for the united States of America	Statewide	Buffalo Creek Press	Cleburne		Austin
Republic for the united States of America - Republic Congress	Statewide	Chief Kessler's Constitution Security Force*	Statewide		Beaumont
Southeast Constitutional Militia*	Statewide	Church of God Evangelistic Association	Waxahachie		Bryan
Tenth Amendment Center	Statewide	Constitution Party	Princeton		Conroe
We Are Change	Columbia	Constitution Society	Austin		Corpus Christi
	Myrtle Beach	Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association	Fredericksburg		Dallas
We the People	Charleston	County Sheriff Project	Fredericksburg		El Paso
	Rock Hill	Dallas City Troop (DCT)*	Carrollton		Houston
SOUTH DAKOTA (9)		Eagle Forum	Dallas		Huntington
Constitution Party	Brandon		Northwest		Hurst
Eagle Forum	Statewide	Freedom School	Statewide		Laredo
Get Out Of Our House (G000H)	Statewide	Get Out Of Our House (G000H)	Dallas		Lubbock
Oath Keepers	Statewide		Statewide		McAllen
Republic for the united States of America	Statewide	Groups Against Agenda 21	Sulphur Springs		Midland
Republic for the united States of America - Republic Congress	Statewide	Infowars.com	Austin		Mt. Pleasant
					San Antonio (2)
					Tyler
					Waco
					Statewide (2)
					TURF - Texans Uniting for Reform and Freedom
					San Antonio
					We Are Change
					Corpus Christi
					Lubbock
					San Antonio
					We the People
					Dallas
					Grapevine
					Hideaway
					Point
					UTAH (12)
					American Patriot Party
					Statewide

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
JoelSkousen.com
Orem
John Birch Society
Statewide
Liberty Round Table
Highland
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
Utah Constitution Party
Bountiful
We Are Change
Ogden City
Winston Shrout – Solutions in Commerce
Santa Clara
VERMONT (9)
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Watchmen of Vermont
Statewide
We Are Change
Chittenden
We the People
Montpelier
VIRGINIA (20)
American Patriot Party
Statewide
American Policy Center
Remington
Basics Project
Virginia Beach
Constitution Party
Hamilton
Declaration Alliance
Herndon
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide

GrassTopsUSA Inc.
Lorton
Gun Owners of America
Springfield
IRS Zoom
Arlington
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
TAX-FREEDOM.com
Arlington
Tea Party Patriots
Merrifield
Tenth Amendment Center
Statewide
Virginia Citizen Militia*
Statewide
We Are Change
Blacksburg
We the People
Fredericksburg
WASHINGTON (31)
American Patriot Party
Statewide
Church of Sovereigns: Sacred Family Temple of the Living Saint
Satsop
Citizen Review Online
Sequim
Constitution Party
Spokane Valley
Debt Free Sovereign Trust
Blaine
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Eastern Washington Lightfoot Militia-63rd Lightfoot Btn.*
Spokane County
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
National Association of Rural Landowners (NARLO)
Fall City
Issaquah
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Palouse Lightfoot Militia – Bravo Company, 75th Battalion 42nd FF*
Pullman
Republic for the united

States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
Sovereign-Citizenship.net
Satsop
The Sovereign Project
Clark County
Sovereign Trust
Blaine
Stevens County Assembly
Tum Tum
Chewelah
Washington State Militia*
Central
Northeast
Northwest
Southeast
Southwest
We Are Change
Bellingham
We the People
Camas
Lynwood
McKenna
Monroe
Olalla
WEST VIRGINIA (7)
Chief Kessler's Constitution Security Force*
Statewide
Constitution Party
Daniels
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
We the People
Statewide
WISCONSIN (24)
America First Party of Wisconsin
Muscodia
American Opinion Foundation, Inc.
Appleton
American Opinion Publishing
Appleton
American Patriot Party
Statewide
Badger State Volunteers*
Statewide
Constitution Party
Milwaukee

David-Wynn: Miller
Milwaukee
Eagle Forum
Statewide
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
John Birch Society
Appleton
John Birch Society – Liberty News Network
Appleton
John Birch Society Shop JBS
Appleton
Northwoods Patriots
Eagle River
Oath Keepers
Statewide
People's Awareness Coalition
Kieler
Republic for the united States of America
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
We Are Change
Madison
Marinette
Milwaukee
Wausau
We the People
Janesville
Madison
Peshtigo
WYOMING (8)
American Patriot Party
Statewide
Constitution Party
Torington
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Statewide
Natural News
Cody
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Republic for the united States of America – Republic Congress
Statewide
We Are Change
Statewide
We the People
Casper▲

A portrait of Pete Simi, a man with short brown hair, wearing a dark suit, light blue shirt, and a patterned tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. The background is dark and out of focus.

PETE SIMI, an associate professor of criminology and criminal justice at the University of Nebraska at Omaha has been doing fieldwork with current and former right-wing extremists for 17 years, starting before he earned his doctorate in sociology in 2003 and continuing up to the present. After a childhood in Vancouver, Wash., Simi became interested in the psychological and social aspects of hatred and violence, and worked in the mental health field for more than a decade before pursuing his career in

WHY THEY JOIN

*A SCHOLAR WHO'S DONE EXTENSIVE FIELDWORK ON THE RADICAL RIGHT DISCUSSES
WHY PEOPLE JOIN EXTREMIST GROUPS, AND HOW THEY LEAVE*

academia. Later, while doing his fieldwork on the radical right, Simi managed to become “embedded” in the world of white supremacist groups in southern California where, in 2001, he met Wade Michael Page, the man who would go on to murder six people at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wis., in 2012.

Earlier, in 2010, Simi and Robert Futrell of the University of Nevada-Las Vegas wrote the award-winning *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*, a book that relied on in-depth interviews and observation of hate group members. Simi is currently studying risk factors for radicalization among domestic terrorists as an investigator for the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland and is also working on a project funded by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation to understand how extremists defect from the movement.

You've spent a great deal of time interviewing current and former adherents of the radical right about their reasons for joining the movement. Are there common themes in their personal histories? Do they tend to have similar personalities, or experiences, or come from similar socioeconomic backgrounds?

It's pretty diverse but if I had to nail it down I would say one of the most common background characteristics is some kind of family disruption, whether that be divorce or parental abandonment, a parent becoming incarcerated, or substance abuse by one or both of the parents. That kind of thing is very common, but I should emphasize that I have interviewed folks who report coming from very "normal," typical, stable upbringings as well.

In terms of socioeconomic backgrounds, there's a common misconception that only people from lower economic backgrounds are attracted to these types of groups. I can say not only from my own research but also that of others like [scholars] Kathleen Blee and James Aho that this is just not the case — people from a wide cross section of socioeconomic backgrounds become involved. I think this is really important not only in terms of challenging a pretty pervasive stereotype but also recognizing that these types of groups have a much wider recruitment potential than is often recognized.

In terms of personality, I wouldn't say there is one type of personality, but I would say there are certain characteristics of thinking that make a person more prone or susceptible. For instance, low tolerance for ambiguity seems to cut across most if not all extremist ideologies; this goes along with a certain type of concrete thinking where a person wants to categorize things as "black and white" rather than deal with so-called "gray areas."

At the most fundamental level that's what most of these movements are all really based on — oversimplifying a highly complicated world — and that's a powerful thing to offer people, especially those who feel lost or are looking for some easy answers. Now, obviously, a lot of people who have a low tolerance for ambiguity are not involved in extremist groups, so it's certainly not a perfect relationship.

But in general, there's really no single profile. And, of course, there are doctors, lawyers, scientists and other highly educated folks who are involved in these groups. So again, I think this underscores my previous point that you do see a wide range of individuals involved in these groups and it's really important that we challenge some of these common misconceptions.

What causes these people to finally embrace violence? And do all of them, at least theoretically?

Well, some people were already violent before they ever became

involved in extremism. Some were exposed to violence in the home as children or were already getting in fights at school or in their neighborhood.

But becoming immersed in a world of extremism definitely encourages additional violence. Violence is a central part of the culture — it's all over the music, part of their ideology, and they talk about violence on a regular basis. So being part of that world is a pretty consistent reinforcement for violence. The violence brings status and respect amongst your peers and frankly gives you a sense of power. There are certainly advantages and rewards that go along with becoming violent or becoming more violent within that world.

But in terms of your question, no, not all members are violent. There are folks who are extremists but don't engage in any violence, at least not directly. Some of these folks talk about violence being counterproductive to the "cause," or, as they get older, may feel that violence is a younger person's game, so to speak.

Fortunately — and this is true for all extremists — there is far more violent talk than there is violent crime. In *American Swastika*, we discussed this paradoxical relationship between extremists coming together in "hidden spaces" and immersing themselves in violent talk. On the one hand, the violent talk with other like-minded extremists is a "training ground" that can accelerate an individual's propensity to violence by building ties to other members of the group and giving the person a sense of group identification — the violence is on behalf of the collective; it's for the group. The ideology tells the person that any violence is a form of self-defense necessary to save the white race from extinction and this gives each person license and rallies them together in their cause to save the white race.

But in other cases, individuals may find the talk exhilarating but ultimately become frustrated with the fact that there's more talk than action. So they branch off by themselves or with a smaller number of other folks who feel the same and use violence to bring talk to fruition. Still others may find that getting together with other extremists and talking violently is cathartic — the spaces and talk becomes a safety release valve where individuals can blow off steam and continue living dual lives as extremists in hidden spaces but "normal" people at school or work. You can imagine that without the hidden spaces a person living this kind of dual life might feel isolated and find it difficult to remain committed to the "cause."

The point is that from a threat assessment perspective, it's very difficult, if not impossible, to know how different individuals are going to respond to these spaces and the different kinds of violent talk that is so pervasive in them. As we discuss and debate different responses in terms of policy or investigation strategies or what have you, I think we need to be very careful about adopting either more overt or insidious approaches that rely on criminalizing association and speech.

After Wade Page's shooting rampage, I was asked by a producer from a major cable news network, "Why wasn't he arrested, since it was known he was in a neo-Nazi music band?" As you can imagine, I was a bit taken aback by this question. Of course, I explained that being in a neo-Nazi music band wasn't against the law, nor were the neo-Nazi tattoos Page had inscribed



“AT THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL THAT’S WHAT MOST OF THESE MOVEMENTS ARE ALL REALLY BASED ON — OVERSIMPLIFYING A HIGHLY COMPLICATED WORLD — AND THAT’S A POWERFUL THING TO OFFER PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO FEEL LOST OR ARE LOOKING FOR SOME EASY ANSWERS.”

on his body, nor were his neo-Nazi beliefs. But faced with the specter of mass violence and terrorism, it can be difficult to remember that, so I think it’s critical we keep the Constitution at the forefront of our discussions when we focus on how to respond to this type of violence.

Kathleen Blee interviewed many women on the radical right and found that most did not initially join the movement for ideological reasons. Have you found the same?

Yes, I’ve found pretty similar things for both males and females. Ideology is important but it’s not necessarily the initial attraction that draws the person to the group. The ideology is often there early on but it’s not very crystallized — it’s like there may be bits and pieces of the ideology that are attractive early, but rarely do you have someone who has a full appreciation for the ideology and then seeks out the group. Over time, ideology becomes more important as the person becomes more familiar with the ideas. But it’s not necessarily a smooth process where each member becomes a full convert to the same extent. I’ve interviewed individuals who when they were fully immersed in the movement claim that they didn’t believe in certain aspects of the ideology. Some of these folks talk about how much they had bought into hating black people but never really understood or identified with the anti-Semitism, so they would just go along with that part.

And this is true in terms of violence as well. In some cases, the violence is more about personal turmoil and unresolved trauma. As scholars like Clark McCauley and others have pointed out, we need to be careful to distinguish between radical attitudes or beliefs and radical action like violence. Too often, we assume that radical action like violence is simply a product of radical beliefs. But it’s typically far more complicated than that.

We often want to fit violence into one of two categories, ideological or non-ideological. But in reality, violence can be and probably often is spurred by both ideological and non-ideological motives. I think the Oak Creek, Wis., shooting rampage is a good example of this — Wade Page was likely responding to a series of personal troubles such as depression regarding a failed romantic relationship and financial difficulties, but also was selecting a target that from his perspective represented “non-white” or “racial enemies”

People on the radical right generally subscribe to a variety of

baseless conspiracy theories, not least of which is the idea that Jews run the world. Why are these people so vulnerable to such ideas? Is it just a lack of critical thinking skills, or is there something else at work here?

Sure, a lack of critical thinking is part of it. Conspiracy theories can also be attractive because they give people the sense that they have special insight shrouded in mystery and excitement.

But we need to be mindful that conspiracy theories have a long history with a broad spectrum of influence. Conspiracy theories are certainly not the sole province of a few “wild-eyed wackos.” The conspiracy theory that “the Jews” control world affairs is a perfect example. Unfortunately, various iterations of that idea have existed for a long, long time and have influenced everything from individual-level violent anti-Semitic attacks to government-organized genocide.

You’ve also talked to former members of extremist groups about their reasons for leaving. Generally, what happens to people to cause them to decide to quit? What kinds of things have you learned about the process of leaving? What causes them to begin their transformation? Do most eventually leave?

Well, just like people join for lots of different reasons they also leave for lots of different reasons. Ironically, that same familiarity with the ideology that may lead some to become more committed over time is part of why other folks ultimately leave. As they become more familiar with the ideas, they realize this is really pretty warped stuff and, more than anything, the ideas and lifestyle become too constraining. I’ve had folks tell me they left in part because they “got tired of wearing the uniform,” both figuratively and literally; some folks make comparisons to cults and say the level of control is overwhelming after a while. Formers have told me that they just got tired of not being able to listen to certain music or eat certain foods or wear certain clothes or hang out with certain people. Many said they had just finally had enough.

For some, it’s a sense of moral uneasiness that begins to emerge with the ideology and especially the violence, and this uneasiness starts to nag at the person, creating distance between them and the group. Others begin to envision where they’ll be if they continue — “prison or the grave” — and start to realize this isn’t the life they want for themselves or their family.

But I think the most common factor involves a growing realization that, as much as the movement professes loyalty and kinship and all of these affirmative qualities, there’s really a tremendous amount of backstabbing and infighting that occurs. As people experience and observe this, they begin to see the movement for what

it is and start considering moving on.

But leaving can be very difficult. There are these feelings of betraying your comrades, in some cases your relatives, and trying to alter your frame of mind. One former who was really only involved for a few years told me that after he left and was attending college, when he encountered people of other races/ethnicities “it would get my hackles up.” He talked about this sense of having to feel on guard but also related that he would immediately start talking to himself, saying there was no reason to feel that way. So it’s definitely a process for folks to leave. You don’t just decide one day “it’s over” and that’s that. Yes, some people walk away much more quickly and with far less difficulty than others, but typically it’s quite a process.

One of the common misconceptions that I see a lot is the idea that “once a hater always a hater” or “once a gang member always a gang member” — or fill in whatever population you want that has been labeled as deviant and therefore beyond redemption. This is folklore; it’s simply not true.

People do leave these groups and some really change their lives in substantial ways. I’ll never forget what one of the first formers I interviewed told me: “When people who know me today find out I used to be a neo-Nazi, they can’t believe it; and when people I used to be associated with as a neo-Nazi find out who I am today, they can’t believe it either.” This person’s comment really underscores a pretty common theme among formers — they have almost lived two different lives because who they are today is so different from who they were as an extremist.

What can be done to help people getting out these groups? Is there a role for government? Civil rights organizations? Other kinds of institutions or groups?

I hate to sound clichéd, but we all play a role in creating extremism, so it seems to me we all need to find ways of diminishing extremism.



A true child of the movement, **Derek Black** — son of longtime movement leader Don Black, who founded the first hate website in 1995 — spent years traveling the white supremacist circuit. After attending college and seeing the wider world, Black wrote to the Southern Poverty Law Center last fall to say that he was renouncing white nationalism and was “sorry for the damage done by [his] past actions.”



Drawn to white supremacy after reading the hate website Stormfront and then signing on with a uniformed neo-Nazi group, **Corrina Burt** found herself abandoning work in the porn industry for neo-Nazism. After a stint as an assistant to movement stalwart Harold Covington, whom she regards as a scam artist, Burt left in 2012 after deciding white supremacy “is a huge waste of life” that leads to “ruined families” and “destroyed careers.”



Now serving 25 years in an Arizona prison for his role in a 2002 torture-murder of a fellow skinhead’s roommate, **Sean Gaines** in 2006 publicly renounced his hateful views by publishing a letter in an anti-racist magazine. Due to the subsequent threats he received, Gaines now lives in solitary confinement for his own protection, but that hasn’t stopped him from speaking out against the movement that ruined his life.



From 2003 to 2006, **Ian Jobling** was ensconced in the world of academic racism as an editor for the prominent white nationalist newsletter *American Renaissance*. But when a host of neo-Nazis showed up to the 2006 *American Renaissance* conference, Jobling, who had always opposed anti-Semitism while believing in the inferiority of minorities, began to see the error of his ways and came to believe that this movement leads to genocidal thinking.



As an increasingly unhappy teen, **Angela King** was drawn into the racist skinhead lifestyle in Florida and eventually ended up in prison for armed robbery. Partly because of the influence of Jamaican inmates she came to know, King converted to anti-racism and now speaks publicly to college and community groups about her experiences.



Bryon Widner was a brawler and heavy for the Vinlanders Social Club, a racist skinhead group whose members are among the most hard-core, violent thugs in the white supremacist world. After meeting his wife in 2005 and then having a son, Widner realized that he did not want to raise his family in the hostile culture he had so long embraced.

Certainly, part of that involves helping individuals move away from this type of life. I think all of those that you mention have a role to play. All of these sectors have different resources, expertise and so forth, and in some combined fashion are most likely to have the greatest impact.

I think one thing we need to do is look around and see what’s being done and what’s working. Now, compared to Europe, the U.S. doesn’t really have much in terms of programs designed specifically to help members of white supremacist or similar groups. But one group, a private, nonprofit organization fairly recently founded is Life After Hate (LAH). The organization was started by former hate group members who have been doing a lot of outreach in terms of providing testimonials and trainings to schools and law enforcement and other community groups across the country. The focus of their message is the importance of using compassion to inform prevention and intervention efforts and aftercare for individuals who want to change their lives but may need various types of support. I think LAH is a very promising development and I hope it will continue to find the resources that it needs to expand the services it provides.

But one of the first things we have to decide is whether an extremist or gang member is worth the resources. I’ve heard it said too often: “Why should we help these people? They don’t deserve our time or resources.” When we make those kinds of decisions, we increase the likelihood that people won’t be able to move away from these groups. A lot of the formers I’ve talked with discuss the difficulty of wanting to leave but not being sure how accepting people will be. They’re in this no-man’s-land, which is pretty common for formers of all types.

Part of the problem is that formers may also be verbally or physically confronted by violent anti-racists who may think this person is fair game. So I think we have to ask ourselves whether what we’re doing is making it harder for people to leave these groups and, if so, I think we should revise our approach. ▲

For the Record

FOURTH QUARTER OF 2013

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 fourth quarter of 2013. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website.

SPLCENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

ALABAMA

Montgomery • Dec. 6, 2013

Alleged former Klansman Thomas Windell Smith, 24, pleaded guilty to one count of conspiring to violate housing rights in connection with a 2009 cross burning at the entrance of a black neighborhood in Ozark.

CALIFORNIA

Moreno Valley • Oct. 15, 2013

A racial epithet was scratched on a woman's vehicle.

Seal Beach • Oct. 29, 2013

Swastikas and other graffiti were spray-painted on the window of a spa and on a nearby sidewalk.

Turlock • Dec. 23, 2013

Two men allegedly called a black woman a racial epithet while beating her unconscious in a bar. Eddie Taylor, 53, and Eddie Taylor Jr., 25, were charged with aggravated assault and a hate crime.

FLORIDA

Miami Beach • Dec. 3, 2013

The letters "KKK" and a bull's eye were spray-painted on a mikvah, which is a ritual bathhouse for Jewish women, a youth center, a condominium and a homeless outreach center.

New Smyrna Beach • Nov. 11, 2013

Ku Klux Klan fliers were distributed in predominantly black and Latino neighborhoods.

Tampa • Nov. 1, 2013

Tavares Spencer, 16, was convicted of attempted first-degree felony murder, attempted second-degree murder and robbery for the April shooting of a transgender man.

ILLINOIS

Mokena • Oct. 29, 2013

Richard M. Cyplik, 28, pleaded

guilty to a hate crime for threatening his black former neighbors in June, calling them racial epithets and vandalizing their residence and vehicles.

He was sentenced to 180 days in jail, 24 months of probation and 100 hours of community service and ordered to undergo anger management counseling and diversity training.

Tinley Park • Dec. 23, 2013

Fliers from the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left at residences in a neighborhood.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans • Oct. 30, 2013

Jamie Hebert, 20, pleaded guilty to second-degree battery and to violating Louisiana's hate crime statute for shouting anti-gay slurs and punching a man who was holding hands with another man in the French Quarter in February 2013.

Hebert was sentenced to two years on the battery charge and three years on the hate crime charge but the sentences were suspended. Instead, Hebert will spend three years on probation.

MISSOURI

Kansas City • Nov. 9, 2013

Members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement held a rally.

Lebanon • Oct. 10, 2013

Fliers from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways in a neighborhood.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Concord • Oct. 23, 2013

Raymond Stevens, 42, was indicted on a felony charge of criminal mischief for allegedly writing racist graffiti on the

residences of several African refugee families.

NORTH DAKOTA

Leith • Nov. 16, 2013

White supremacists Craig Cobb and Kynan Dutton were arrested on seven counts of terrorizing after they allegedly confronted residents with a rifle and a shotgun.

OHIO

Hillsboro • Oct. 2, 2013

Fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left on the windshields of cars that were parked downtown.

PENNSYLVANIA

Gettysburg • Nov. 9, 2013

Members of the Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally at the Gettysburg National Military Park.

Philadelphia • Oct. 19, 2013

About 40 white supremacists attended a rally to celebrate Leif Erikson Day. Groups represented included the Keystone State Skinheads, which sponsored the event; the Vinlanders Social Club; the Advanced White Society; the Blood & Honour Social Club; and the Traditionalist Youth Network.

State College • Nov. 8, 2013

Eric Hyland and Hayden Grom, both 19, were charged with ethnic intimidation, criminal mischief and disorderly conduct after they allegedly spray-painted anti-Semitic, sexual and graphic words and images on 12 cars, a dumpster and a garage near a predominantly Jewish fraternity at Penn State University.

TENNESSEE

Memphis • Dec. 9, 2013

Justin Baker, 25, pleaded guilty to violating the civil rights of students of a Jewish school for defacing the school's Torah scroll and prayer books before a January 2013 worship service held at a Jackson, Tenn., hotel where Baker was a security guard.

Murfreesboro • Oct. 16, 2013

A swastika and the letters "KKK" were drawn on a man's door and on a stool on his porch.

VIRGINIA

Roanoke • Nov. 1, 2013

Neo-Nazi Bill White, 36, was convicted of three counts of transmitting a threatening communication to attempt to extort money. In 2012, White fled the country to avoid probation and then sent threatening E-mails to his estranged wife demanding money.

WEST VIRGINIA

Parkersburg • Oct. 10, 2013

Fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed in a neighborhood.

WISCONSIN

Madison • Oct. 26, 2013

Dylan Grall, 23, was arrested on battery and hate crime charges for allegedly punching two men who were speaking Hebrew. Grail allegedly thought the men were speaking Spanish and yelled at them to speak English. ▲

Dumb and Dumber

Tila Tequila was a celebrity of sorts until the world tired of her antics. But she sure knew how to bring the spotlight back

BY MARK POTOK

How bad was Adolf Hitler? Not so much, says Tila Tequila.

And she should know. After all, Ms. Tequila, née Tila Nguyen, is a woman of commanding achievements. She was the most popular person ever on MySpace (remember MySpace?), posed nude for *Penthouse*, *Playboy* and others, was a doper who ended up in rehab, hosted a striptease TV show that featured the “Pants-Off Dance-Off,” and recorded timeless romantic standards like “I Fucked the DJ.”

She ran a dating site, was engaged to an heiress, accused her boyfriend of domestic violence but ended up owing him \$2 million after failing to respond to his countersuit, made a lesbian sex tape, and played a Hooters waitress in a really, really bad movie (the execrable “I Now Pronounce You Chuck and Larry”).

Plus, she sometimes reads the Internet.

Apparently, that’s where she learned the truth about the führer, “a special and sweet kid who had a dream to become a painter,” as she wrote on her Facebook page in December. “Unfortunately, the art schools did not feel the same as he and they rejected him. Fast forward a few years later and he was roughed up and bullied on top of that by the same people he once loved. His Name was Hitler.”

The problem, the 32-year-old explained, is that the victors of World War II wrote the history, and the media lies. In reality, she noted, Hitler was a vegetarian, loved animals and children, was a “brilliant” artist, and saved his country, sort of.

“I understand the Jewish people went



through some shit too, but hey guess what?? SO DID THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WHO SUFFERED IN EVERY SINGLE WAR THAT TOOK PLACE! You were NOT the only ones. So please, if the rest of us can forgive and forget maybe it’s time you do also!!!”

Tila’s got a few other unusual beliefs as well. You know, the normal type of thing for Deep-Thinking Celebrities of Yesteryear — she’s a goddess who’s “been around for 500,000 years”; she remembers past lives; she “knows” actor Paul Walker, who died in a fiery car crash on Nov. 30, was murdered; the “official story” of 9/11 is “absolute garbage”; there are “winged planets”; and so on.

But it’s Hitler who really turns her on.

“Hitler was a good man and it takes some fucking balls for someone to say this,” she wrote. She referred to herself as “Hitila,” a coupling, so to speak, of Hitler and Tila. She posted a Photoshopped pic-

ture of herself standing in front of the Birkenau death camp wearing an SS cap, a swastika, and not a lot else. And, in a new song, “It’s Going Down,” she refers to a related obsession, the Illuminati, a long-gone secret society that many conspiracy theorists believe secretly controls the world. She sings, “Jewluminati motherfuckers hate me/Oh no they don’t wanna date me/Nor you nor you nor you too/Worldwide genocide blame it on the Jews.”

But isn’t Tila *becoming* a Jew? Well, no, that was way back in 2012, when she decided that Jews were cool and she began to study Hebrew and attend conversion classes. “I just feel like the Jewish people have such a beautiful way about them,” she chirped then, “and I can’t wait to officially be Jewish!” Unfortunately, she says now, the Jews responded to her new-found Judaism mainly by mocking her.

Much to Tila’s surprise, her rants met with some blowback.

After she had been pilloried and laughed at on pretty much every website to the left of, well, Hitler, she cut a new video responding to her many critics. In it, she said that it had all been “satire,” that she was being attacked by “New World Order Zionists” and “Zionist Jewluminatis” even though she “loves” all people, “just because I was sympathetic towards other human beings” — that is, Hitler.

She stopped several times in mid-video to sigh. “This is all very complicated,” she said with a frustrated look, “to try to explain.” The world is “an illusion,” she continued, “white magic” and human “super-abilities” are real, and we are all suffering because of “the sacred powers that God bestowed on to us that they stole, which they found under Solomon’s temple, or what the fuck ever.”

You see, it really *is* hard to explain.

In any event, Tila promised her viewers, she is not about to “lower myself to your level,” and instead will continue to speak out for the benefit of all of us, even the non-comprehending “sheeple.” “I’m speaking the truth,” she said.

“Capiche?” she ended. “Tata and God bless. Sieg heil!” ▲

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**



Ever seen tattoos like these while on duty? Everything you wanted to know about Racist Skinheads and more is available on our website.

Intelligence Files

intelligencereport.org/files

Read our in-depth profiles about hate movement leaders and their groups. Learn what motivates them, how they act and how your community may be affected.

Hatewatch.org

Don't wait for the printed edition to get updates about hate groups and extremists. Read our online Hatewatch blog for current events in the world of hate. And subscribe to our free E-newsletter *Hatewatch Weekly*.

Interactive Hate Map

intelligencereport.org/hatemap

Find detailed information about hate groups and their activities in your area.

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