

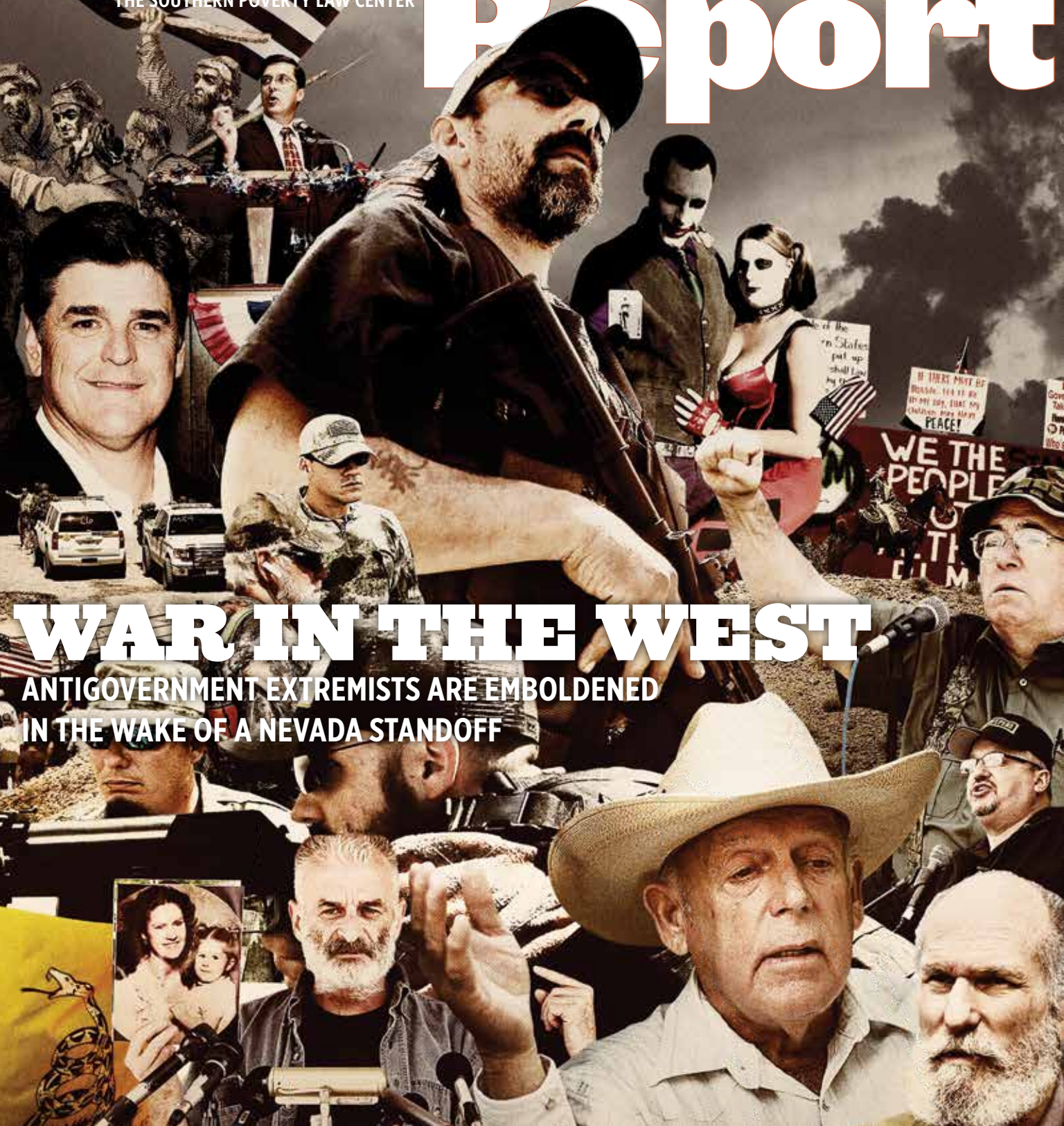
MILLER'S CROSSING FRAZIER GLENN MILLER & MASS MURDER



Intelligence Report

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WAR IN THE WEST

ANTIGOVERNMENT EXTREMISTS ARE EMBOLDENED
IN THE WAKE OF A NEVADA STANDOFF

After the Climbdown

BY MARK POTOK

Surely, the government planners didn't see this coming.

And yet, in retrospect, perhaps it wasn't so surprising that Cliven Bundy, a radical Nevada rancher who'd refused to pay his cattle grazing fees for two decades, called in the militias and other extremists for backup when the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) finally moved in to seize his cattle.

What was shocking was the way those extremists, armed to the teeth and several hundred strong, faced down law enforcement officials with the BLM and the Las Vegas Police Department in April and forced them to withdraw. The government, facing a potential bloodbath, wisely decided to wait for another, less dangerous day. Any consequences for those who pointed their weap-



ons at law enforcement officials, a felony punishable by 20 years in prison, would have to wait for the outcome of a criminal investigation that is now under way.

What does it mean that a scofflaw like Bundy — a man who refused to pay for what his cattle had consumed under the very generous terms of the federal grazing program — managed to get away with it, at least for the time being?

The answer is simple, and it is deeply worrying. The federal withdrawal from the Bundy ranch in Bunkerville, Nev., has reinvigorated an extremist movement that exploded after Barack Obama was first elected president, going from about 150 antigovernment "Patriot" groups, or militias, in 2008 to more than 1,000 last year. In the months since the extremists' "victory," more tense standoffs between the BLM and antigovernment activists have taken place across the West — in Idaho, New Mexico, Texas and Utah. In a related development, about 10 militia groups have put armed vigilantes on the Texas border in response to the news that more than 50,000 unaccompanied minor immigrants have arrived there in recent months.

The dispute between Bundy and his followers and the government is only the latest right-wing attempt to contest federal authority over public lands. In many ways, it is an extension of the earlier Sagebrush Rebellion and the Wise Use and "county supremacy" movements. But it comes at a particularly dangerous time, after several years of mounting far-right fury at Obama and government in general.

There have been 17 shooting incidents between law enforcement officials and antigovernment extremists

since 2009. A large number of criminal plots have targeted cities, police, churches, Muslims and others. Since the mass murder of 9/11, homegrown extremists have killed more Americans than Muslim jihadists, as several analyses by terrorism experts have clearly shown.

And in June, an encounter with two Bundy supporters ended with three victims dead. Jerad and Amanda Miller, who had spent time at the ranch in the days leading up to the government climbdown, murdered two Las Vegas police officers and another man before dying themselves in a shootout with police. They left behind a note that said the revolution had begun, and draped the body of one of the officers they killed with the same Gadsden "Don't Tread on Me" flag that many Bundy supporters had waved during the April ranch standoff.

Cliven Bundy may have faded from public view since that time, but the movement that spawned him is boiling. Government officials need to understand what motivates this movement because the Millers will not be the last to demonstrate their antigovernment rage with bullets. Law enforcement officials also need training on a movement that increasingly targets them.

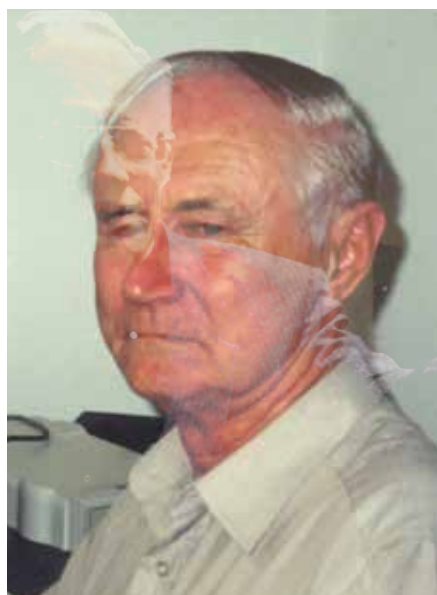
The recent announcement by U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder that the Justice Department is reviving its Domestic Terrorism Executive Committee is welcome news. The committee, established after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing but allowed to go fallow after the 9/11 attacks, was important in stemming the tide of antigovernment criminal activity and is needed again. In addition, the militiamen and others who pointed weapons at BLM and Las Vegas officers must face prosecution or the rule of law will be challenged again.

That is only part of the answer. Unlike the Justice Department, the Department of Homeland Security is an intelligence-gathering agency. To help law enforcement at all levels, it needs to rebuild its team for analyzing non-Islamic domestic terrorism. That team, faced with conservative criticism after the leak of its 2009 report on the radical right, was subsequently allowed to wither.

Finally, politicians and media pundits need to be called out when they pander for votes or ratings with irresponsible rhetoric like that which initially lionized Bundy as some kind of hero standing up for American liberty and the Constitution. No matter what the politicians and the Sean Hannitys of the world claim, Cliven Bundy is no freedom fighter. Treating him like he is only emboldens others to follow in his dangerous footsteps. ▲

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13 From Canada, With Love

A Canadian court has struck down a \$220,000 bequest left by a citizen of that country to the National Alliance, an important neo-Nazi group based in West Virginia. Calling the group's publications "disgusting, repugnant and revolting," the presiding judge found that the bequest violated Canadian criminal law and public policy.

ON THE COVER

20 War in the West

Faced with a mob of armed militiamen apparently ready to fire on them, federal agents this April backed off from an attempt to enforce the law against a far-right Nevada rancher who refused to pay more than \$1 million in overdue grazing fees. The confrontation, now under criminal investigation by the FBI, was seen as a huge victory by the "Patriot" movement and appears to be spawning new violence.



31 Miller's Crossing

Frazier Glenn Miller spent some 40 years as a racist propagandist and Klan leader, even setting up a point system for assassinations of various figures. But while he talked a mean streak, Miller never seemed to act on his own violent exhortations. Then, in a spree this spring, he allegedly murdered three people he mistakenly thought were Jews.



38 'War on Women'

The mass murder that left seven people including the killer dead in California this May was horrible enough. Then it emerged that Elliot Rodger had violently hated women and spent time in the online "manosphere" of woman-bashing websites. Soon, a national debate about Rodger, misogyny and "men's rights" was under way.

Intelligence Report

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A student of the history of science takes on a new book by a well-known science writer that seems to support many of the key claims made by academic racists.



27 Land Use & the 'Patriots'

The recent standoff at the Nevada ranch of Cliven Bundy was only the latest episode in the conflict between radical rightists and the government over public lands.



42 After the Killing

Longtime racist skinhead David Pillatos is serving 30 years for murder. But he says he's a changed man and recently even named a foundation after his victim.



45 Ku Klux Kan't

A recent spate of leafleting by two Klan groups has sparked reports that the Klan is resurgent. The numbers suggest otherwise, but that's not say there are no dangers.



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A racist cult loses its Texas ranch; a man is arrested in an alleged antigovernment plot; a neo-Nazi high school in Arkansas teacher is exposed; and other glimpses of extremism.

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A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first quarter of 2014 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

49 The Last Word

The author spent much of the last 17 years battling the racism of the Ku Klux Klan. Then he discovered that his own name played an obscure role in the organization.

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.





[RACIST RELIGION]

Polygamous Cult Loses Texas Ranch, Faces Huge Judgment

The Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS) suffered two major defeats in March and April, as authorities in Arizona and Texas, respectively, found a church-controlled community liable for \$5.2 million in damages in a religious discrimination case, and seized a sprawling Texas ranch that church members had acquired as a sanctuary and retreat.

FLDS, a racist, polygamous cult formed by fundamentalists who split from the Mormon church over its decision to abandon “plural marriage,” has been in decline since the 2011 conviction of its president and prophet Warren Jeffs for raping his 12-year-old “spiritual bride” and sexually

assaulting a 15-year-old member of his cult.

On March 20, a federal jury in Phoenix sided with a non-FLDS family that claimed that authorities in the FLDS-dominated area known as Short Creek discriminated against it for religious reasons.

In what the family’s lawyers characterized as a deliberate effort to drive outsiders from their mostly polygamist community, local authorities loyal to FLDS denied the Cooke family, which moved to the area in 2008, access to utilities including water, sewer, and electricity. Now, the twin towns of Hildale, Utah, and Colorado City, Ariz., which together comprise Short Creek,

owe Jinjer and Ronald Cooke a total of \$5.2 million for discrimination, retaliation and interference.

These days, Short Creek is nearly empty of FLDS members, who have engaged in a quiet exodus since summer 2012, when the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) filed a civil rights lawsuit against the community, alleging that its municipal leaders operate as an “arm of the FLDS” and engage in “a pattern or practice of illegal discrimination against individuals who are not members.”

Among other things, the DOJ’s suit alleges that city leaders and the Colorado City Marshal’s Office (which serves both Colorado City and Hildale) have turned a blind eye to harassment of non-FLDS

A day after authorities seized the Fundamentalist Church of Latter-day Saints’ Yearning for Zion Ranch near Eldorado, Texas, state trooper Shawn Baxter prepared to brief the media. The ranch was part of the empire of cult leader Warren Jeffs, who is serving time for raping a 12-year-old girl and other sexual assaults.

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

Robert James Talbot Jr., who recruited followers through his American Insurgent Movement Facebook page, is accused of plotting to murder police officers, rob armored cars, and shoot men, women and children at a local mosque.

residents, and been complicit in the enforcement of Jeffs' commands, including one edict banning children from playing and dancing and another prohibiting families from owning pets. Apparently prompted by the DOJ's suit (which is ongoing and distinct from the Cookes' lawsuit), FLDS members who once lived in Short Creek have relocated to remote towns in Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, South Dakota and Texas.

One place they have not gone is the Yearning for Zion (YFZ) Ranch, a 1,600-acre FLDS-owned property outside of Eldorado, Texas, that Jeffs intended as a sanctuary for church members should they ever be driven from Short Creek. On April 16, the Texas Department of Public Safety took possession of the ranch, bringing to a close a series of legal actions against the cult that began in 2008, when authorities, acting on a tip that turned out to be false, raided YFZ Ranch and found evidence of widespread underage marriage and sexual abuse.

This January, the ranch, which included a temple with a built-in bed where Jeffs sexually assaulted female members of the cult, was found to be an asset in a criminal enterprise. Once home to Jeffs and an estimated 800 of his followers, the property, which has been valued at \$19.96 million, was reportedly nearly empty by the time it was seized in April.

[DOMESTIC TERRORISM]

Man Arrested After Allegedly Recruiting for Murder Spree

Averting what might have been one of the most serious right-wing terror sprees since a neo-Nazi group called The Order carried out a series of attacks 30 years ago, Texas FBI agents on March 27 arrested a man who was alleg-



edly plotting to use C-4 explosives and weapons to kill police officers, rob banks, and blow up government buildings and mosques.

Alleged aspiring terrorist Robert James Talbot Jr., 38, of Katy, Texas, was held without bond on federal charges of attempted interference with commerce by robbery, solicitation to commit a crime of violence, and possession of an explosive material.

Talbot, who dreamed of "restor[ing] America pre-Constitutionally" and who "look[ed] forward to stopping the Regime with action by bloodshed," allegedly recruited followers through a Facebook page called American Insurgent Movement (AIM), seeking five or six allies who shared his belief that "[b]lood and bullets are the only two things that will change this world, short of divine action."

Talbot's openness about his alleged plans was his undoing. Instead of the "like-minded" individuals he sought, his online activity attracted an FBI confidential informant and two undercover FBI agents, who on March 26 provided him with inert C-4 explosives and eight other useless explosive devices he purchased for \$500. FBI agents arrested Talbot the next day, after a meeting at a storage facility with the three supposed allies,

who, he believed, would help him rob an armored car and "fight to stop Marxism, liberalism, Central banking Cartels and the New World Order."

According to the testimony of FBI Special Agent Renee Cline, who is part of a domestic terrorism task force, Talbot planned to have AIM kick off its murderous spree on March 28 by going to a mosque at prayer time to "take women, children, men and shoot them."

Cline testified that Talbot, who urged his recruits to prepare for their bloody mission by "watching violent war movies to mentally prepare for killing people," had been banned from two militia chat rooms because the views he expressed were so violent. "I cannot take someone who doesn't understand what war/battle is like ... that can not handle seeing body parts flying everywhere," he allegedly wrote during an online chat with a prospective recruit.

Talbot's thwarted plans bear a disturbing similarity to a terror spree carried out three decades ago by a neo-Nazi group called The Order, or Silent Brotherhood, whose members used a machine gun to assassinate Jewish radio talk show host Alan Berg and robbed \$3.8 million from an armored car in Ukiah, Calif.

The FBI opened an investigation into Talbot's activities in August 2013 after uncovering his plan to recruit others for terror attacks. According to court documents, he planned to rob banks to fund "Operation Liberty," murdering "everyone working for the 'banking Cartels' during the heist."

"Same goes with the Muslims," he wrote on Facebook. "Mosques are going to be a blast! With three of my guys with FA [fully automatic] AK's [AK-47 rifles], we will send that white house worthless piece of dirt and his Muslim brotherhood a message they will never forget."



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[CONSPIRACY THEORIES]

Far Right Sees Communism, Plot Behind Schools' Common Core

When the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and the Council of Chief State School Officers unveiled the Common Core State Standards in June 2010, no one predicted the torrent of right-wing fury they would release.

On the contrary, the standards, a set of recommendations for English language arts/literacy and mathematics devised to improve American students' competitiveness in a global labor market and increase equity and continuity across school systems nationwide, were widely lauded and quickly adopted by 45 states, the District of Columbia, four territories, and Department of Defense-operated schools.

Four years later, the standards are under attack. In a major report released on May 7, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which publishes the *Intelligence Report*, outlined the wave of resistance to the Common Core, driven by conspiracy theorists from the antigovernment "Patriot" movement, the Christian Right, and extreme factions of the Tea Party and libertarian movements.

The John Birch Society, a far-right outfit best known for claiming that President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a communist agent, describes the standards as a "fiendish" plot by "globalists" to turn American children into "green global serfs" who are "ready for the coming 'green' and 'sustainable' world order." Similarly, the ultraconservative Eagle Forum claims the "ultimate goal" of the Common Core is to set up "internment or re-education camps." Media personality Glenn Beck, who can always be counted on to beat the drum for the far right's paranoid fantasies, joined

in enthusiastically. "It is communism," Beck said of the Common Core. "We are dealing with evil."

Opposition from the Christian Right has been no less hysterical. Echoing fears generated by national "traditional values" organizations, Alabama Tea Party activist Terry Bratton claimed that the Common Core will teach young children that "homosexuality is OK and should be experienced at an early age and that same-sex marriages are OK."

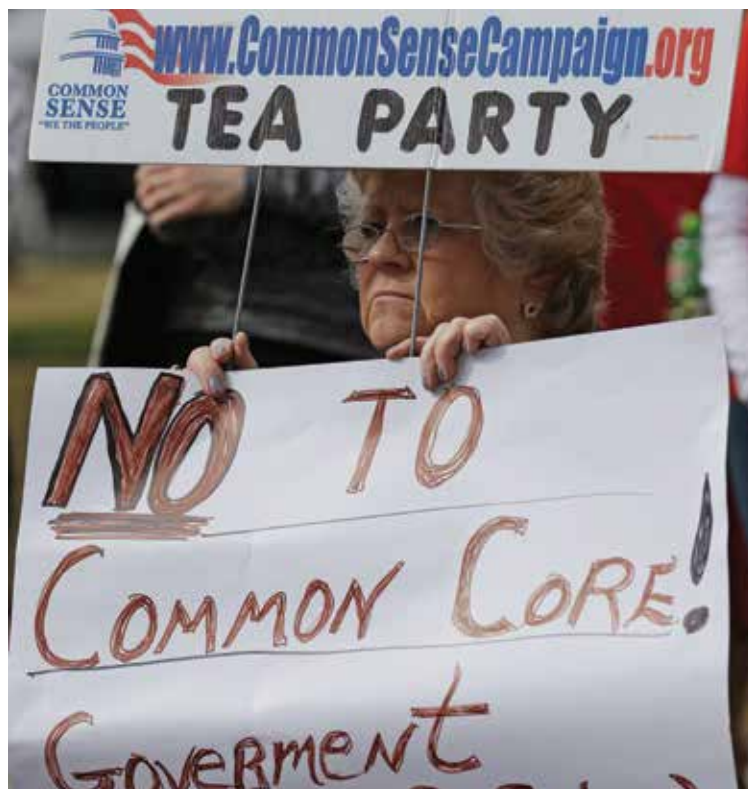
Such claims are utter nonsense. The Common Core does not dictate a specific curriculum or reading list; rather, it outlines a set of competencies children should have at different grade levels, leaving local school districts to decide what materials and lesson plans will best promote these goals.

While experts of all political stripes have raised important questions about the standards, it is not these legitimate concerns that animate the right-wing forces that oppose them. Instead, the SPLC's report concludes, resistance to the standards is merely the latest iteration of conservative opposition to public education that has grown in strength over the decades as both courts and public opinion have rejected prayer in school, enforced desegregation, and embraced diversity.

Libertarian thinker C. Bradley Thompson denounces public schools as "the most immoral and corrupt institution" in the U.S., and says they should be "abolished for the same reason chattel slavery was ended." Influential televangelist Rod Parsley says Satan "has turned our public schools into cesspools of godless propaganda" and adds that "it is time to take a stand against the devil."

Noting that the destruction of public education would be devastating to underprivileged children, the report urges policymakers and political leaders to take a stand of their own by

Alabama Tea Party member Kay Day is one of many who have protested the Common Core State Standards for schools. Radical-right propagandists have characterized the standards as a "fiendish" plot to impose communism that, in some tellings, includes secret "internment or re-education camps."



forcefully countering right-wing propaganda about the Common Core State Standards and making sure that educating all children remains a priority. “We must do better,” the report concludes.

[MAINSTREAM EXTREMISM]

Illinois Anti-Gay Zealot Wins Congressional Primary

The Illinois Republican Party withdrew its endorsement of Susanne Atanus’ candidacy and asked her to drop out of her congressional race in January, after she told the *Chicago Daily Herald*, “God is angry. We are provoking him with abortions and same-sex marriage and civil unions.” She also said, “Same-sex activity is going to increase AIDS. If it’s in our military it will weaken our military. We need to respect God.”

But in yet another demonstration of some voters’ embrace of extremist and sometimes just plain wacky views, Illinois Republicans in March still chose Atanus, who also believes that same-sex marriage is to blame

for autism and tornadoes, as their candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives.

GOP officials renewed their objections to Atanus’ campaign following her primary victory, saying they would offer her no financial support and describing her beliefs as “ludicrous, offensive and indefensible.”

Atanus, who believes that increasingly extreme weather, along with disorders such as autism and dementia, are God’s punishment for LGBT rights and legalized abortion, remained optimistic. “I will have victory [in November] just like I did in the primary,” she told reporters.

In Colorado, a different extremist candidate was more willing to face reality. Lakewood, Colo., Republican Nate Marshall withdrew as a candidate for the state House after being exposed as a white supremacist with a criminal history. Among other things, Marshall was revealed to be a prolific contributor to Stormfront, a white supremacist Web forum whose registered members have been linked to nearly 100 murders. In 2013, he attempted to start an organization he called “American Golden Dawn,” in reference to a neo-Nazi Greek political party.

His vicious tweets about Muslims and LGBT people (including one praising Russia’s harsh anti-gay laws), along with reports that in 2011 he was arrested for running a Craigslist rental scam (he later paid restitution and charges were dropped), eventually led the same Colorado Republicans who supported his nomination to later reject Marshall. “Nate Marshall does not reflect the values of the Republican Party. We strongly oppose his continued candidacy and demand he end his campaign,” said Jefferson County GOP Chair Bill Tucker in a statement released after Marshall’s extremism had been exposed. “The values of the Republican Party — family, community, care and tolerance — are not compatible with Marshall’s views, and we condemn the hateful words and actions associated with him.”

While Marshall lamented his defeat, Steve Smith, a white supremacist who in 2012 managed to get elected to a local Republican committee in Pennsylvania, celebrated his second anniversary in office with a post on Stormfront.

Luzerne Republican County Committee members initially tried to kick Smith — a former neo-Nazi skinhead with a violent criminal history who was apparently elected via a single write-in vote (his own) — off the committee. But they eventually gave up. Gloating over his victory, Smith wrote, “Not only were they not successful in ousting me, I was appointed as an officer in my district in my first year!”

Encouraged by Stormfront users who lauded his “bravery,” Marshall continued: “I consistently vocalize my pro-White viewpoints at meetings. I tell perspective [sic] Congressional candidates that stopping the illegal alien invasion should be their top issue if they truly care about the future of this country.”

Telling it like it isn’t: Susanne Atanus, who is running for Congress in Illinois’ 9th District, believes same-sex marriage is to blame for autism and tornadoes. Although the state GOP withdrew its support for Atanus, voters in the March Republican primary selected her for their candidate anyway.



['SOVEREIGN CITIZENS']

Antigovernment Activist Slain After Opening Fire on Deputies

Yet another member of the anti-government “sovereign citizens” movement, whose adherents believe the majority of U.S. tax and criminal laws do not apply to them, died violently this spring after attacking law enforcement agents in a dispute that began with a routine traffic stop.

Sheriff's deputies in Middleburg Heights, Ohio, were trying to serve



Israel Rondon

an arrest warrant on Israel Rondon on March 25 when the self-declared sovereign citizen opened fire on them. At least two deputies reportedly shot back, and Rondon died of a gunshot wound to the head.

Rondon's beef with law enforcement began when police discovered during a 2009 traffic stop that Rondon was carrying a concealed handgun without a permit. In the years that followed, Rondon insisted on representing himself on a variety of criminal charges including assaulting a police officer, carrying a concealed weapon in the Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, and violating zoning and building codes. During the same period, the 65-year-old filed at least eight



“[T]he homosexual agenda is one that can rightly be identified as genocidal against Black Americans.”

—Religious pundit **STACY SWIMP**, in a **March 5** “Genocide Alert” on ChristianPress.com, claiming that marriage equality activists and bisexual “brothas on the down low” are spreading a “culture of death” among African Americans



“We need more Fred Phelps in this world. May you rest in peace sir.”

—**ED FARRELL**, vice mayor of Maricopa, Ariz., who later expressed regret about his **March 24** Facebook endorsement of Phelps, the founder of the viciously anti-gay Westboro Baptist Church who died that month



“Polishing diamonds, not fixing cars.”

—Christian Right televangelist **PAT ROBERTSON**, on the **March 31** edition of the Christian Broadcasting Network's “700 Club,” describing how he thinks Jews spend their free time



“If there is even one more act of Muslim terrorism, it is then time for Americans to start slaughtering Muslims in the streets, all of them.”

—**PAT DOLLARD**, a contributor to the right-wing news site Breitbart.com, responding via Twitter on **April 2** to news of a shooting rampage at Fort Hood that was not, in fact, an act of Muslim terrorism



“[S]o long as Muslim TFR [Total Fertility Rate] falls more *slowly* open immigration could lead to Europe's extinction.”

—**MARK KRIKORIAN**, head of the anti-immigrant Center for Immigration Studies, outlining his fears about the future of white people in an **April 3** tweet



“Gay Supremacy is becoming a monster that carries greater evils than white supremacy ever did.”

—Conservative Mothers for America head **MARY BAKER**, in a blog post published **April 8** on teapartynation.com



“Is it constitutional, the Civil Rights Act? I wish I could answer that 100 percent.”

—U.S. Rep. **TED YOHO** (R-Fla.), during an **April 14** town hall meeting in Gainesville, Fla., questioning the landmark law that has been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court



“The American left is the fountainhead of anti-Semitism now.”

—Anti-Muslim activist **DAVID HOROWITZ**, equating left-wing opposition to Israeli foreign policy with Nazism during an **April 22** appearance on “The Sean Hannity Show”



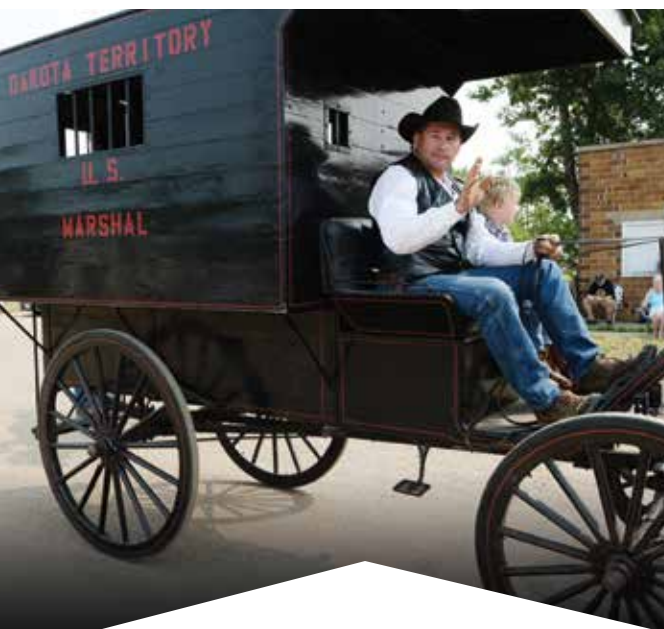
“It bothers me a lot that you want to broadcast that you're associating with black people. Do you have to?”

—Los Angeles Clippers owner **DONALD STERLING**, berating his mixed-race girlfriend for associating with black people in a recording released **April 25** by gossip site TMZ.com



“I'm telling you, Hillary Clinton will be having sex with a woman on the White House desk if it becomes popular.”

—Far-right media personality **GLENN BECK**, who in this **April 29** rant on his Internet radio show said Clinton would become a lesbian if it would help her get elected



Leith, N.D.

JULY 19, 2014

Residents of this tiny, near-ghost town — the last census found that Leith had a mere 16 residents — celebrated the 105th anniversary of the town's founding as a stop on a railroad that no longer exists. Although no formal acknowledgement was made, the residents and many North Dakota neighbors also were celebrating the permanent departure of Craig Cobb, a neo-Nazi who bought up about a dozen properties last year in an attempt to create a white supremacist enclave that he hoped to rename Cobbsville. After Cobb's secret project was exposed, he flew Nazi flags outside his Leith home, invited other neo-Nazis to come demonstrate against horrified residents who hoped to drive him away, threatened many of his neighbors, spent time in jail and ultimately was sentenced to four years of probation on terrorizing charges. "It's been a long year," Mayor Ryan Schock, who drove a copy of a territorial jail wagon in the parade, said in the run-up to the event, adding that he planned on making no direct mention of Cobb, who recently moved to Sherwood, N.D., to serve out his supervised probation. But Cobb was hard to forget. "I'm here to celebrate that Leith is free of Nazi thoughts and people," resident Pat Hague told *The Bismarck Tribune*. "It's so nice to see the American flag flying rather than the swastika."



lawsuits accusing banks, agencies, and officials of violating the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act. He also attempted to extract damages from the Social Security Administration and Supplemental Security Income program, a local court, and the Middleburg Heights Building Department.

As is usually the case with sovereigns' legal efforts, Rondon's lawsuits were all dismissed by judges who described them as rambling, incoherent, and without legal basis. Police were trying to serve an arrest warrant related to a probation violation when Rondon opened fire. No deputies were injured in the firefight.

Traffic violations were also at issue when Michael Rinderle, 29, was charged in April with threatening to financially ruin a New Jersey judge. Enraged that his common-law wife had been cited for traffic violations, Rinderle, who as a sovereign citizen believes traffic laws are part of a massive government conspiracy to control those who have not declared their sovereignty, allegedly threatened the judge via E-mail and filed unjustified property liens against him and 27 others, including court staff and law enforcement personnel.

This was not the first time Rinderle had allegedly threatened a judge. In January, the Wisconsin man was accused of threatening to file a fraudulent lien against a Muskego, Wis., municipal judge who suspended his license after he repeatedly failed to appear in court on traffic charges. At that time, Rinderle also faced charges of fleeing an officer in Pennsylvania.

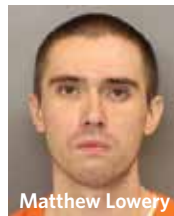
Meanwhile, in Georgia, two sovereign citizens received stiff

sentences for attempting to rent out foreclosed homes in Cobb County that did not belong to them. Susan Lorraine Weidman, 52, and Matthew Lowery, 29, broke into homes, changed the locks, and laid claim to the properties by filing false paperwork,

an increasingly common sovereign tactic. When challenged, they invented a law firm and lawyers through whom they threatened legal action.

Weidman, who was sentenced to 20 years in prison and another 20 on probation under Georgia's state RICO statute, characterized the situation as "a failure to communicate between me and law enforcement," though

Cobb County Superior Court Judge A. Gregory Poole retorted that Weidman's crime had been "no experiment." Meanwhile, Weidman's accomplice, Lowery, of Alpharetta, Ga., was sentenced to 10 years in prison and another 10 on probation.



Matthew Lowery



Susan Weidman

[RELIGIOUS RIGHT]

Anti-Gay Hate Group Runs Into Trouble on Two Campuses

Anti-gay culture warrior Peter LaBarbera, founder and head of the hate group Americans for Truth About Homosexuality, has suffered a series of setbacks in his ongoing quest to portray homosexuality as a "dangerous" practice that is "neither normal nor benign."

On March 25, he reacted with fury to the announcement by World Vision U.S., an evangelical Christian charity, that it would no longer bar from employment LGBT Christians in legal same-sex



Peter LaBarbera, head of Americans for Truth About Homosexuality, displays a magazine in an apparent bid to detail some “truth about homosexuality.” His effort to spread his message has encountered a number of problems in recent months.

marriages. Though World Vision took pains to explain that the new policy was neither an endorsement of same-sex marriage nor a rejection of traditional marriage, LaBarbera denounced the reversal as “a stunning capitulation to a powerful Sin Movement.” He was joined by an angry chorus of Christian Right activists and evangelical leaders who threatened to boycott World Vision.

Under pressure, the charity did reverse its new policy less than 48 hours after its announcement. But while LaBarbera and fellow anti-LGBT activists managed to plug that leak in the anti-gay dike, events on two college campuses would soon make it clear that the tide of pro-gay tolerance is inexorably rising.

A packed lecture hall awaited LaBarbera on his April 9 arrival at Dayton, Ohio’s Sinclair Community College, whose Traditional Values Club had invited him to give a speech on “What ‘Gay’ Activists Don’t Want You To Know.” Moments after he started to speak, the majority of those in attendance walked out *en masse*, as part of a planned demonstration against his message of hate — but not without recording a portion of the speech for posterity. According to Sinclair student Kate Geiselman, who wrote about the protest for Salon.com, LaBarbera’s

shocked response to the walk-out was, “Are you effing kidding me?”

He faced another on-campus defeat less than a week later. On April 14, Canadian police arrested LaBarbera and an associate at Saskatchewan’s University of Regina, charging them with mischief after they ignored university policy and national anti-hate laws by distributing anti-gay propaganda on campus.

LaBarbera and Bill Whatcott, of Saskatchewan, had been explicitly barred from setting up an information table but did so anyway. Sporting a T-shirt with a slogan about “hate crimes against Christians,” a defiant LaBarbera accused university officials of being “intolerant.” He spent a night in jail before being returned to the U.S.

The arrest cut short a planned week-long tour in Canada that nearly didn’t happen. Concerned that LaBarbera would violate Canadian hate speech laws, officials initially refused his request to enter Canada, but reversed their decision after he engaged a lawyer. LaBarbera reacted to the situation with fury, complaining on his blog about being treated as a “common criminal” by the “[p]ro-gay thought police.” At press time, he was raising funds for his and Whatcott’s legal defense.

LaBarbera’s various defeats came as anti-LGBT activists find themselves increasingly irrelevant. In recent months, courts in Arkansas, Oregon and Pennsylvania found unconstitutional those state’s bans on same-sex marriage, bringing to 19 the number of states where such marriage is now legal. Meanwhile, a new Gallup poll showed American support for same-sex marriage has reached an all-time high of 55%, with nearly 8 in 10 of young adults between the ages of 18 and 29 having no objection to the notion.

[NEO-NAZIS]

Arkansas High School Teacher Quits After Exposure as Neo-Nazi

A Star City, Ark., social studies teacher saw his career go up in flames after Hatewatch, the blog associated with the *Intelligence Report*, revealed that he was a longtime white supremacist with a creepy interest in underage girls.

Hatewatch on April 24 outed Philip Holthoff, 53, a teacher at Star City High School, as a high-value contributor to Stormfront and a member or former member of a wide range of white nationalist hate groups. The school system placed Holthoff on paid leave the next day, and he resigned without comment a few weeks later.

Holthoff’s history of racist activity dates back at least 35 years. Records show that he joined the neo-Nazi National Alliance in May 1980 at the age of 19. He later joined the neo-Nazi National Vanguard, and also became a “lifetime member” of White Revolution, another now-defunct neo-Nazi group.

Though he linked on Facebook to various racist groups such as American Renaissance and



Capping a 35-year career as a committed racist, Star City, Ark., high school teacher Philip Holthoff resigned his job after his secret life became public. It didn't help that Holthoff wrote about pornography and underage girls.

Alternative Right, it was on Stormfront, a racist message board that is the primary online meeting place for murderers involved in white supremacist-related slayings worldwide, that Holthoff aired his racist views. In more than 400 posts made under the pseudonym David Lee Saxon, Holthoff railed against interracial dating, complained about the “odor” of African Americans (whom he often referred to as “Negros”), griped that a “Judeo-liberal coalition” was manipulating the media, and offered seemingly unsolicited advice about pornography and teenage girls.

Though he used a fake name, Holthoff never concealed his profession. In a particularly offensive 2013 post, he commented, “Its [sic] graduation time. I always get a kick out of how white administrators beg and plead for people to behave during the ceremonies. Black parents are the worse [sic]. The entire race must have ADD. Halfway into the ceremony they scream, shout, blow air guns

and dance in the aisle when their child's name is called. And that odor get in your clothes to [sic]!”

Elsewhere on Stormfront, Holthoff bragged about teaching “an objective course on Hitler and National Socialism that dispels many myths the media teaches and people believe,” and fantasized about a “top secret group” of white supremacists would “bring to justice” “traitors” who promote interracial activities like the Super Bowl.

He obsessed over interracial dating among the students of Star City High School, and wrote at length about pornography and underage girls. “Girls do indeed mature faster, both physical and emotionally than guys. At the risk of being sexist I would rather teach girls. They are more respectful and easier to teach. (I am only referring to WHITE high school girls),” he wrote in a bizarre 2007 Stormfront comment. “I have seen porn before. All of it had a screen introduction stating the girls were of legal

age and proof was on file.” Later in the same post, he complained about FBI techniques for catching people seeking to consume child pornography.

Newly jobless, Holthoff may now find even more time to pursue such interests. Perhaps he'll also dedicate himself to his other hobby, working as a ghost hunter for Spirit Seekers, the self-declared “premier Paranormal Investigation Team in Arkansas and beyond.”

[ANTI-LGBT]

Its Pastor Dead, Gay-Hating Kansas Church Soldiers On

For a moment, it seemed possible that the gay-bashing Kansas church infamous for picketing the funerals of fallen soldiers with signs like “God Hates Fags” and “Thank God For Dead Soldiers” might moderate its views after the March 19 death of its founder and

BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

MARCH 17

A man accused of wanting to join “Allah's army” and appear in propaganda videos for the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, an **Al Qaeda** breakaway group involved in Syria's civil war, was charged in **Seattle** federal court with attempting to provide material support to a foreign terrorist organization. Nicholas Teausant, 20, of **Acampo, Calif.**, was allegedly attempting to travel to Syria when he was arrested near the Canadian border in **Washington**.

MARCH 27

Pvt. Isaac Aguigui, leader of the **Forever Enduring, Always**

Ready (FEAR) militia, was sentenced to life in prison by a military judge at **Fort Stewart, Ga.**, for the 2011 slaying of his pregnant wife. Aguigui was already serving a life sentence in the murder of a teenage couple he feared would betray his terrorist plans. In the next few months, two other **FEAR** members, Pvt. Christopher Salmon and Sgt. Anthony Peden, pleaded guilty in the same double murder and were sentenced to life.

APRIL 13

Johnathan “Monster” Schmidt — the 29-year-old founder of a racist skinhead gang called

Crew 41, or **Die Auserwählten** (German for “the chosen few”) — was arrested in **Lake Elsinore, Calif.**, for assault with a deadly weapon and battery. Just three months earlier, the heavily tattooed neo-Nazi had publicly vowed to stay out of trouble after being acquitted of fracturing a man's skull in **Kearney, Neb.**

APRIL 14

Minnesota National Guardsman and Iraq War veteran Keith Michael Novak, 25, pleaded guilty in a **Minneapolis** courtroom to federal identity theft charges. Novak, a member of the **44th Spatha Libertas** or **Sword of Freedom**

militia, stole the data in a scheme to fund his group. The **Maplewood, Minn.**, man was also implicated, but not charged, in a plot to bomb a Utah National Security Agency building.

APRIL 15-16

A member of the racist prison gang **Universal Aryan Brotherhood** was among 11 people arraigned for allegedly conspiring to sell methamphetamine in Oklahoma after a major federal investigation that was dubbed the “Battle of Honey Creek.” Michael A. “Lurch” Metzker, of **Checotah, Okla.**, and the others face up to life in prison for allegedly using

longtime leader. Pastor Fred Phelps himself, according to a claim from his grandson Zacharias Phelps-Roper, dramatically softened his stance on LGBT people shortly before he died in a Topeka hospice.

Well, that sure didn't happen. Instead, Westboro Baptist Church members soldiered on, continuing their traveling hatefests as though nothing had happened.

Standing across the street from a group of counter-protesters who held a banner expansively proclaiming, "Sorry for your loss," Westboro members picketed a Kansas City concert by pop star Lorde just one day after patriarch Phelps gave up the ghost. Church member Steve Drain, who has served as the voice of the church since Phelps was reportedly excommunicated last fall for saying he thought congregants should be nicer to each other, claimed indifference to



The hate lives on: Members of the gay-hating Westboro Baptist Church, whose founder died in March, picketed a Washington, D.C. high school this June, after its principal came out. The principal was supported by counter-protesters who mocked the church, known for its "God Hates Fags" website, with signs like the one that asserted "God Hates Report Cards."

the counter-protesters' pointedly respectful banner. "I don't even know what they're saying," he told Kansas City's KSHB.

Residents of tornado-ravaged Moore, Okla., which in 2013 was devastated by a storm that killed 24 people and caused an estimated \$2 billion in property damage, were considerably less whimsical in their response to a posthumous

visit from Westboro protesters. On April 6, hundreds of townspeople, described in a Westboro flier as "phony-salt-of-the-earth-small-town-pseudo-patriot-pretend-Christians," showed up to register their opposition.

Westboro members had a permit to picket Moore's Central Junior High School for 30 minutes, starting at 2 p.m., but packed their

smuggled cell phones to sell the drug while in prison.

APRIL 23

David "Joey" Pedersen, a **white supremacist** already serving two life sentences for killing his father and step-mother during a 2011 murder spree, pleaded guilty in **Portland, Ore.**, to murdering Cody Faye Myers, a 19-year-old he wrongly believed was Jewish, at an Oregon campground. Pedersen, who was accompanied on his rampage by girlfriend Holly Ann Grigsby, also admitted to killing Reginald Alan Clark, 53, after stealing the disabled black man's truck in **Eureka,**

Calif. Pedersen is expected to receive two additional life sentences for the slayings.

APRIL 23

Prosecutors charged five ultra-Orthodox Hasidic Jews with gang assault in the beating of a gay black man in the heavily Hasidic neighborhood of Williamsburg in **Brooklyn, N.Y.** Aharon Hollender, 28, Abraham Winkler, 39, Mayer Herskovic, 21, Pinchas Braver, 19, and Joseph Fried, 25, were allegedly part of a vigilante group called **Shomrim** that was looking for a vandal. The victim told authorities the men had shouted anti-gay epithets at him, but no hate crime charges were filed.

APRIL 29

Craig Cobb, the neo-Nazi who once ran the savagely racist **Podblanc** video-sharing website, was sentenced to time served plus four years



probation after pleading guilty to terrorizing the residents of **Leith, N.D.**, a tiny town he tried to take over and convert to a white supremacist bastion. Although Cobb had quietly bought up about a dozen properties in Leith, his plans went awry when he lost his

temper and began threatening his neighbors with a gun, resulting in his arrest in November 2013.

MAY 1

A **Roanoke, Va.**, federal judge sentenced Bill White, who once headed the neo-Nazi **American National Socialist Workers Party**, to seven years and eight months in prison for threatening his ex-wife via E-mail while he was a fugitive in 2012. White, who was already serving several sentences for threatening other people, still faces charges in Florida of threatening a federal judge, an FBI agent and a prosecutor.

Ignoring objections by its student government and faculty senate, the College of Charleston's Board of Trustees refused to reconsider its choice to head the South Carolina institution. Glenn McConnell has a long track record as a neo-Confederate activist and supporter of the Confederate battle flag.



“God Hates Fags” signs and fled at 2:08, after Moore residents began to cross their picket lines. Despite the disorder, police reported that no one was arrested or taken into custody because the townspeople remained “relatively respectful.”

Westboro members were not deterred for long. On May 17, a gaggle of church members showed up at festivities at Fort Hays State University in Hays, Kan., and Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Colo., to protest the “filthy, base, illiterate, Godless, Bible-deprived, God-hating, God-hated, without-hope young people” celebrating college graduation. Reinforcing the observation that Westboro’s flamboyant villainess has shored up support for acceptance of LGBT people, counter-protesters vastly outnumbered church members at both events.

Nathan Phelps, estranged son of Fred Phelps, actively encouraged this trend with a post on his Facebook page. “Use WBC as the impetus for positive social campaigns,” he wrote on March 26. “Let the immorality of WBC be the backdrop to the moral actions of communities coming together and supporting their besieged LGBT friends and neighbours.”

[NEO-CONFEDERATES]

Lost Cause Enthusiast Selected to Head SC College

If its goal was to avoid criticism from the chorus of right-wingers who regularly complain about supposed liberal bias at institutions of higher learning, then South Carolina’s College of Charleston chose wisely when it selected Glenn McConnell as its next president.

From any other perspective, it is hard to fathom why the board

of trustees chose the Civil War re-enactor — who prefers the term “War Between the States” and once decried a proposal to remove the Confederate flag from South Carolina’s Capitol dome as “cultural genocide” — as the college’s next leader.

McConnell, who once owned a Confederate memorabilia store and who made headlines in 2010 when he was photographed in a Confederate uniform with two African Americans dressed as slaves, told *The New York Times* in April that he wanted to be judged “by my record.”

He might want to think twice about that. The prominent Republican, who served in South Carolina’s state Senate from 1981 through 2012 and is now the state’s lieutenant governor, has never served as an academic administrator. And the “record” on which he seeks to be judged includes, among other things, his 1996 opposition to a proposal by then-Gov. David Beasley to stop flying the Confederate battle flag over the state Capitol. McConnell compared Beasley to Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister who infamously adopted a doomed policy of appeasement with regard to Hitler, for reaching out to the NAACP.

In 2000, under substantial pressure from the NAACP and its allies, McConnell helped orchestrate a deal that would remove the battle flag from the Capitol and make it instead a permanent feature at the nearby Confederate Soldiers Monument. “We did what General Lee should have done at Gettysburg. We flanked on them,” McConnell later gloated, and “put the NAACP in a position they cannot sell, which is to remove it totally from the grounds.”

Then-State Sen. McConnell was still bragging about his ostensible victory in 2007, when

he appeared on “The Political Cesspool,” a white nationalist radio show that has featured the likes of neo-Nazi David Duke, the former national leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Discussing the flag controversy with host James Edwards, McConnell accused the NAACP of “fanning the flames of intolerance” in a way that “threatens to unravel the fabric of mutual respect and to divide our state for decades to come.”

McConnell knows something about divisiveness. In 2002, he came to the defense of Maurice Bessinger, the owner of South Carolina’s Piggie Park barbecue chain, who had come under attack for displaying the Confederate flag and selling racist tracts at his restaurants, including a pamphlet titled “The Biblical Justification for Slavery.” When South Carolina’s only Fortune 500 company, electric and gas giant SCANA, forbade employees from parking company trucks at Piggie Park, McConnell accused the company of discrimination and threatened to take legislative action against it. And he began selling the racist restaurateur’s line of sauces in his Confederate memorabilia store.

The college’s presidential search committee recommended against McConnell’s appointment, and both the student government and faculty senate delivered the board of trustees a vote of no confidence, but at press time, the board showed no sign of reconsidering its decision. Though McConnell vowed to “disprove the naysayers,” College of Charleston student Matthew Rabon took a dim view of his appointment. “I can’t say that it’s a death knell for this school, but it can’t be good,” Rabon told *The New York Times*. “We were on a path to success ... and now that is in peril.” ▲

FROM CANADA WITH LOVE

A New Brunswick judge rules that a major bequest left for the neo-Nazi National Alliance is illegal and cannot be paid out

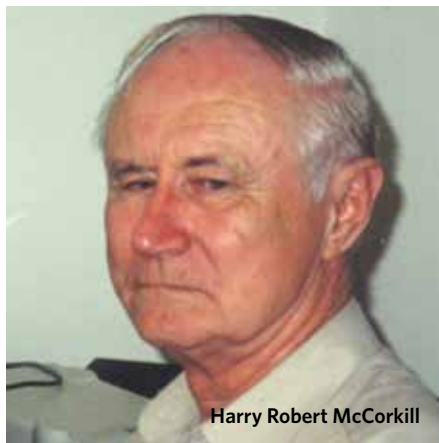
BY MARK POTOK

A Canadian court this June struck down a bequest valued at about \$220,000 that was left by a citizen of that country to the National Alliance (NA), a neo-Nazi group based in the United States that has long promoted violence against minorities. The presiding judge found the bequest violated Canadian law and public policy.

“The evidence before this court convinces me that in the case of the NA the purpose for which it exists is to promote white supremacy through the dissemination of propaganda which incites hatred of various identifiable groups which they deem to be non-white and therefore unworthy,” wrote Justice William T. Grant of St. John, New Brunswick. “Those purposes and the means they advocate to achieve them are criminal in Canada and that is what makes this request so repugnant.”

The judge permanently enjoined any transfer of funds or other parts of the estate, which includes a collection of ancient Greek and Roman coins, to the NA. Instead, he ordered it distributed to the brother and sister of Harry Robert McCorkill, a chemist who reportedly spent time at MIT, collector of historic artifacts, and longtime Canadian NA member who died in 2004. McCorkill’s sister, Isabelle Rose McCorkill, initially challenged the bequest, and she was later joined by two Jewish human rights groups in Canada as well as the provincial attorney general.

In July, NA lawyer John Hughes filed a notice that the group would appeal Justice Grant’s decision, which it characterized as rife with judicial errors.



Harry Robert McCorkill

In his June decision, the judge brushed aside claims by NA representatives that the group had been unfairly tarred in affidavits from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and others that quoted the group’s foundational documents as well as other materials produced by its officials. “All of these publications can only be described as racist, white supremacist and hate-inspired,” the judge wrote.

“They are disgusting, repugnant and revolting.”

The court decision comes at a time when the NA, which a little over a decade ago was the dominant hate group in

America, is struggling to survive. It has gone from an organization that once brought in about \$1 million a year and had some 1,400 dues-paying members to a group that is nearly bankrupt and has only a smattering of supporters left. The group’s current leader is trying to sell much of its West Virginia headquarters compound to raise money, and he has sold off much of the wood on the site to logging companies for the same reason. A faction led by the brother of the group’s late founder has sued the NA in civil court in an attempt to regain control of the organization. And virtually all of the major personalities in the group, many of whom enjoyed serious movement prestige, have left.

The loss of the bequest could help finally destroy the remnants of the once-storied NA. The group seems unlikely to survive without a source of new funds.

The court’s initial decision thrilled human rights activists in Canada.

The Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs, which intervened in the case along with B’Nai Brith Canada, said the ruling was “a strong statement. Today, we are fortunate that the National Alliance is a severely diminished group barely holding onto its shrinking membership. The threat was that an injection of about a quarter of a million dollars might have breathed new life into this dying organization.”



Although he recently sought to distance himself from founder William Pierce (with cat), National Alliance chief Erich Glibe has not strayed from the neo-Nazi path blazed by his predecessor.



“Those who speak against us now should be looked at as dead men — as men marching in lock-step toward their own graves.”

“Justice Grant’s judgment was very direct in his findings of fact that the National Alliance is a neo-Nazi group and that their hate propaganda and stated goals of genocide and ethnic cleansing violate Canadian law six ways to Sunday,” added Richard Warman, a Canadian attorney who has brought 16 successful legal cases against hate groups and racist individuals in that country.

The Canadian bequest was first brought to public attention in June 2013, when the SPLC revealed that NA officials appeared close to settling the probate matter and forwarding the proceeds to the NA. Shortly after that, McCorkill’s sister, who like a second brother was estranged from her radical sibling and did not even know he was alive, filed suit, saying that she did not want to see the money go to a neo-Nazi group and that she also hoped to keep the coin collection in Canada.

The case against the bequest could never have been made under American law, which has unusually strong free speech and association protections. But Canadian law has a much fuller concept of the public good, and its foundational Canadian Charter of Rights and

Freedoms allows speech and other “reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.” Canadian law also makes public “incitement of hatred” — “willfully promot[ing] hatred against any identifiable group” — a criminal offense.

Erich Glibe, chairman of the NA, claimed in affidavits submitted to the court that the SPLC and others were trying to “smear” the organization by quoting its foundational documents and later statements from Glibe and others. But Grant found that the NA had done nothing to distance itself from those documents.

And they were hair-raising. The affidavit submitted to the court by the SPLC quoted the group’s “What is the National Alliance?” essay as saying that the NA would do “whatever is necessary” to achieve “a White living space” and that it would not be deterred by any “temporary unpleasantness.” The document went on to call for “the racial cleansing of the land” and “a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America.”

The SPLC affidavit also quoted an NA bulletin written by the group’s founder

celebrating racial violence as “a healthy, red-blooded response to the current situation in America’s cities.” “Ultimately,” the document read in a particularly candid passage, “we will win the war only by killing our enemies.” In yet another document, the group spoke of packing “the homosexuals, racemixers, and hard-case collaborators” into cattle cars and plunging them into abandoned coal mines.

Although Glibe tried to suggest that the NA had evolved into a kinder, gentler organization since the 2002 death of founder William Pierce, Grant pointed out that Glibe alleged in a 2011 radio broadcast that “the Jews have lied for decades about the Holocaust,” which he described as a “money-making scheme.”

“[T]here is nothing ‘dated’ about the anti-semitic rantings of Mr. Glibe, the current Chair of the National Alliance, in his 2011 broadcast,” the judge wrote. “Neither is there any evidence before the court that the NA has distanced itself from its ‘dated’ foundational documents,” a reference to “What is the National Alliance?”

Grant repeatedly referred to the strength of the case. The evidence “con-

'Disgusting, Repugnant and Revolting': The Documents

Canadian judge William T. Grant, in ruling this June against the neo-Nazi National Alliance (NA) receiving a bequest from a Canadian man, cited several quotations from the group in his 44-page decision. They were drawn from affidavits provided to the court by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Kevin Fornhill of the American private research company Fringe Link Inc., and the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs, a Canadian human rights group. Most of the material came from NA publications, but Fornhill also provided a transcript of a radio broadcast by NA Chairman Erich Gliebe. What follows are excerpts of selected quotations cited in Grant's decision, which described NA publications as "disgusting, repugnant and revolting."

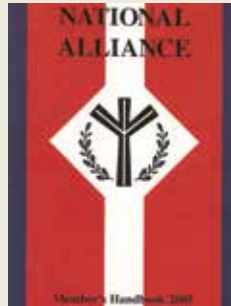
From "What is the National Alliance?" the NA's foundational document:

"[W]e must again have a racially clean area of the earth for the further development of our people. ... We must have no non-Whites in our living space, and we must have an open space around us for expansion. We will do whatever is necessary to achieve this White living space and keep it White. We will not be deterred by the difficulty or temporary unpleasantness involved, because we realize that it is absolutely necessary for our racial survival."

"The central task of a new government will be to reverse the racially devolutionary course of the last few millennia and keep it reversed: a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America. Such a task is necessarily intrusive, and it will require large-scale organization."

From the *National Alliance Bulletin*, April/May 1990:

[Recounting a conversation with a racist skinhead:] "It was clear that his conception of a 'front-line soldier' is someone who cracks the enemy's skull in the street with a baseball bat, rips his face open with a bicycle chain, or breaks his legs across a curbstone. And that's fine. It's a healthy, red-blooded response to the current situation in America's cities. ... It is clear that if *most* White males would respond to their rage in a direct, physical way, as skinheads do, then we would have no race problem, no Jewish problem, no homosexual problem, and no problem with White race traitors in America. Our cities would be clean, decent, safe, and White once again, after a relatively brief period of bloodletting."



"Ultimately, we will win the war only by killing our enemies, not by any clever, indirect schemes which involve no personal risk. We should never forget that, and even if the skinheads served no other purpose than to remind us of it, we should be grateful for their activity. Our only regret in that regard should be that their activity is not better organized and better disciplined."

From the *National Alliance Bulletin*, January 1994:

"All the homosexuals, racemixers, and hard-case collaborators in the country who are too far gone to be reeducated can be rounded up, packed into 10,000 or so railroad cattle cars, and eventually double-timed into an abandoned coal mine in a few days time. ... Those who speak against us now should be looked at as dead men — as men marching in lock-step toward their own graves."

From a July 30, 2011, radio broadcast by NA Chairman Erich Gliebe:

"[T]he official version of the Holocaust is not only a money-making scheme, it is also a weapon of restraint. It chains the mind of people and tends to prevent them from trying to fix what is wrong with society... . Jews lie a lot — almost habitually, it seems — or at least bend the truth, turn it into half-lies, and leave out crucial information... . Once that [Holocaust] lie is sufficiently exposed and weakened, then the programs and policies of the National Alliance will help to organize our people into a force that will set our race back on the path to a destiny of greatness."

sistently show[s] that the National Alliance stands for principles and policies, as well as the means to implement them, that are both illegal and contrary to public policy in Canada," the judge wrote. "[W]hat it stands for, anti-semitism, eugenics, discrimination, racism and white supremacy, violates numer-

ous statutes and conventions that have been passed by Parliament and the [provincial] Legislatures and endorsed by the Government of Canada, including the Criminal Code."

The judge also mocked Gliebe's attempts to portray the NA as a cultural organization interested in European

civilization, saying these "feeble protestations only call to mind the attempts by the Nazis in Hitler's Germany to mask their true intentions through organizations like the Hitler Youth. History tells us that behind the mask lurked some of the worst evil ever visited upon the human race." ▲

TROUBLESOME SOURCES

A new book on race and evolution by noted science writer Nicholas Wade legitimizes racist and anti-Semitic theories

BY JON PHILLIPS

Nicholas Wade's new book, *A Troublesome Inheritance*, is only the latest in a long line of works arguing that humans can be divided into discrete races, and that between those races, there are differences in behavior, temperament, intelligence, and even political and economic structures. Although the specifics of the arguments change, what remains constant is the idea that white people of European descent are inherently smarter, better, more "civilized" than members of other races, especially black Africans and their descendants. Wade's work is no exception.

This book's failure as a work of popular science has been well documented by biologists and anthropologists. This review will focus on another problem with Wade's book, one just as damning as its scientific errors: its uncritical reliance on and legitimization of fringe racist theories masquerading as mainstream biology.

Wade, a former science writer for *The New York Times*, attempts to fabricate a sense of scientific credibility for his outlandish theories with the division of his book into two very different sections. The first half is intended as a survey of the history and science of research into human evolution, race, and genetics, and Wade supports most of his claims with citations to scientific literature.

In the second, more "speculative" half of the book, Wade's claims about human genetics and evolution continue, but the

scientific sources disappear. It is in this part of the book, for example, that Wade explains modern history through the claim that "European populations" have a genetic predisposition to "open societies and the rule of law to autocracies," while the Chinese are inherently "drawn to a system of family obligations, political hierarchy, and conformity." He posits that white Europeans and East Asians are innately more intelligent than Papuans or members of other "Stone Age societies" because "intelligence can be more highly rewarded in modern societies because it is in far greater demand." Although he acknowledges at the outset that these portions of the book are intended to be speculative, in the text he presents these racist, hackneyed ideas as though they are simple facts, uncontroversial and incontrovertible.

Wade is not only interested in rewriting the history of human civilization on a grand scale; he also rewrites the history of scientific racism. To point out one particularly egregious example, Wade takes his readers on a brief but confused tour of evolutionary and eugenic thought from Darwin through the Holocaust. In this survey, he claims that by

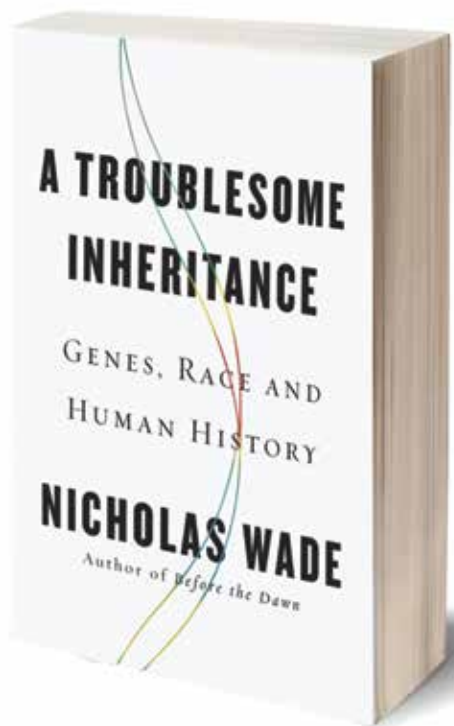
1933, eugenics had been rejected by scientists and the public in both Britain and the United States. From then on, according to Wade, it was the sole purview of Nazi researchers.

Of course, eugenics remained popular in both the U.S. and the U.K. beyond the 1930s. Even after it was finally relegated to the fringes of the scientific community, sterilization laws remained on the books well into the latter half of the 20th century. The last forcible sterilization in Oregon occurred in the 1980s, while California sterilized at least 148 female prisoners between 2006 and 2010.

Even more remarkably, Wade manages to write a summary of American eugenics that completely neglects to mention the Pioneer Fund. Founded by Nazi sympathizers in 1937, the Pioneer

Editor's Note

This May, a book by a well-known science writer was published by Penguin Press that seemed to support many of the claims made by academic racists over the years. Because of the importance to the proponents of racism and anti-Semitism of the controversial assertions made in *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race and Human History*, the *Intelligence Report* asked Jon Phillips, a graduate student and freelance writer who studies the history of science with a focus on politics and evolutionary biology, to review the 278-page book and its claims.



of his entire project, Wade decided to devote an entire chapter to the issue of Jewish intelligence and biological distinctiveness. Wade frames his discussion around a revisionist history of Judaism by two economists, Maristella Botticini and Zvi Eckstein, which argues that throughout history, a religious emphasis on

for his claims about Jewish adaptation to capitalism, Muller points out that he is explicitly talking about “the transmission of cultural traits” and warns against “the error of treating group characterizations that are the *product* of history (such as business acumen) as if they were the *source* of historical development.”

Wade bases his belief in genetically enhanced Jewish intelligence on a single paper, which he describes as “[t]he only serious recent attempt by researchers to delve into the links between Jewish genetics and intelligence.” This paper, from University of Utah researchers Henry Harpending, Gregory Cochran, and Jason Hardy, “elaborates the hypothesis that the unique demography and sociology of Ashkenazim in medieval Europe selected for intelligence.”

That hypothesis is the brainchild of Kevin MacDonald, an evolutionary psychologist and director of the racist American Freedom Party (formerly, American Third Position), which he founded with lawyer William D. Johnson, who has proposed repealing the 14th and 15th Amendments and replacing them with a Constitutional amendment which reads:

No person shall be a citizen of the United States unless he is a non-Hispanic white of the European race, in whom there is no ascertainable trace of Negro blood, nor more than one-eighth Mongolian, Asian, Asia Minor, Middle Eastern, Semitic, Near Eastern, American Indian, Malay or other non-European or non-white blood, provided that Hispanic whites, defined as

Fund was, and continues to be, the chief source of financial support for eugenic research in the postwar period. One cannot help but wonder if this omission is related to the fact that Wade approvingly cites Pioneer grantees like Arthur Jensen, and relies heavily on the work of the fund’s current president, Richard Lynn, for data on the low IQs of black populations worldwide.

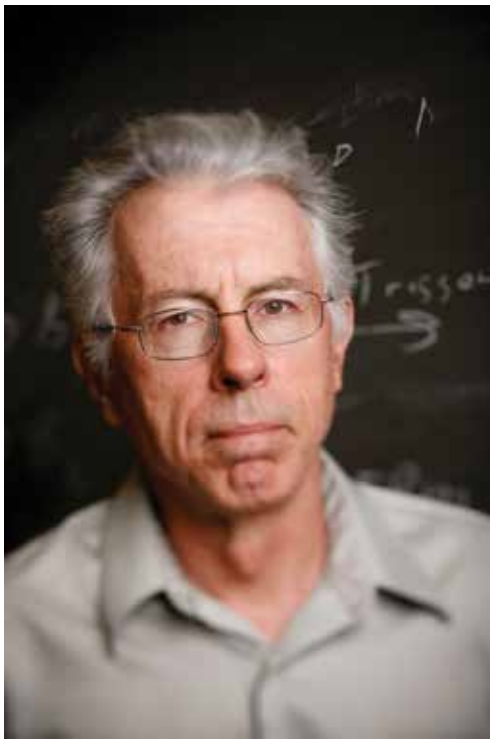
Both Lynn and Jensen spent decades forcefully arguing for eugenic policies. Moreover, Lynn, who Wade describes simply as “a psychologist at the University of Ulster,” serves on the editorial board of the white supremacist “journal” *Mankind Quarterly*, has argued in favor of “phasing out” unfit populations, and claimed that in order to ensure the survival of “white civilization” in the United States, “predominantly white states should declare independence and secede from the Union.”

Nor is Lynn the only white supremacist whose ideas Wade promotes. In what is probably the most ill-judged element

literacy and learning explains how Jews became “an urban population of traders, entrepreneurs, bankers, financiers, lawyers, physicians, and scholars.”

But where Botticini and Eckstein credit social structures that prioritized education with paving the way for Jewish successes, Wade claims that the real driving force was the evolution of a unique intelligence that has allowed Jews to thrive, even in the face of a hostile majority. Wade quotes historian Jerry Muller as saying that “Jews had the behavioral traits conducive to success in a capitalist society,” and uses this to argue that, just as “Eskimos” are adapted to cold weather and Tibetans are adapted to high altitudes, Jews are “adapted” to capitalism.

This “adaptation” to capitalism has come about, according to Wade, through an “evolutionary process” that has led to Jewish minorities producing “proportionately more individuals of higher cognitive capacity” than their “host populations.” Wade neglects to mention that in the same essay he uses as justification



Although he likely doesn't know it, former *New York Times* science reporter Nicholas Wade (right) essentially recapitulates an argument about Jews' "adaptation" to the modern world floated by committed anti-Semitic activist Kevin MacDonald.

anyone with an Hispanic ancestor, may be citizens if, in addition to meeting the aforesaid ascertainable trace and percentage tests, they are in appearance indistinguishable from Americans whose ancestral home is in the British Isles or Northwestern Europe. Only citizens shall have the right and privilege to reside permanently in the United States.

MacDonald has published several books arguing that the Ashkenazim eugenically self-selected for high intelligence over several centuries, thus explaining the modern Jewish community's "general disproportionate representation in markers of economic success and political influence," and ability "to command a high level of financial, political, and intellectual resources in pursuing their political aims."

MacDonald is a fringe figure even within evolutionary psychology, a discipline that is often regarded with suspicion by other biologists. Steven Pinker is one of the leading scientific supporters of evolutionary psychology and biological explanations for psychometric data like IQ; he is also interested in questions of Jewish intelligence. If anyone would be predisposed to a sympathetic reading of MacDonald's work, it would be Pinker. What he has actually said is that "MacDonald's main axioms

— group selection of behavioral adaptations, and behaviorally relevant genetic cohesiveness of ethnic groups — are opposed by powerful bodies of data and theory" and, moreover, "MacDonald's various theses, even if worthy of scientific debate individually, collectively add up to a consistently invidious portrayal of Jews, couched in value-laden, disparaging language. It is impossible to avoid the impression that this is not an ordinary scientific hypothesis."

In fact, Pinker radically downplays the anti-Semitic nature of MacDonald's work. MacDonald is currently the editor and chief contributor to the white supremacist magazine *Occidental Quarterly's* blog, *The Occidental Observer*, and often makes inflammatory statements, suggesting, for example, that "[a] political crisis over Jewish influence is exactly what the United States needs," and "hatred toward all things European is normative among a great many strongly identified Jews." MacDonald is explicit that his theories about Jewish racial intelligence are intended to explain what he sees as the Jewish successes in a centuries-long war against Western society.

Although they may not share MacDonald's rabid anti-Semitism, Harpending and Cochran are no strangers to political controversy themselves.

Cochran is a physicist whose previous forays into biology included the claim that male homosexuality is caused by an infection. Cochran has also championed a twist on the classic racist argument that white people evolved to be more intelligent as a result of the hardships of living in colder climates. For Cochran,

cold temperatures did not cause white people to become more intelligent, but rather warm environments have caused black people to accumulate a higher load of deleterious mutations, leading to significantly decreased intelligence.

Like Cochran, Harpending is obsessed with racial differences in intelligence. Harpending denies any racist motivations behind his work; however, his political activities tell a different story. In 2009, he participated in a conference on "Preserving Western Civilization," where he spoke alongside notorious racists like Peter Brimelow (president and chief contributor to the white supremacist VDARE.com) and Jean-Philippe Rushton (president of the Pioneer Fund from 2002 until his death in 2012). The statement of purpose from that conference read:

We believe that America's Judeo-Christian heritage and European identity must be defended. Today, our glorious Western civilization is under assault from many directions. Three such threats will be discussed at this conference. First, the massive influx to the United States and Europe of Third-World immigrants who do not share our fundamental political and cultural values. Second, the threat from Islam, a militant ideology that is hostile to our society and, in principle, commit-

ted to destroying it. Third, because of the persistent disappointing performance of blacks (which many whites mistakenly blame on themselves) many whites have guilt feelings that undermine Western morale and deter us from dealing sensibly with the other threats.

Harpending is stridently anti-immigrant, stating, "I personally favor mass deportation [of "illegal" Mexican immigrants]... It might not be so difficult: there must be a large number of FEMA trailers that could be used to stock processing centers and in Utah, the site of several WWII Japanese internment camps, plans and blueprints must exist to reconstruct those camps."

Harpending rejects the label of "racist," because, as far as he can tell, racism does not exist. Showing an impressive lack of self-awareness, Harpending argues against the existence of racism by comparing it to the "witchcraft" of the Herero people of the northern Kalihari, and suggesting that black Americans only perceive racism because of some inherent pan-African belief in "vague and invisible forces that are oppressing people."

Wade thus dedicated an entire chapter of his book to the issue of Jewish intelligence, on which his main source was a paper whose unabashedly racist lead author has suggested rounding up members of an ethnic minority and placing them in concentration camps, and which was inspired by and builds on the work of an unrepentant white supremacist and anti-Semite who has argued that the Inquisitions and Nazism were "rational" responses to Jewish exploitation of the "gentile" population.

Wade tries to insulate himself against charges of racism by saying "that ideas about race are dangerous when linked to political agendas." The problem is that he doesn't appear to understand what constitutes a political agenda, and why bias can be a problem. Most of the people Wade chastises for political abuses of biology throughout his

book were *anti-racist*. He uses paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould to prove that scientists "are as fallible as anyone else when their emotions or politics are involved." Population geneticist Richard Lewontin's arguments about biological diversity among human populations were based on a "misleading political twist." Anthropologist Franz Boas' anti-racism "may [have been] laudable in motive, but political ideology of any kind has no proper place in science."

And so, for Wade, opposing racism is the kind of political bias that cannot be overcome, but white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and eugenics are not political at all, and certainly not sources of bias. Eminent scientists whose politics fall to Wade's left, especially on race, are ideologues whose work is tainted. Yet Wade treats extremists like Lynn and Jensen, along with far-right businessman and failed Republican political candidate Ron Unz, as serious thinkers on issues of race and psychometric analysis.

Wade also encourages belief in an academic conspiracy of silence on racial issues. He deliberately misrepresents scientists on the subject, twisting their words to suggest that they are admitting to being in on it. To take one example, Wade discusses a paper from forensic anthropologist Norman Sauer arguing *against* the reality of biological race and discussing how to avoid being misunderstood by the public as endorsing it. Wade says that "[Sauer's] suggestion was to obfuscate, by retaining the concept but substituting a euphemism for the word race, such as ancestry." Needless to say, this is the opposite of Sauer's conclusion, which was that anthropologists should "be more explicit about the social or cultural concepts of race" and "teach the non-existence of race in the classroom and do our best to clarify the use of races in forensic anthropology."

Wade's paranoid belief that he is sharing a forbidden truth that scientists are working to suppress makes little sense coming from a respected science journalist. It would certainly be out of place

in the pages of *The New York Times*, but it's an idea that has widespread popularity in the dark corners of the Internet, on websites and forums whose users equate diversity with "white genocide," or rail against the "Zionist Occupation Government."

A Troublesome Inheritance has served as a rallying point for an obscure far-right ideology called the "Dark Enlightenment." Self-professedly "anti-democratic" and "neo-reactionary," this movement brings together an odd assortment of fascists, neo-Nazis, men's rights activists, and libertarians who are united by their hatred of the "politically correct" academic and media establishment (which they refer to as "the Cathedral"), and by their unshakable belief in the biological reality of their racist and sexist beliefs. The "Dark Enlightenment" overlaps to great extent with the "human biodiversity" (HBD) movement, which is made up of (mostly pseudonymous) bloggers, bolstered by the support of a few fringe scientists. Among these scientists are Cochran and Harpending, who have their own HBD blog called "West Hunter."

Wade's book has been publicly endorsed by former KKK Grand Wizard David Duke, championed by noted white supremacists like Jared Taylor, John Derbyshire, and Steve Sailer, and tirelessly promoted on the neo-Nazi Web forum Stormfront, which the SPLC has shown to be linked to almost 100 racially motivated murders over the past five years. For all of Wade's supposed concerns about the politicization of science, his book is entirely a phenomenon of the racist, far-right fringe.

Early in the book, he states that "anti-Semitism was not an idea that German scientists found in science; rather, they found it in their culture and allowed it to infect their science," and that "the lessons of the past should not be forgotten and indeed are all the more relevant." For that argument at least, *A Troublesome Inheritance* provides more than enough evidence. ▲

WAR IN THE



THE WEST



In the wake of a federal stand down in Nevada, emboldened extremists ratchet up a response to the federal government

BY RYAN LENZ

BUNKERVILLE, Nev. — Rancher Cliven Bundy has long been at odds with the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). For 20 years he has taken an increasingly defiant stance toward the agency, refusing to pay what is now more than \$1 million in grazing fees and fines to a federal government he does not recognize.

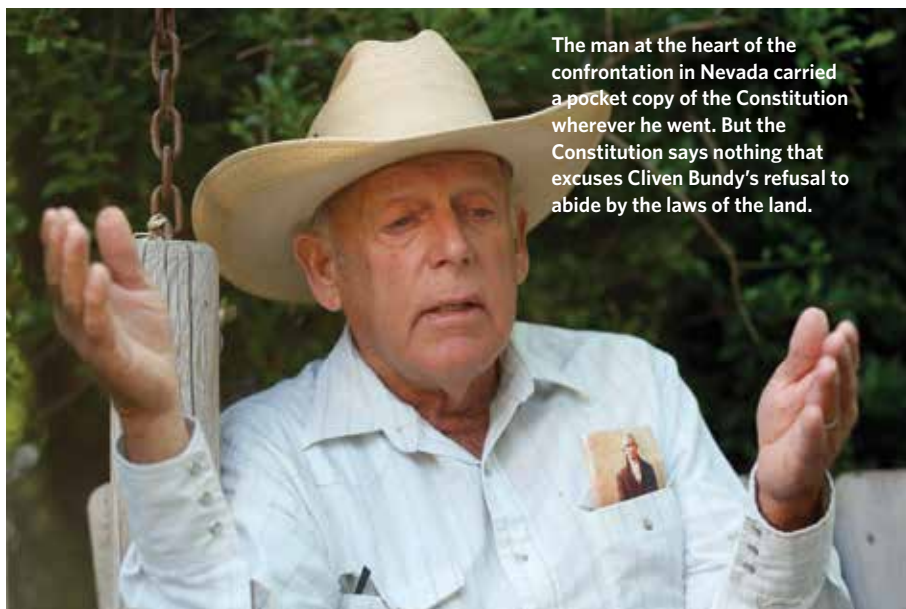
With a copy of the Constitution ever present in the front pocket of his shirt, Bundy, 68, insists he has rights to public lands that trump federal control. Employing the fringe ideas of the rabidly antigovernment “sovereign citizens” movement to support bogus constitutional theories about the fees, Bundy insists that his Mormon ancestors ran cattle long before the reach of Washington, D.C., encroached on the liberty of westerners by, as he claims, stealing their property.

“I have raised cattle on that land, which is public land for the people of Clark County, all my life. Why I raise cattle there and why I can raise cattle there is because I have preemptive rights. Who is the trespasser here? Who is the trespasser on this land? Is the United States trespassing on Clark County, Nevada, land? Or is it Cliven Bundy who is trespassing on Clark County, Nevada, land?” Bundy told right-wing radio host Glenn Beck’s online network The Blaze on April 8.

Federal courts have an answer to Bundy’s questions. His opposition to federal jurisdiction in Nevada, a U.S. District Court ruled last year, has no legal basis as “the public lands in Nevada are property of the United States because the United States has held title to those lands since 1848, when Mexico ceded the land to the United States.”

In early April, responding to that ruling, the BLM hired cowboys from across the West to begin a roundup of what the BLM had come to call “trespass cattle” in lieu of payment for what Bundy owes — a bill that had been mounting since 1992, when he stopped paying.

Within four days of his defiant com-



The man at the heart of the confrontation in Nevada carried a pocket copy of the Constitution wherever he went. But the Constitution says nothing that excuses Cliven Bundy’s refusal to abide by the laws of the land.

ments, hundreds of heavily armed militia members drawn from a newly revitalized antigovernment movement had swarmed Bundy’s corner of the desert. Called to the ranch to take on the federal government, they came by the truckload, angry, armed and ready to fight back.

While it is unclear if Bundy understood in advance what turmoil he would unleash on the American West, a region whose populace has long distrusted political leaders in Washington, his defiance would soon inspire widespread lawlessness and an ever present threat of violence.

On April 12, a tense, armed standoff with BLM agents — an event the militias have dubbed “the Battle of Bunkerville” — developed. Bundy ordered a mob of angry antigovernment zealots fueled by conspiracy theories to take back about 900 cattle from the federal government, ignoring pleas from Clark County Sheriff Doug Gillespie to keep the peace and entertain a discussion with federal authorities. Talk was not what Bundy wanted. His remedy was, in effect, the suspension of the rule of law. And he got it, temporarily, as the BLM withdrew, unprepared for this reaction to its actions.

Writing on his blog hours after the standoff, Mike Vanderboegh, an aging government-hating propagandist from Alabama who heads the III Percent Patriots, characterized the events in grandiose terms. “It is impossible to overstate the importance of the victory won in the desert today,” he gushed. “The

feds were routed — routed. There is no word that applies. Courage is contagious, defiance is contagious, victory is contagious. Yet the war is not over.”

Preparing for a Standoff

While it might have seemed that the standoff was sudden, unplanned and organic, in fact the events were highly orchestrated, beginning with Bundy sending out an aggressive call for a “range war” after the BLM arrested Bundy’s oldest son, David Bundy, who was filming the roundup of his father’s cattle.

With his eldest child charged with failing to disperse, Cliven Bundy claimed federal “thieves” had turned on his family, and he vowed retribution. “They have my cattle and now they have one of my boys. ... Range War begins tomorrow at Bundy ranch,” Bundy wrote on his family blog. A video posted on YouTube that showed BLM agents using a Taser in a physical altercation with Bundy’s son, Ammon Bundy, also did much to rile extremist fury.

Almost overnight, thanks largely to the Bundy’s video going viral on antigovernment websites, the family’s fight with the government became a touchstone for Tea Party Republicans, Libertarians, Oath Keepers and militia members, many of whom saw in the footage the beginnings of a war.

Ryan Payne, 30, an electrician and former soldier who had deployed twice to the Iraq war, became enraged after seeing the video from his home in



Speaking their minds: Signs proliferated around the Bundy ranch as the standoff heated up — one more signal that anger at the federal government was reaching a crisis point.

"Who is the trespasser on this land? Is the United States trespassing on Clark County, Nevada, land? Or is it Cliven Bundy who is trespassing on Clark County, Nevada, land?"

Anaconda, Mont., 650 miles away. Part of a small militia unit called the West Mountain Rangers, Payne also sat atop a little-known militia organization called Operation Mutual Aid, a group Payne designed to lead militias nationwide in responding to federal aggressions.

That night, he called Bundy and asked if he needed the militia's help, Payne told the *Intelligence Report* during a nearly two-hour interview at the Bundy ranch weeks after the standoff.

"I said the type of help that I'm going to be bringing is militia units and Patriots from all over the country," Payne said, recalling the conversation. He added that Bundy told him, "I'm not going to tell you what to bring, I'm not going to tell you to bring guns or any of that type of stuff. All I'm going to say is we need help, and you use your own discernment and decide what needs to be brought."

Payne left that day with another member of his militia and drove through the night, a few sleeping bags in tow, burning up cell phones hoping to bring every militia member he could. On April 9, he sent out an urgent call online.

"At this time we have approximately 150 responding, but that number is growing by the hour," he wrote, offering directions to the Bundy ranch. "May God grant each and every one of you safety, wisdom and foresight, and courage to accomplish the mission we have strived for so long to bring to fruition."

It was an audacious call for a movement that had been itching for a fight with the federal government for some time, especially in the West where more than half of all land is federally owned. Payne's message caught the eye of anti-government folk heroes — people like Alex Jones of Infowars; Richard Mack and his Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association; and Stewart Rhodes' Oath Keepers. Militia units came from Montana, Arizona, Arkansas, Ohio, Indiana, Georgia and California and elsewhere — all promising to bring all they could muster.

By Saturday, April 12, a steady stream of antigovernment fanatics had been arriving in Bunkerville for weeks, their anger growing by the day.

Freeloading on the Range

Given Bundy's history of incendiary rhetoric — and the reality that Bundy had shown no indication he intended to respect law enforcement — the BLM proceeded cautiously with the roundup as fury built in Nevada and elsewhere. Their caution, BLM officials say, stemmed from a fear that a wrong move could spark chaos or even a bloodbath. After all, this was not the first time Bundy had gone toe-to-toe with federal authorities.

The Bundy family had been at odds with the BLM for almost half of the 20th century. By 1992, two years after Bundy declined a 10-year grazing permit that mandated the protection of the desert tortoise, his posturing had become increasingly extreme in response to federal court orders to remove "trespass cattle" from public lands.

Bundy began filing sovereign citizen-like filings with the court, acknowledging only a "sovereign state of Nevada," not the federal government. In 1998, the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department also received information suggesting armed ranchers and Bundy supporters planned to resist any attempts to close public lands.

In documents obtained by the SPLC, the seeds of the defiance that threatened bloodshed earlier this year were readily apparent. In one letter, written as the federal government moved to take action in 2012, Bundy wrote, "I will stand and protect my rights, whatever it takes, to defend this valid ranch, the access for the public, and the policing power of the Clark County Sheriff."

The irony, of course, is that not even Nevada's Clark County Sheriff Doug Gillespie — as a county sheriff, seen as the highest possible law officer by many antigovernment extremists — could quell the rising fury that had grown around Bundy by the morning of April 12.

That morning, Gillespie, in an effort to dissolve those tensions, agreed to meet Bundy in front of an angry mob of heavily armed supporters in a protest area the



As the climax of the confrontation approached, militiamen and other Bundy supporters trained their weapons on federal and Las Vegas law enforcement officers. Many of Bundy's supporters were heavily armed, with several carrying semi-automatic weapons.

BLM had established alongside the highway near Bundy's property.

"The BLM is going to cease this operation," Gillespie told the raucous crowd. "The Gold Butte allotment will be reopened to the public, and they will be removing their assets." He then turned to Bundy. "What I would hope to sit down with you and talk about is how to have this facilitated in a safe way."

The audience screamed back, "Where are the cows?" and demanded the release of Bundy's cattle. "Bring the cows back! You're holding them hostage to broker a deal," one particularly vocal member of the audience cried.

When Gillespie was finished, Bundy walked toward a jerrybuilt podium on risers. Holding a yellow legal pad in his hands, he chastised the sheriff for not understanding his constitutional obligation to protect citizens from the federal government — an idea that has gained traction in recent years thanks to figures like Richard Mack. Bundy countered with a list of demands: the federal government must open up all restricted public lands, remove BLM equipment

from the area, and end its tyrannical campaign of harassment against his family by returning his cows.

Lastly, the BLM would disarm federal agents.

"We want those arms delivered right here under these flags in one hour," Bundy said, his voice creaking with age, before turning his attention to reporters in the crowd asking them to document that his demands were being met. When Bundy was finished, Gillespie turned to his deputies and left without saying a word.

The time that followed was tense. One hour and 20 minutes after Gillespie departed, Bundy again took the stage. He ordered the nearby freeway blocked and condemned Sheriff Gillespie for failing to protect the people from federal abuses.

"Let's go get those cattle," he said. "All we got to do is open those gates and let them back on the river." As a final note he offered, "We're about to take this country back by force."

The Standoff

What followed appeared chaotic, as cowboys on horseback lining the overlooking

buttes rode off into the distance and cars and trucks peeled out of the dusty roadside clearing the BLM had set aside, all bound for a corral two miles away that was protected by BLM agents.

Once there, in a low-lying wash where gates held the Bundy herd, an angry crowd grew, defying orders and engaging in a tense game of chicken with BLM rangers in riot gear demanding through loudspeakers that they disperse. They shouted profanities and gripped their weapons. Militia snipers lined the hilltops and overpasses with their weapons trained on federal agents.

What happened was not unplanned. As Payne later told the SPLC, he had ordered certain gunmen "to put in counter sniper positions" and others to hang behind at the ranch. "[M]e and Mel Bundy put together the plan for the cohesion between the Bundys and the militia, which is what you saw on [April 12]. Sending half of the guys up to support the protesters ... and keep overwatch and make sure that if the BLM wanted to get froggy, that it wouldn't be good for them," Payne said.

The BLM, he added, is a “private corporation” and not a government entity — a falsehood, but typical of many extremists’ beliefs.

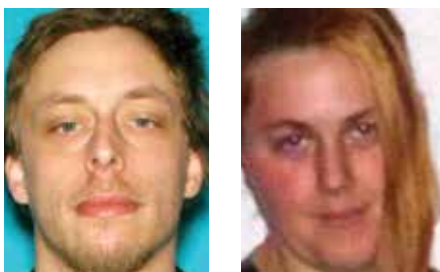
Recounting the standoff weeks later from the Bundy compound, Payne smiled. In the days before the standoff, he and Cliven Bundy had toured the public lands Bundy was using, looking for ways to defend them if necessary. He knew the battlefield, planned the response by Bundy supporters, and made sure snipers were in position. In his telling, his planning could not have gone more perfectly.

“Not only did they take up the very best position to over watch everything, they also had the high ground, they were fortified with concrete and pavement barriers,” Payne said. “They had great lines of fire and then, when I sent in that other team, for counter sniper positions, [the BLM agents] were completely locked down. They had no choice but to retreat.”

The reason, he boasted, was “overwhelming tactical superiority.”

“The hair was up on the back of my neck,” Clark County Assistant Sheriff Joe Lombardo recounted later to KLAS-TV. “There was a lot of firepower out there and it made me nervous. Anything could happen.”

What actually happened was unexpected. The BLM, without any prior announcement, packed up and left. The Bundys, BLM officials later confirmed, unlatched the gates and left on horses to retrieve their cattle. In a statement provided to news media that day, the BLM said it suspended operations “because of our serious concern about the safety of employees and members of the public.”



Jerad and Amanda Miller, who had a certain fondness for dressing up as comic book villains, murdered three people, including two police officers, after briefly joining Bundy supporters during their standoff with authorities.

For the antigovernment movement, there could be no greater victory. By threatening violence, they had suspended the rule of law, at least temporarily, in the name of liberty. And by standing down, the BLM had given at least the appearance of legitimacy to their claims — a legitimacy they were quick to flaunt.

As BLM rangers climbed into their trucks to depart on that April afternoon, a handful of Bundy supporters hung a banner from an overpass on Interstate 15. The red, white and blue sign read, “The West Has Now Been Won.”

Victory at the Ranch

With weeks becoming months and no action from the federal government, Bundy’s actions have bolstered the extremist right in ways that few other events in the last two decades have.

As Vanderboegh wrote, “There is a new spirit of resistance abroad in the

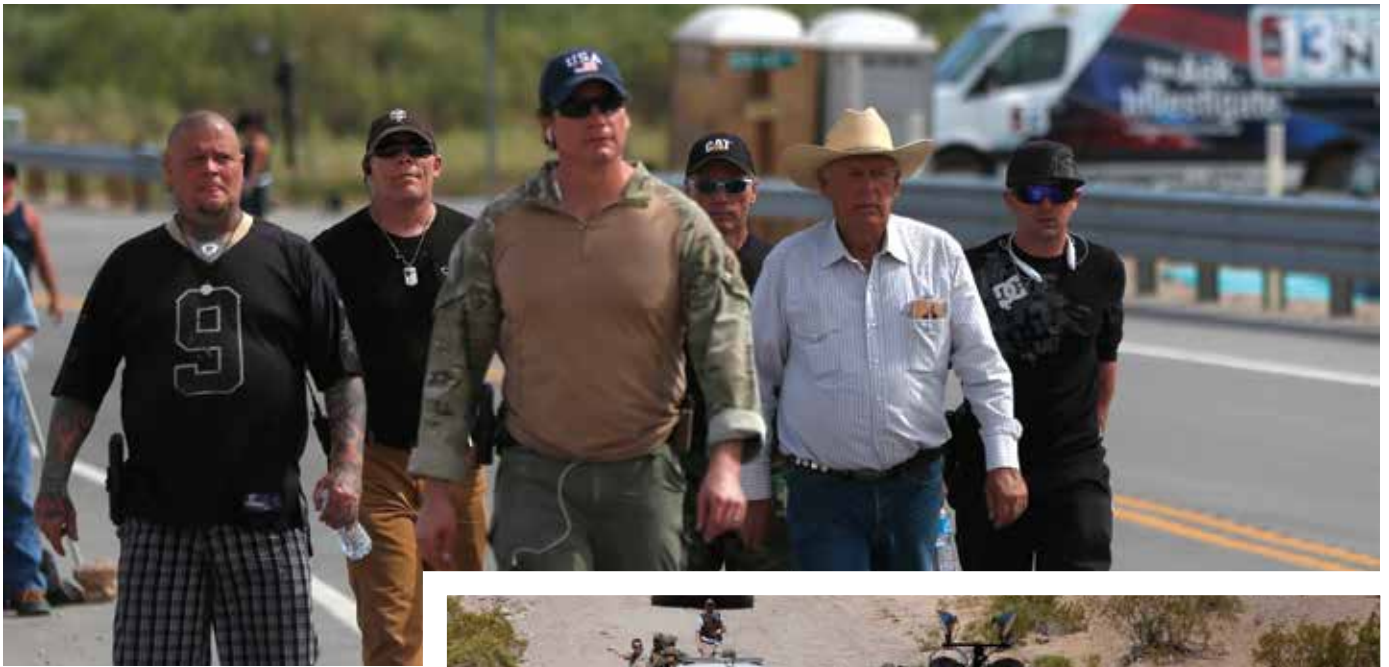
land. The folks in Nevada were not cowed by federal guns pointed at them under the overpass.” He added ominously, “I would look at what happened in the desert today and be very, very afraid.”

Within two months his words would seem predictive. On June 8, two people who had spent time on the Bundy ranch shocked the nation with a killing spree in Las Vegas.

Jerad Miller and his wife, Amanda, entered a restaurant and shot two Las Vegas police officers dead. Witnesses say the couple shouted, “This is a revolution!” and draped one of the slain officer’s bodies with a Gadsden flag — a cantankerous symbol used by the antigovernment movement and many Tea Party groups. Then they ran into a nearby Wal-Mart and killed an armed civilian who tried to stop them.

The Millers’ violence was extreme, but tense encounters between the BLM and antigovernment activists have also taken place elsewhere across the West — in Utah, Texas, New Mexico and Idaho — in the wake of the ranch standoff. Worse, a handful of right-wing politicians and commentators have given cover to Bundy, openly supporting the efforts of a man who is refusing to pay the same grazing fees that every other rancher does and who has invited armed extremists to make sure the federal government can’t enforce the law.

This May in Texas, militia members and others came to protest a BLM survey of more than 90,000 acres along the Red River, fearing the federal government was planning a land grab. A month earlier in Utah, two men pointed a handgun at a BLM worker in a marked federal vehicle while holding up a sign that said,



Cliven Bundy (with cowboy hat) was nearly always accompanied by a personal security detail, headed by a man who calls himself “Buddha” (far left).

Federal agents manned a corral where they held Bundy’s cattle while protesters gathered outside.



“You need to die.” In New Mexico’s Otero County, a tense confrontation between state and federal officials ended after BLM officials opened gates cutting off water for grazing cattle to protect the jumping mouse. Conspiracy theories had demonized BLM efforts to protect the environment.

And in mid-June, a BLM ranger and a California Highway Patrol officer were shot and wounded, allegedly by a self-declared sovereign citizen, Brent Douglas Cole, who was camping outside of Nevada City, Calif.

None of this has tamped down the rhetoric. Instead, bolstered by populist rage and supported by a far-flung network of militias, BLM policies have been characterized as a tyrannical blueprint to destroy state sovereignty, sully the Constitution and steal public lands away from “we the people.” Bundy still

has real support in certain quarters — despite his comments about the supposed problems of “the Negro,” racist remarks that drove away much of his mainstream support.

Perhaps most surprising, as the FBI and other authorities actively investigate crimes allegedly committed at the ranch, has been the political support given Bundy’s claims in conservative corners of Congress and certain local jurisdictions.

Nevada Assemblywoman Michele Fiore (R-Las Vegas), who had made two trips to Bunkerville to meet protesters, told the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* that the federal actions leading up to the standoff were “horrific.” U.S. Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-Utah) told the *Los Angeles Times*, “You can’t just show up with guns blazing and expect to win the hearts and minds of the public.”

One thing seems certain: The “victory” at the “Battle of Bunkerville” has reinvigorated a temporarily flagging militia movement.

A month after the standoff San Juan County, Utah, Commissioner Phil Lyman led a protest against a ban on motorized vehicles in Recapture Canyon that was meant to protect archaeological sites. Waving Gadsden flags just like that draped over the slain officer in Las Vegas and denouncing the BLM, some 50 protesters, including members of the Bundy family, illegally rode ATVs into the fragile canyon.

Lyman did little to conceal his rage and his worry.

“If things don’t change, it’s not long before shots will be fired,” Lyman warned. “We can avoid it. But it’s not going to be by the people changing their attitudes and accepting more intrusion.” ▲

LAND USE & THE 'PATRIOTS'

A timeline describes the development of the conflict between the radical right and the federal government over public lands

BY MARK POTOK

The so-called “Patriot” or militia movement, which hit the United States in two waves cresting in the 1994-2000 period and again beginning in 2009, is animated by conspiracy theories about the federal government and its alleged intentions to merge the country into a global government ruled by dictatorial, socialistic elites. Although there are many important dates and extremist crimes associated with this movement, the timeline that follows emphasizes Patriot resistance to the federal government, in particular over land use and related issues that came to the fore with the April 2014 Nevada standoff between federal agents and rancher Cliven Bundy, who refused to pay over \$1 million in accumulated federal grazing fees. It also explores some of the antecedents to both the Bundy standoff and the Patriot movement, in particular such themes as the “county supremacy” ideology embraced by Bundy and his many armed supporters in the militia groups. The timeline starts in the infancy of our nation, when the Whiskey Rebellion became the first dramatic confrontation between local power and the growing centralized authority of the federal government.



1791: An armed uprising begins in Pennsylvania in response to the new federal government’s attempt to impose taxes on whiskey, widely used by poor farmers as a form of currency. What comes to be known as the **Whiskey Rebellion**

collapses after President George Washington marches troops into Pennsylvania. The conflict helps to strengthen the still very shaky authority of the federal government.

1828: Vice President John C. Calhoun, a South Carolinian who is one of Southern slavery’s most vociferous defenders, writes “The South Carolina Exposition and Protest,” challenging a federal tariff that favors the North. In it, Calhoun promotes nullification, the idea that states can ignore any federal law that goes beyond powers explicitly granted the federal government by the Constitution. The doctrine, which will later be rejected by the courts, will be used to defend slavery and seg-

regation and still forms the basis for many far-right attacks on federal power today.

1861-65: Although slavery is the chief cause of the Civil War, not states’ rights, the war and its aftermath (Reconstruction and the military occupation of the former Confederate states) have the effect of greatly strengthening the federal government.

1954-68: The legacy of federal power inherited from the Civil War is bolstered by the government’s growing role in defending black Americans during the civil rights movement that begins with the *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregation ruling and ends with the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. The association of the American far right with local versus federal power becomes explicit.



1971: **William Potter Gale**, a leading racist and anti-Semitic activist, issues the manifesto that will form the basis of the Posse Comitatus, a radical group that will develop some of the key doctrines of the radical right for decades to come, including county supremacy. In his *Guide for Volunteer*

Christian Posses, Gale says the Posse should deal with government officials who “disobey” the Constitution by taking them “to a populated intersection of streets... at high noon [to] be hung there by the neck.” Gale issues the first chapter charters for the Posse the following year.

1975: The chairman of the Klamath County, Ore., Posse Comitatus chapter writes state legislators threatening to have them tried for treason if they refuse to repeal an important conservation measure.

1976: Congress passes the Federal Land Policy and Management Act, generally seen as provoking the Sagebrush Rebellion. The act ends the historic American practice of homesteading, leaving huge swaths of public lands in the West under the control of a variety of federal agencies including the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The Sagebrush rebels, who include Ronald Reagan, seek state or local control of federal lands and

also reductions in cattle grazing permit fees. The movement dies off in the 1980s after courts rule that the lands are legally under federal control.



1978: Violent anti-Semite **James Wickstrom**, soon to be the Posse's "National Director of Counterinsurgency," calls for a national strike by struggling farmers and publishes *The American Farmer: Twentieth Century Slave*, call-

ing Jews, who he believes control the federal government, "land-grabbing devils."

1983: Several hundred members and supporters of the once-progressive American Agriculture Movement, now infiltrated by Posse ideologues, protest the foreclosure sale of a farm in Springfield, Colo. The farm's owner later uses Posse language when he says the foreclosure was undertaken illegally under "admiralty law."



1983: Two federal marshals are murdered by North Dakota farmer and Posse activist **Gordon Kahl** when they try to arrest him for criminal refusal to pay taxes, a leading issue for the Posse. Kahl escapes and evades arrest for four months, traveling through a network of safe houses, before dying four months later in an Arkansas shootout in which he first kills a local sheriff.

1987: The Illinois Supreme Court strikes down the use of "land patents," a bogus technique promoted by the Posse to erase farmers' debts.



1988: A conference organized by timber lobbyist and anti-environmental activist **Ron Arnold** kicks off what becomes known as the Wise Use movement, essentially an extension of the earlier Sagebrush Rebellion. The movement, largely funded by resource extraction industries, seeks to expand private property rights and drastically reduce environmental regulation of public lands.

1990-1992: Radical officials in Catron County, N.M., pass a total of 21 ordinances meant to supersede federal authority over public lands. Among other things, the laws define federal grazing permits as private property — not a public service offered by the federal government — just as many Bundy supporters will two decades later. Local county politicians warn of "civil war" if the government doesn't back off, with one specifically warning of violence if ranchers' cattle are seized.



June 3-14, 1992: At the United Nations' so-called "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, President **George H.W. Bush** and the leaders of 177 other nations sign Agenda 21, a sustainability planning document. Although the document is completely nonbinding and contains no requirements or enforcement mechanisms, it

will come under attack from the John Birch Society and many other Patriot organizations that claim it is an effort, hidden in the guise of environmentalism, to impose socialism and eradicate property rights in the United States.

Sept. 11, 1990: President Bush, describing the post-Cold War world, outlines his vision of a "New World Order." Conspiracy-minded Patriots take this as confirmation of secret plans to create a one-world government.



Aug. 31, 1992: White supremacist **Randy Weaver** surrenders after an 11-day standoff at his cabin on Ruby Ridge, Idaho, that left his wife, son and a U.S. marshal dead. The incident, which began after Weaver refused to go to court on illegal weapons charges, galvanizes many on the radical right, who see it as proof that the federal officials will murder those who oppose their growing power.

Oct. 23, 1992: Anti-Semitic Christian Identity pastor Pete Peters hosts the "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous" in Estes Park, Colo., where 160 extremists, reacting to Ruby Ridge, lay out strategies that will help shape the militia movement.



Feb. 28, 1993: Four federal agents and several cultists are killed in a gunfight when the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms raids the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, over illegal weapons charges. The 51-day standoff that follows rivets the nation.

Most on the radical right see the Davidians as heroes standing up to federal oppression and unjust gun laws.

April 19, 1993: The FBI tries to end the Waco standoff by injecting tear gas into a building that subsequently bursts into flames, leaving almost 80 Davidians dead. More than any other event, the debacle ignites the militia movement.

Oct. 31, 1993: A bomb is tossed onto the roof of the state BLM headquarters in Reno, Nev., amid disputes over federal power in the West.

Nov. 30, 1993: The Brady Bill, imposing a waiting period for handgun purchasers, is signed into law, infuriating many gun enthusiasts. Anger at the bill, along with a 1994 ban on some assault weapons, helps fuel the coming militia movement. Richard Mack, a radical Arizona sheriff and county supremacist who in 2014 will travel to the Bundy ranch, joins others in suing the government over the Brady Bill, eventually winning a weakening of its background check provisions.

1994: Starting this year, at least 20 state legislatures consider or pass resolutions supporting states' rights and condemning the federal government. Many cite the 10th Amendment, which declares that powers not reserved to the federal government belong to the states. Some states use the 10th Amendment in failed attempts to evade environmental, labor and other kinds of federal regulations.

1994: Tenth Amendment advocates and militiamen in the West, angered by President Bill Clinton's attempts to enforce environmental law, increasingly demonize federal agencies like the BLM, the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Park Service, leading to fistfights, death threats and bombings.



Jan. 1, 1994: The first major modern militia, the Militia of Montana, is officially inaugurated by white supremacist **John Trochmann**.

July 4, 1994: Nye County, Nev., County Commissioner Richard Carver, backed by armed supporters, illegally bulldozes open a National Forest road that had been ordered closed, later boasting that if federal forest rangers had resisted they would have been shot. The action is later dubbed Sagebrush II.

Nov. 14, 1994: A militiaman threatens an Audubon Society official with a noose after the official testifies for an environmental measure. The incident is one of hundreds reflecting Patriot hatred of regulation of the environment.

1995: BLM officials tell their employees not to resist if they are arrested, even unlawfully, by local officials espousing county supremacy, and the Idaho BLM director issues a memo on "County Supremacy Movement Safety Guidance." The U.S. Forest Service tells workers they don't have to wear their uniforms or drive government vehicles if they feel endangered by local activists.

March 1995: Reacting to a federal court order closing six national forests to logging, grazing and mining, an Idaho militia leader threatens "blood in the streets" if the order is not rescinded.

March 30, 1995: A Forest Service office in Carson City, Nev., is bombed a day after another bomb blew up a concrete toilet facility in a Forest Service campground near Elko, Nev. The day after the Carson City attack, a Forest Service facility in Sparks, Nev., is evacuated when a caller warns, "You're next."



April 19, 1995: A truck bomb brings down the **Oklahoma City** federal building, killing 168 people, including 19 small children in a day-care center, in America's worst domestic terrorist attack. Timothy McVeigh, later convicted in the bombing, was angered by

the federal government's actions in Waco and elsewhere.

Aug. 4, 1995: A bomb destroys a van belonging to a Forest Service ranger whose Carson City office was bombed four months earlier. Ranger Guy Pence is not at home when the bombing occurs in his driveway, but his family is.

April 7, 2001: The federal Bureau of Land Reclamation, facing a severe drought and worried about the endangered suckerfish, decides to cut off nearly all water to farmers downstream from Klamath Falls, Ore., costing the farmers millions of dollars in lost production. Huge numbers of people, including militia members, come to the area to protest angrily, forcing the floodgates open several times and, in some cases, threatening violence if the government does not relent. The sympathetic local sheriff declares that his is the highest legitimate law enforcement position, echoing arguments made by the Posse and other county supremacists.

Early 2008: Due to a spike in threats from "sovereign citizens" and others against federal judges and prosecutors, the U.S. Marshals Service opens a clearinghouse near Washington, D.C., for assessing risks. In fiscal 2008, there will be 1,278 threats and harassing communications — more than double the number six years earlier. Also in 2008, the Department of Justice launches a National Tax Defier Initiative to address the swelling number of cases involving antigovernment tax protesters.

April 19, 2009: The Oath Keepers, a Patriot group made up mostly of active-duty members of law enforcement and the military, holds its first muster in Lexington, Mass., site of the opening shots of the Revolutionary War. Vowing to fulfill the oaths to the Constitution that they swore, Oath Keepers lists 10 orders its members won't obey, including two that

reference U.S. concentration camps — a reflection of the group's conspiracist ideas about a supposedly imminent globalist takeover. The group's leader, Stewart Rhodes, will later travel with followers to Bundy's ranch.

May 21-22, 2009: Some 30 “freedom keepers” meet in Jekyll Island, Ga., in a gathering that helps launch an explosive resurgence of the Patriot movement. Convened by IRS- and Fed-hater Bob Schulz, the conclave warns of “increasing national instability” and a coming New World Order.

Nov. 11-22, 2009: More than 100 delegates from 48 states travel to St. Charles, Ill., to attend an 11-day “continental congress” hosted by Bob Schulz's We the People. Planned at the earlier Jekyll Island meeting, the event is named after the gathering that was the first step toward the American Revolution.

Feb. 18-20, 2010: The Conservative Political Action Conference is co-sponsored by Patriot groups including the Oath Keepers and the John Birch Society, which once charged that President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a communist agent. The arrangement underlines the increasing influence of conspiracy-minded Patriot organizations and their propaganda in relatively mainstream right-wing circles.

March 2010: A CNN/Opinion Research Corporation poll finds that 56% of Americans believe the federal government is “so large and powerful that it poses an immediate threat to the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens.” In 1995, just days after the Oklahoma City bombing, a *USA Today* poll found that 39% of Americans then agreed with the same statement.



March 19, 2010: Former Alabama militiaman **Mike Vanderboegh**, a leader of the recently formed Patriot group III Percent Patriots, calls on followers to protest health care reform by throwing bricks through the windows of local Democratic Party offices. In the follow-

ing days, Democratic offices across the country report their windows smashed. Four years later, Vanderboegh will make his way to the Bundy standoff, where he is joined by other members of the III Percent Patriots.



April 19, 2010: Patriot leaders including Richard Mack and **Stewart Rhodes** play prominent roles at a Second Amendment March in Washington, D.C.

Dec. 2, 2011: A local hunting and fishing group sues the Forest Service for closing several roads in the San Juan National Forest

in Colorado. Over the next year, militia members and others angrily join in protests against the federal government, which they say is taking away their rights. The local sheriff, taking a page from the Posse, declares that sheriffs are “the ultimate law enforcement authority.”



January 2012: **Richard Mack's** new Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association, which believes county sheriffs are “the highest executive authority in a county and therefore constitutionally empowered to be able to keep federal agents out of the county,”

holds its first conference in Las Vegas, some 60 miles from the Bundy ranch. Mack, who claims more than 500 sheriffs are followers, argues that “the greatest threat we face today” is “our own federal government.”

January 2012: The Republican National Committee passes a resolution denouncing Agenda 21 as a “destructive and insidious scheme” to impose a “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth” on America, a completely unfounded view of the voluntary UN sustainability plan. The resolution reflects how deeply Patriot conspiracy theories about environmentalism have penetrated the political mainstream.

Nov. 16, 2012: The entire Baldwin County, Ala., Planning and Zoning Commission resigns in disgust after the local County Commission votes to rescind a local, prize-winning planning document based on Agenda 21. The County Commission's killing of the plan, which was followed by a crowd singing “God Bless America,” is one of scores of cases of officials around the nation abandoning environmental planning efforts because of multiplying far-right attacks on Agenda 21.

January 2013: Gilberton Borough, Pa., passes an ordinance “nullifying all federal, state or local acts in violation of the Second Amendment.” The driving force behind the new law is local police chief Mark Kessler, a supporter of Richard Mack who later loses his job after an epithet-filled rant against “libtards” and Democrats.



April 12, 2014: A confrontation between BLM and law enforcement personnel and **Cliven Bundy** and his supporters nearly ends in bloodshed as militia members and others point their weapons at the federal officers. The BLM backs down, calling off

the roundup of Bundy's cattle that precipitated the standoff. Federal officials say later that a criminal investigation of Bundy and his supporters is under way. ▲

SIPA/AP IMAGES; HALEY/SIPA (VANDERBOEGH); JOURNAL INQUIRY/AP IMAGES/JARED RAMSDELL (RHODES); AP IMAGES/GEORGE FRY (MACK); JIM IROQUOIS/REUTERS (CORBIS (BUNDY))

MILLER'S CROSSING

AFTER YEARS OF PROPAGANDIZING, NEO-NAZI
FRAZIER GLENN MILLER IS ACCUSED OF A TRIPLE
MURDER. THE VIOLENCE WAS A LONG TIME COMING

BY DON TERRY



MARIONVILLE, Mo. — The troubled Miller boys are buried side-by-side, a few yards from the two-lane blacktop that cuts through the middle of the cemetery on the edge of this small country town. Each brother met a tragic end at an early age. One perished in a ball of flames, the other in a shootout with the law. Yet, even in death, their father, Frazier Glenn Miller, the notorious neo-Nazi and now triple-murder suspect in last spring's Jewish community center terrorist attacks in Kansas, will not allow his sons to rest in peace. Engraved on their matching gray headstones is "88" — the numerical symbol for "Heil Hitler."

Miller's right-wing politics, prayers and delusions are all over the polished granite stones, which proclaim his sons to have been young "Saxon Braveheart" rebels who "Ride Now Forever" with the "Valkyrie Angels in the Heavens."

Mike, the youngest and wildest Miller brother, the one who tried hardest to please his daddy, was the first to take the ride. He was killed in 1998 in a fiery car crash. He was just 19 and not long out of prison for committing a racially motivated arson. In the middle of a winter night, when he was 17, Mike had lobbed a Molotov cocktail into the back of a trailer home, filled with sleeping people, including, most disgustingly, according to his

father's twisted life's lessons, a young black man and his white girlfriend.

Jesse, a year older than Mike and in possession of a calmer spirit, died a decade later in what the Lawrence County Sheriff describes as an Old West shootout. Jesse was driving with his mother to put flowers on his brother's grave, got into a car accident, and inexplicably shot to death a man who stopped to help. He then went marching towards town, brandishing a shotgun. When a Marionville police officer arrived, Jesse shot him, too. The officer survived and returned fire, killing Jesse, who died along the side of the road.

"I think a lot of it had to do with their

upbringing," the sheriff, Brad DeLay, told the *Intelligence Report*. "To me they kind of appeared to be Frazier's muscle men. If something were to happen, while we never could directly link it to him, you just had that feeling they were probably doing something that daddy wanted them to do or had talked about."

Running his mouth and delivering hand-written letters to the *Aurora Advertiser* about the Jewmedia, the invasion of America by brown-skinned immigrants and the oppression of the white man by big government is all that Miller, a once prominent Klan leader, seemed to ever do. His words were often vile, riled folks up and caused Kim

McCully-Mobley, the editor, "constant headaches and angst." But otherwise, McCully-Mobley said, "everyone thought he was harmless. He just wanted some attention." When Miller purchased his first computer in 2004, McCully-Mobley and her colleagues were relieved and wished they had pitched in and bought him one earlier. He largely switched his ranting to the Internet and became, according to his white nationalist critics, just another all talk, no action "keyboard Nazi."



Accused spree killer Frazier Glenn Miller decorated his two sons' gravestones with neo-Nazi symbols and phrases.



After 40 years on the racist right, former Klan boss Frazier Glenn Miller allegedly acted on his beliefs, murdering physician William Lewis Corporon, his 14-year-old grandson Reat Griffin Underwood, and Terri LaManno. Miller, who shouted "Heil Hitler" after his arrest, apparently thought the three were Jewish. They were not.

Sheriff DeLay puts it a little differently. He has known Miller, who also goes by Frazier Glenn Cross and Frazier Glenn Mays, for about 20 years. "Other than Frazier offering lip service," the sheriff said, "we've never actually known him to do anything hands on himself." So, the sheriff was flat-out flabbergasted when the sickly, 73-year-old Miller was arrested for allegedly shooting to death three unarmed people, including a 14-year-old boy, on April 13, the day before Passover, at a Jewish community center and a nearby Jewish assisted living facility in a suburb of Kansas City, about 190 miles from his home here in Southern Missouri farm country.

But unlike his doomed sons, when Miller was confronted by police that April afternoon in Overland Park, Kan.,

he did not try to go out in a blaze of Saxon Braveheart glory. Instead, he put down his shotgun and surrendered. Then, safely handcuffed in the back of a squad car, he did a little more talking.

"Heil Hitler," he shouted.

Home With the Millers

Miller was whisked away that bloody Sunday and charged with killing William Lewis Corporon, a 69-year-old physician, and his grandson, Reat Griffin Underwood, 14, in the parking lot of the Jewish Community Center of Greater Kansas City. Reat, along with hundreds of other teenage hopefuls, was at the center to audition for a singing contest. Miller was also charged with the murder of Terri LaManno, 53, as she made her weekly visit to her mother at Village

Shalom, an assisted living facility a short distance from the community center.

"Frazier was more racist against Jews than he was black people," said Connie, Mike Miller's former girlfriend, who lived with the family for more than a year when she was a teenager. "We weren't allowed to have cable in the house, so we weren't exposed to the things Jews wanted us to believe. He said they ran the media and they were the reason for the white downfall."

None of the people Miller was charged with killing that day were Jewish. But part of Miller's grandson's family, on his mother's side, is from Israel, a fact kept hidden from Miller for years out of fear. Mike Miller and Connie, who asked that her last name not be used, had a son. When the elder Miller learned that she

was pregnant with his grandchild, the future of the Aryan nation, he insisted Connie move in with his family. She was 17.

There were few pictures on the walls or knickknacks on the end tables in the Miller home, but there were several books about Hitler, which Miller made his sons read, Connie said. Miller also paid them \$5 a day when they were boys to work out so they would grow up to be strong white men, ready at any moment to fight for the race.

“My Dad’s father, his mother, actually came over from Israel,” Connie told the *Report*. “It’s funny that Frazier thinks he knows so much, because he would always tell me that I was like a model white girl. I didn’t really know what he meant. But we are descendants from there, so he obviously doesn’t know what he’s talking about.”

Below the “88” Miller put on his son’s headstones, he added his grandson’s name — the next generation of Aryan warriors. But soon after Mike died Connie took her infant son and fled Miller’s home, refusing to allow Miller to spend another minute with his grandson. “I didn’t want my son to be taught all that hate,” she said. “Honestly, I feel the way that Frazier raised Mike is part of the reason Mike died.” Connie was also afraid that if Miller found out about her family’s connection to Israel, Miller might do something to harm the child, “because he’s not what Frazier calls purebred.”

Being “purebred” wasn’t always so important to Miller. When he was a “brainwashed social liberal” in the military in his 20s, Miller married a Hawaiian woman and they had a daughter, a fact his rivals in the racist movement have



Then and now: In the 1980s, Frazier Glenn Miller was a fiery Klan leader in North Carolina. By this spring, after his arrest in a triple murder, Miller was a sickly old man, reportedly hovering near death.

used to brand him as a “race mixer.” The charge has dogged Miller for decades, and came up again after word spread years ago that police had caught him in the 1980s with a black transvestite prostitute called Peaches in his car. Miller does not deny he was with Peaches, but he insists his motive wasn’t race mixing. “I was carrying him out to whip his ass,” Miller told the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) last year, boasting that he had a “violent history of going around picking up niggers and beating the hell out of them, particular nigger faggots.”

‘Just a Way Out’

The Thursday before the Sunday shooting spree, Miller stopped at the Aurora, Mo., home of 55-year-old Geraldine Perry to check on their business raising and selling French bulldogs for as much as \$2,000 per puppy. “He’s just been a great friend,” Perry said of Miller. “We don’t talk no politics.”

They met through Perry’s late husband, Frederick, a former Klansman. “He was racist,” Perry said. “I’ll tell you that right up front.” When he died in 2010, Perry was flat broke. The pantry was empty, the electricity shut off. Miller, she said, got her into the dog business, “which kept a roof over my head.” He bought the dogs, the food, paid the vet bills. She helped him care for the animals and kept the female at her house.

Miller stopped by that Thursday to see if the dog was ready to mate. She was and Miller said he would return in a few days. “The next thing I know I see him on the TV,” she said.

A couple of days after that, her telephone rang. It was Miller, calling her from jail. “First time he called, first thing out of his mouth was, ‘Geraldine, do

ROBIN NELSON/ZUMA PRESS/CORBIS (MILLER 1980S); THE KANSAS CITY STAR/PAH IMAGES/DAVID ELLIT/POOL (MILLER NOW)

you hate me?” she recalled him asking. “What could I tell the man? He’d done me nothing but right. I told him, ‘I don’t hate you. How could I?’ I do despise what he done. How could anybody not despise that? But I love you.”

Miller also stopped by about a month before the shooting. Perry said he told her his wife’s health was failing and “he was going to have to put her in a nursing home.” His health was also in decline, she said. Miller is reportedly suffering from emphysema and when he came to check on the dogs, “he couldn’t walk from the other side of the street to inside here to the table without having to stop and sit 10 minutes so he could breathe.”

She sighed and shook her head.

“I don’t know that man that done that,” she said. “It rips me apart. But why do people do what they do? I’ve wondered myself if it was just a way out for him.”

Hitler and the Klan

At his first court hearing two days after the shootings, Miller looked like a lost old man, trying to recall where he left his teeth. Wearing a scruffy beard and a baffled expression, he sat in a wheelchair, a sleeveless anti-suicide smock draped over him like an afghan. Until the shooting spree put him back on the racist map, Miller had been largely forgotten by his fellow white nationalists. When he was remembered, it was as a snitch, a rat, a disgrace to the white race for once testifying against some of the biggest names in American hate to save his own neck.

But time was when Frazier Glenn Miller was a racist superstar. A charismatic, hard-drinking — some say alcoholic — 20-year U.S. Army veteran, with two tours in Vietnam under his belt, Miller got invited onto daytime TV

**“I DON’T KNOW THAT MAN
DONE THAT. IT RIPS ME
APART. BUT WHY DO PEOPLE
DO WHAT THEY DO?”**

like “The Sally Jesse Raphael Show” to spew his bile. He ran for political office several times — getting clobbered every time — and, most chillingly, he marched through the streets of the South at the head of up to 500 Klansmen in army fatigues and combat boots, waving a sea of Confederate flags and shouting “white power!” He was tall, thin and dark-haired, more likely to be cast in a movie of the week as an Italian immigrant or Indian than the fair-haired Aryan avenger he so longed to be. “My racist and anti-Semitic thoughts consumed me every day of my life,” he wrote in his 1999 self-published autobiography, *A White Man Speaks Out*.

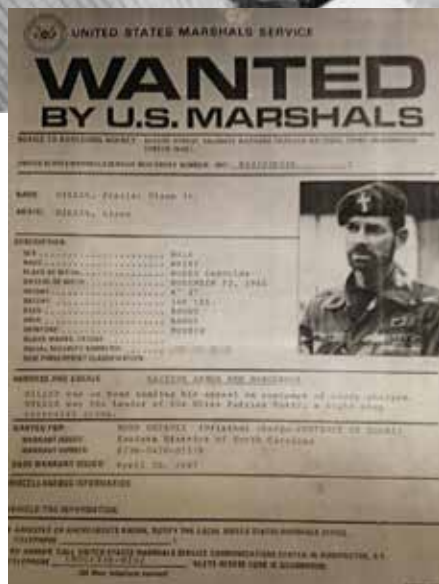
Miller was the Zelig of white nationalism. He was part of the nine-car caravan of Klansmen and neo-Nazis that drove through and attacked an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, N.C., in November 1979. Miller admits to being scared and shaking. But as the protesters chanted “Death to the Klan,” Miller stuck his head out of the car window and shouted in his thick North Carolina drawl, “Niggers, Jew-Kikes, Communists bastards... you ugly Jew Yankee bastards... . Death to the Communists.”

Almost immediately, gunshots echoed through the streets of the Morningside public housing development where the

rally began. The shooting lasted 88 seconds and when it was over five anti-racist demonstrators were dead or dying. Miller was never charged in what came to be known as the Greensboro Massacre.

In late 1980, after four years as a Nazi, Miller founded what grew to be the large and showy Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. While Miller had discovered calling himself a National Socialist was a hard sell in the American South, he nevertheless wanted to model his Knights after Hitler’s Nazi Party. “I would try to emulate Hitler’s methods of attracting members and supporters,” he wrote in his autobiography. “In the years to come, for example, I placed great emphasis on staging marches and rallies. It had been successful for Hitler.”

Miller’s southern-fried Reich only lasted a few years. In 1984, his “whole world,” as he put it, began to fall apart when he was sued by the SPLC for operating an illegal paramilitary organization and using intimidation tactics against African Americans. After then forming another Klan group, the White Patriot Party, he was found in criminal contempt of violating the court settlement in the SPLC case. He went underground while his conviction was under appeal. Using a rented copying machine he ran



Frazier Glenn Miller was a big man on the radical right when he headed the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Patriot Party. But then he went underground, fleeing prosecution for criminal contempt, and it all went south from there.

off hundreds of copies of his “Declaration of War” on “Jews and the federal government” and mailed them to racists, police and press across the country. The document exhorted Aryans to kill their enemies and awarded points according to their victims: one point for “niggers,” 10 for “White race traitors” or Jews, 50 for judges and 888 for Morris Dees, co-founder of the SPLC.

He signed the declaration, “Glenn Miller, loyal member of ‘The Order.’” Although he was actually never a member of that now-defunct terrorist group, its members robbed \$4.1 million from armored cars and distributed the proceeds among racist activists. Miller received at least \$200,000 that year.

Within weeks of going underground, Miller, who had been hiding out in a trailer home in Missouri filled with weapons and ammunition, was captured by the FBI. He quickly flipped, cutting a deal with federal prosecutors to testify against white nationalist leaders at what became known as the Fort Smith, Ark., Sedition Trial. The trial was a disaster

for the government, ending in acquittals for all 14 defendants. As for Miller, his testimony had been useless, which Miller has long contended was his plan all along. But a deal is a deal, so Miller only served three years in federal prison in upstate New York despite having been being indicted on weapons charges and for plotting robberies and the assassination of Dees.

A Legacy of Hate

Miller was released from prison in 1990, entered the federal Witness Protection Program, started driving a truck for a living and moved to Iowa with his second wife, Margaret, and their children. All told, the couple had five “younguns,” as Miller likes to say — three boys and two girls. Mike and Jesse are gone. His surviving son and namesake, Frazier III, never bought into his father’s “crap,” according to Connie, and moved away as soon as he could.

When Connie first met Mike she was just under 15, and Mike and his family used the last name Mays, not Miller

After his arrest for the Kansas shootings in April, Frazier Glenn Miller looked more like a confused old man than an Aryan assassin.



or Cross. Sometime in the early 1990s, the family moved into a trailer home on about 40 acres of land between the nearly all-white towns of Aurora, population 7,500, and Marionville, with 2,200 residents, including Dan Clevenger, who ran a repair shop in Marionville and later became mayor for a short time. Clevenger and Miller became close friends, so close that two days after the shooting spree Clevenger told a Springfield, Mo., television station he “kind of agreed” with Miller “on some things, but I don’t like to express that too much.” A few days later, after a raucous City Council meeting, Clevenger was forced to resign.

When Miller wanted to build a bigger house, he sold off some of his land to a neighbor. The neighbor, Jim Carr, said Miller and his wife did some of the construction of the single-story house with a green roof and shingles themselves. That is the house Connie eventually moved into. At first, she was happy to do so. “Frazier taught me how to garden,” she said. “You’d think he was a normal guy except for the Hitler books and stuff laying around the house.” Connie had a terrible home life with her own family. Her stepfather sometimes slapped her around until one day Mike went over and beat him up. “He was the first person to ever stick up for me,” she said. “I think that’s what won me over.”

Mike not only protected her, he made her laugh. So did Jesse. The brothers, she said, had “bubbly” personalities, except

when they were trying to please Miller.

Yet she wasn’t allowed to spend the night at the Miller/Mays home until, that is, she learned on her 17th birthday that she was pregnant. “I was pretty wild, I would say,” she said. “Didn’t come from a racist background at all, but Frazier and Mike’s stuff didn’t bother me. I kind of ignored it, until I had my son and then it was an issue. I started seeing the hatefulness and the hatred and it was wrong. Mike and me, we started having bad problems.”

Miller dedicates his autobiography to Mike, who he always called Michael, describing him a “Young Tarzan” and boasting that he “firebombed a Negro crack house and went to prison, and he did much, much more.”

Mike did indeed go to prison for arson. But otherwise, Connie said, Miller was lying about the incident.

“It was not a crack house at all,” she said. It was a trailer home where a black man and his white girlfriend from out of town were visiting friends. The black man’s presence around Marionville infuriated Miller and Mike, she said, so they decided to chase him out. “Everything that Mike and Jesse did or believed was encouraged by Frazier,” Connie said.

In the middle of a December night in 1995, Mike threw a Molotov cocktail into

the back of the trailer home. Everyone got out uninjured, Sheriff DeLay said. Three months later, after some of his accomplices flipped, Mike was arrested. Then he was sent to a prison for young offenders for 120 days. “Frazier told him it was a badge of honor to go to prison, especially for a hate crime,” Connie said. “He was very proud of him.”

But Mike cried as he was taken away and when he returned, he had changed. “He was saved in prison,” Connie said. “He said he didn’t want to do that stuff anymore.”

Unfortunately, she said, Mike got swallowed up by drugs — meth, Valium, whatever he could get. “I remember him not sleeping, losing weight and getting into trouble with Frazier,” she said. “What did Frazier think was going to happen? Mike was encouraged to be violent and fight his whole life, so I think that was Mike’s escape route, the drugs.”

After Mike died, the family dropped the name Mays and went back to Miller. Connie packed her things and she and her son left for good. She tried to forget.

Then all the painful memories — the hate, the funerals, the lost love — came rushing back as she watched Frazier Glenn Miller on cable television, sitting in the back of a police car, shouting, “Heil Hitler.” ▲



‘WAR ON WOMEN’

A mass murder in California throws a harsh light on the world of women-hating ‘men’s rights’ activists. It’s not a pretty sight

BY MARK POTOK

America’s latest mass murder left seven people including the killer dead, the campus of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the nearby community of Isla Vista in shock, and the so-called men’s rights movement, which some blamed for the slaughter, defensive, angry and resentful — its usual attitude.

It didn’t take long after 22-year-old Elliot Rodger stabbed and shot six people to death, injuring another 13 before committing suicide as police closed in, for the world to learn of Rodger’s hatred of women. He left behind a 140-page manifesto, an explanatory YouTube video entitled “Elliot Rodger’s Retribution,” and postings across the Internet that all testified to his burning misogyny.

“You girls have never been attracted to me,” Rodger said in the chilling and self-pitying monologue he recorded and uploaded to YouTube minutes before the killing began on May 23. “I don’t know why you girls aren’t attracted to me, but I will punish you for it.” The self-described virgin then went on to describe how he intended to go to the UCSB’s “hottest” sorority house on his “day of retribution” and “slaughter every single spoiled, stuck-up blonde slut I see inside there.”

“If I can’t have you, girls,” he added, “I will destroy you.”

Rodger, who was himself the highly privileged son of “Hunger Games” assistant director Peter Rodger, was nearly as good as his word. Although he didn’t

make it into the sorority house because no one answered the door there, he did manage to murder all three of his male roommates, two sorority women and a young man, all six of them UCSB students. He injured another eight people with gunfire, hit several more with his car, and shot it out with the authorities twice.

Before he shot himself in the head, Rodger had posted a great deal of material reflecting his obsessive hatred of women, and he also repeatedly ranted against the black, Indian and Asian men he saw as undeserving of sex with white women — despite the fact that his own mother was Malaysian. It also quickly emerged that he had been treated for

AP IMAGES/JAE C. HONG

Carnage in California: All six of the dead victims of the mass murder in Isla Vista, Calif., were students at the University of California, Santa Barbara. In the aftermath of the slaughter, UCSB students and others held a candlelight vigil to honor the victims.

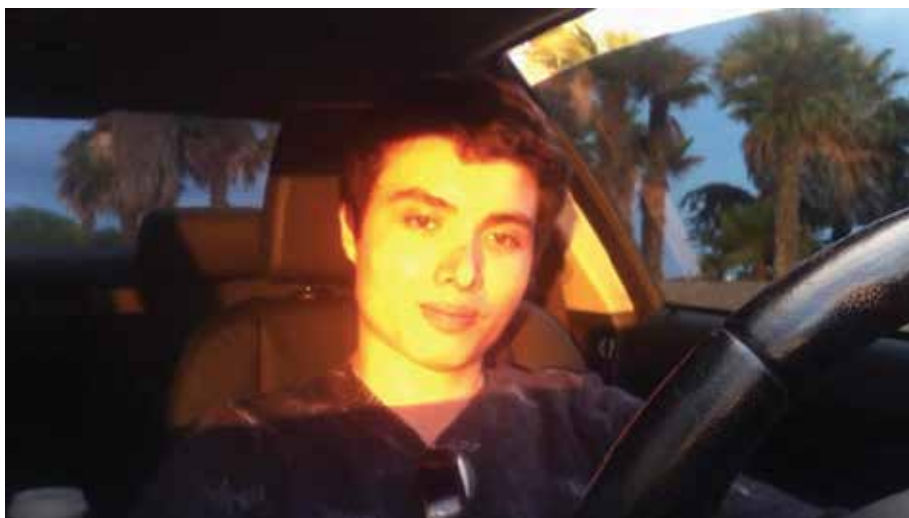
Elliot Rodger's murder spree ended when he crashed his car and shot himself in the head. Earlier on that May day, Rodger recorded a video of himself seated in his car promising to "destroy" women at a local university sorority house.

mental health problems for many years, was extremely isolated socially, but still saw himself as "the supreme gentleman" who was unfairly denied what he viewed as his right: sex with beautiful, blonde women.

The authorities said that Rodger appeared to have been planning for his deadly rampage for at least a year, legally buying three handguns and training at a local firing range. In November, on a website called PUAHate.com, he wrote of going on the offensive: "If we can't solve our problems we must DESTROY our problems," he said, going on to urge men to "overthrow this oppressive feminist system." He added: "Start envisioning a world where WOMEN FEAR YOU."

Rodger's postings at PUAHate immediately focused public attention on the so-called "manosphere," an ugly subculture of websites run by men's rights activists that is typified by its loathing for women in general and feminism in particular. (PUAHate is dedicated to criticizing "pick-up artists" who sell men advice on how to bed women and fail to deliver, but it is dominated by vicious attacks on women.) Although these sites and some real-world men's rights groups certainly have some legitimate complaints about family courts, sexual abuse of men and the like, the tone of many of them is remarkable for its woman-bashing, sex-starved flavor.

The manosphere was explored in an *Intelligence Report* article more than two years ago, but most Americans had never



heard of it when Rodger's rampage burst into the news cycle. Still, it didn't take long for a national debate to develop about the role of the men's rights movement in Elliot Rodger's mass murder.

While some commentators focused on the issues of gun control and mental health, enormous numbers of women wrote about their experiences of misogyny and sexism under the Twitter hashtag #YesAllWomen — 65,500 of them per hour at their peak two days after the killings. Major news outlets wrote lengthy pieces about the manosphere and men's rights movement, along with speculation about the role they played in Rodger's thinking. And men's rights activists went into overdrive, arguing furiously that they had nothing to do with the bloodbath in Isla Vista.

They had of a point, kind of.

The manosphere did not create Elliot Rodger — that much seems clear. Rodger was mentally ill, and he developed his obsessions with women over the course of many years. He was bullied badly in school. But it seems undeniable that PUAHate and very likely other websites in the manosphere reinforced Rodger's mindset, telling him, in effect, that he was perfectly right to be enraged at half the human race. Men's rights activists did not tell Rodger to kill — but in their writings, it seems like many of them wouldn't mind doing some killing of their own.

Rodger said as much in his manifesto, writing that PUAHate "confirmed many of the theories I had about how wicked and degenerate women really are" and showed him "how bleak and cruel the world is due to the evilness of women."



Misogynistic Murders: A Sampling

Elliot Rodger's May 2014 mass murder, sparked by some combination of mental illness and the 22-year-old's long-festering hatred of women, was not the first major deadly attack that was at least partly fueled by misogyny and, in some cases, bitter resentment of the gains women have made since the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In Rodger's case, his anger was stoked and legitimized by at least one website linked to the "manosphere" of woman-bashing men's rights activists. But there have been a number of other high-profile attacks on women as a group that appear similar. What Rodger decried as a "War on Women" began 25 years ago in Montreal, Canada, and it has continued sporadically to this day. Here are some key examples:



Dec. 6, 1989 Marc Lépine, the 25-year-old son of a man who had long insulted and abused women, walked into an engineering classroom at the École Polytechnique in Montreal, ordered some 50 men to leave, and then used a semi-automatic weapon to murder the women who remained. In the end, after roaming the building, he

killed 14 women and wounded 10 women and four men. Lépine, who had spoken before of his dislike of feminists and women in traditionally male occupations, left a suicide note saying he had "decided to send the feminists, who have always ruined my life, to their Maker." Canada marks the day of the so-called Montreal Massacre as its National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women.

As this often angry debate unfolded, it quickly came to light that a men's rights conference — the first International Conference on Men's Issues — had been scheduled for June some six months earlier. As reporters made plans to cover the conference that would have been of little interest had it not been for the Isla Vista murders, conference organizer Paul Elam worked to pretty his movement up.

He had already begun that effort. In early May, weeks before Rodger's rampage, the proprietor of the manosphere site A Voice for Men took down his most obnoxious Internet project, a site called Register-Her.com. That site featured photos of women hated by Elam and his ilk, including women convicted of crimes, women who supposedly had brought false accusations of rape, and women who expressed feminist ideas, all alongside the site motto: "Why are these women not in jail?"

Now, Elam E-mailed the almost 200 people planning to come to his June conference in Detroit — a fading industrial city chosen because it represented "masculinity" — to warn them to be on their very best behavior. Anyone "trash-talking women" or "making violent statements, even jokingly" would be summarily thrown out, he warned.

Enemies of the men's rights movement, Elam continued, "will be looking for anything they can to hurt us with. They will be listening, eavesdropping, and if they can, gathering things to harm us with." The man who two years ago was posting photos of women who had committed "offenses against men" and vowing to "fuck their shit up" even told arriving conference-goers that his goal was to "build bridges between men and women instead of walls."

That didn't sound too much like the Paul Elam who has emerged as probably the best-known men's rights activist in the United States. It wasn't long ago that he declared October to be "Bash a Violent Bitch Month," explaining, "I mean literally to grab them by the hair and smack their face against the wall." Elsewhere, he asserted that many women who are raped asked for it, saying "women who act provocatively; who taunt men sexually, toying with their libidos for personal power and gain, etc., have the same type of responsibility for what happens to them as, say, someone who parks their car in a bad neighborhood with the keys in the ignition."

"A lot of women," he continued, "get pummeled and pumped because they are stupid (and often arrogant) enough

to walk through life with the equivalent of a I'M A STUPID, CONNIVING BITCH — PLEASE RAPE ME neon sign glowing above their empty little narcissistic heads." Elam has misleadingly cited certain research to make the claim that 40% to 50% of rape allegations are false. But the best scholarly studies show that between about 2% and 8% of such allegations are actually false — a rate that is comparable for false allegations of most other violent crimes.

In the end, Elam's conference was in fact relatively subdued, although he claimed he had to spend \$25,000 on security because of death threats from the movement's enemies. Most of the speakers — almost all of whom had made far worse comments in other venues — kept their vitriol to a minimum. Some, like the speaker discussing men's grief, even contributed some useful ideas.

But that didn't negate a basic lesson of the whole Santa Barbara tragedy. Just as white supremacist websites help fuel the violence of professional racists, and just as the propaganda of the militia movement has nurtured terrorist attacks by so-called "Patriots," the manosphere and what Elliot Rodger characterized in his manifesto as its "War on Women" provides moral support to angry and violent Americans. ▲



June 12, 2006 Angry over a divorce settlement that he saw as giving his ex-wife exorbitant child and spousal support payments, Darren Roy Mack stabbed his estranged wife to death in her Reno, Nev., home and went on the same day to shoot and injure the family court judge

handling their divorce. After fleeing to Mexico, Mack was caught, tried and sentenced to life in prison for the killing and 40 years for the attempted murder.



Aug. 4, 2009 George Sodini, after writing of his sexual rejection by women over nearly a year, carries at least four handguns into a women's aerobics class at an LA Fitness health club in Collier Township, a suburb of Pittsburgh, Pa., turns out the lights and

begins firing. Three women are killed and nine other people injured before Sodini kills himself. He reportedly left a note describing his hatred for all women.



July 22, 2011 Anders Behring Breivik, enraged at what he sees as liberals facilitating Muslim immigration into Norway, kills 77 people in a bombing and shooting spree in Oslo and on the island of Utøya. Although he is mainly

angered at racial changes in his white-dominated nation, Breivik is also furious at feminism, arguing in a manifesto that custody of children in divorce cases should always go to the father.



Oct. 12, 2011 A day after he was in court fighting for custody of his 8-year-old son, Scott Evans Dekraai walks into the Seal Beach, Calif., hair salon where his ex-wife works and shoots seven women, including his wife, and two men. Only one woman survives. Dekraai

won 56% custody at his hearing, but is enraged because he is denied full custody and complete authority over medical and educational decisions.

AFTER THE KILLING

A longtime racist skinhead says he's a new man.

In fact, he's named a foundation after the homeless man he murdered

David Nikos Pillatos, who for much of his life was a racist skinhead, is serving a 30-year sentence in a Washington state prison for the 2003 murder of a homeless man, Randall Townsend, in Tacoma, Wash. Pillatos was unrepentant at the time of his sentencing, sending a letter to the trial judge that said, "I killed him and I liked it." Now 30, Pillatos told the Intelligence Report he wrote that because, at the time, he wanted the state to put him to death for what he'd done.

Pillatos describes a bleak and lonely childhood. He was completely estranged from his mother, who he says abandoned him at a young age, leaving him and his sister in the hands of an abusive father and step-mother. Early on, he took to the streets in a string of crimes that landed him in prison for most of his teens, starting with a robbery at age 13. At 19, he spent the four months prior to Townsend's murder hanging around with three skinhead friends, including his then-pregnant girlfriend, Tristain Frye, and getting into street fights. On the night of the murder, Pillatos, Frye, Scotty Butters and Kurtis Monschke had been drinking heavily when they went to a Tacoma store and bought several baseball bats. Then they headed to an area of the city where street people congregated under a highway bridge.

They knew what they were looking for, as several of them told police later — a drug dealer, preferably a black one. Drug dealers were seen as evil by the racist skinhead group Volksfront, which Pillatos claims Monschke was a member of. But instead, they ran into Townsend, a homeless white man, and beat him to death.

Pillatos was originally sentenced to life in prison. But a court later reduced that sentence — Pillatos expects to be released in his late 40s — and since that time he says he has changed his life while serving time at the Monroe Corrections Center in Monroe, Wash. Now married and an avowed opponent of racism, Pillatos spoke to the Report about his life in the violent world of racist skinheads, how he came to be involved in Townsend's murder, and why he changed his views.

How did you first get involved in the racist skinhead scene?

I was never racist until I got locked up. I didn't even know Pillatos was a Greek name. I thought it was Spanish. I went to Green Hill juvenile facility [in Chehalis, Wash.] for robbery in

the second degree when I was 15. It was actually black kids that were most racist there. They had a monopoly on bullying little white kids. They said, "If you want to be here, you've got to pay

five bucks, otherwise we are going to beat you up." One guy, Raymond Porter — who later killed three people, shot a cop and then shot himself — would beat on my door or on my wall and sing, "Honky, cracker, peckerwood, snow bunny, snow bunny." It was scary.

And there was a guy there who was a skinhead. He went by Frost, and I thought if this is what black people are like, then I should be racist, too. So I sent Frost a letter [saying] that I wanted to be racist. I didn't even know what a skinhead was. He gave me information

on the White Aryan Resistance [a group run by neo-Nazi Tom Metzger], which he was a member of. That was 1999.

What was your family life like?

Nonexistent. My mother left me and my sister when I was 3 and she was 1. She admitted years later, when she got back into my life, that she just wasn't ready to be a mom. My dad is a scumbag to this day. A crackhead, thief, just a worthless individual. He married a woman who beat me and my sister for roughly six years. We were in and out of foster care. It was pretty bad.

My sister actually ended up being very successful after a rough childhood. She spent quite a few years acting out. But my grandparents took her in when she was 15. She ended up doing really well. She got married to an El Salvadoran guy who owns an auto mechanic shop. She works full time. She's a foster parent now herself and has two children of her own. She's doing really well.

Let's go back to your criminal past.

I was at Green Hill for a year, 15 to 16. That's when I first got involved in [the racist skinhead movement]. I met a couple other skinheads there. There were only four of us on the entire campus. We'd get jumped and we'd go back to the hole for getting jumped. Then the next guy would get out. He would get jumped then he would come back in. So we formed a pretty tight bond, getting beat up regularly. Most of it was deserved. But none of us were racist until we got locked up.

Later, I bumped into some of those guys on the street. I



was one of the original four members of what we called the Aryan brotherhood. Not like the Aryan Brotherhood in Texas or California [a reference to the nation's largest racist prison gang], but we said that we were Aryans and we were a brotherhood of people that fought together. When they got released, they changed the name to Aryan Skins. But I quit right away. I was going to join the Aryan Nations [a once-leading neo-Nazi group based in Idaho].

What happened?

I started running around with them on the street. We did a little bit of fighting, but nothing serious. I was only out 40 days or so. Then I assaulted my dad. I was high on methamphetamine. We didn't know about the Straight Edge [a reference to skinheads who don't drink or do drugs] stuff yet. We were all getting high.

I was arrested, tried to break my handcuffs and shackles, and the guards assaulted me. They charged me with three counts of assault. I turned a one-week sentence into two years and three months and went back to Green Hill. We had a good weight room there, so all I did was lift weights, wrestle and box. We would take strips of a blanket and fold them up and wrap our T-shirt around it and tie it around our wrist for gloves. I was the only skinhead at Green Hill for a whole year-long period. Eventually, people just quit fighting me.

So you finally got out when you were about 19?

I was more or less in juvenile prison from 13 to two months before my 19th birthday. When I got out, I bumped into Kurtis Monschke, who I knew from Maple Lane juvenile prison [in Centralia, Wash.]. He was the one really involved with Volksfront. Monschke was the mastermind for our group, the brains of the operation. He was the paid-your-dues, [the racist band] Skrewdriver-listening-to, fundamentalist skinhead. We hooked up outside just before my 19th birthday. I got released on August 30, 2002. We crossed paths in September and we were arrested for murder in March 2003.

What was your connection to organized racist groups?

Monschke was the only Volksfront member. *[Editor's note: Volksfront categorically denies that Monschke was ever associated with the group, including claims that he was its Washington state leader at the time of the Townsend murder.]* I almost got involved. He had an application that he wanted me to fill out because he wanted me to teach hand-to-hand combat to his recruits. He told me that he was the probationary commanding officer for Washington state. He called [Volksfront founder and leader] Randy Krager all the time. He had him on speed dial. He even got his tattoos at Krager's house [in Portland, Ore.].

What was your day-to-day life like at the time?

Me and Tristain were the only two with jobs. Kurtis did let me move into his apartment. He's made a big deal of this. I moved into his house and I had a job. He quit his job and I paid the rent. Then Tristain moved in. There was only one bedroom in the apartment, and Monschke said you are the only ones paying rent, so you'll get the bedroom. We packed up all of our stuff and moved in. We worked Monday through Friday. At

night we'd listen to music, hang out, and get on the Internet to look up hate literature. On the weekends, we would go out and get in fights.

And what were you doing in the time leading up to the murder?

We started getting into tussles with black dudes on Tacoma Avenue. The night of the murder, they offered to sell us crack. Me and Butters got out of the car to fight them. Kurtis stayed in the car. So we tussled with them for a little bit and then they ran off. We got back in the car. Then about 20 of them showed up and the car died.

So they started trying to attack us. Then finally the car started. Monschke tried to run a couple of them over. We left. We needed baseball bats, because there were three of us and 20 of them. It didn't happen. We got pulled over because we were drinking and driving.

And the night of the murder?

We were at the apartment, drinking and talking about going out. There was some mention of red shoelaces [which are sometimes earned in skinhead groups by attacking a minority], but Tristain wasn't enthused. I stopped by Fred Myer [one of a chain of superstores] and bought two baseball bats. Then I stopped by a gas station and Tristain, who was 23, bought us a case of beer.

We were supposed to meet a skinhead girl at the Tacoma Dome to hook Kurtis up with because his girlfriend had left him. So we get to the Tacoma Dome and there's police all over the place because of a rodeo that night. We went around the back where she was working, but the security guard turned us away. So we left. We went up Tacoma Avenue, where we were going to fight these dudes. We pulled over, because there was a cop following us from behind, into this little parking lot and started walking around under this underpass.

What happened then?

This is when Kurtis started talking about having "bum fights." So we are walking around and Kurtis is hitting empty sleeping bags. We go down this underpass because we hear music coming from underneath this bridge and we bump into this black guy and his white girlfriend, who I happen to know — Ice and Cindy. They were two of the witnesses in the case. Kurtis wanted to beat them up because, well, they're an interracial couple, they're also homeless. That's two strikes against them. But I talked him out of it.

I actually almost pushed Kurtis down the overpass to get him away from these people. I'd bumped into them before. They weren't bad people; they had just fallen on hard times. So we go down to some train tracks. We were following them along and we bumped into a group of skateboarders spray-painting stuff. Kurtis is an artist, so he starts spray-painting. Me and Scotty leave.

We go back the other way. It was about five to 10 minutes to where we had left Tristain at the car. We get back and see Tristain talking to Randall Townsend. He had on a big yellow puffy jacket and was a white guy. Tristain had given him

a beer. I found out later he had said that he was thirsty. I said, “Hey, Randy can you get me some drugs?” He said yeah, then he started talking about people controlling his mind. I turned to Tristain and started laughing because he was obviously either crazy or just drugged out of his mind.

How did the attack start?

Scotty hit Townsend in the head with a bat. He hit him so hard that the bat snapped in half. I don’t know why it happened, because there was no anger. There was nothing. I didn’t feel anything at all. So when Townsend fell down, we start kicking him. Me and Scotty are kicking him back and forth. Then as soon as he begins to bleed, I run and get Kurtis and say we need to get out of here. We just beat this dude up. So Kurtis comes back with me and he’s got the other baseball bat.

Randall Townsend was still breathing. He was still alive. Kurtis said, “We need to kill him. He’s going to identify us.” I keep saying, “No, he’s not. He’s fine. He just got beat up.” Kurtis is upset, we are all going to go prison, he keeps ranting.

So he starts trying to beat Townsend to death with a baseball bat. I’m standing about six feet back. He’s whaling on him, beating his head with this bat. He’s doing it for 10, 15, 20 seconds. Blood started flying off the end of the bat and hitting me in the face. Some of it got on my lips and inside my mouth. It snaps me back to reality and I rushed forward and stopped him. I say, “Man, he’s had enough. He’s had enough. He’s still breathing. He’s going to be a vegetable. He’s never going to be able to identify anybody.”

He was like, “No, we need to kill him.”

I said, “I’ll handle it. Just leave. Go to the car.”

What happened then?

I pick up this big rock, Kurtis looks over his shoulder, so I act like I’m going to slam it. So I raised it up and I started to bring it down and then as soon as Kurtis looks away, I pulled it up and just let it drop. Which, of course, never came out in my case. They just saw a big rock with blood on it. I still thought that he was going to live. I knew he was going to be hurt real bad, but he was still breathing when we left.

But Cindy and Ice circled around the long way and saw us leaving the place where Mr. Townsend was assaulted. They knew me and Tristain from when we had met up with them before. We get in the car and leave. They find Townsend.

We go over to Kurtis’ friend’s house. We drop Tristain off because she’s freaking out. She’s having a panic attack. Scotty doesn’t even care.

We get all of our stuff and wrap it up in a bag. Kurtis is bragging to everyone about it. I think he E-mailed Randy [Krager] or texted him something like, “Watch the news in the morning.” We were arrested a week later.

What happened with Tristain and your baby?

He was adopted by the same family that adopted me for a while when I was a child. They don’t let him talk to me.

Tristain was never a racist. She was literally nothing but a tagalong. She kind of did and said the same stuff that I did, but her best friend was black. She was bisexual. She liked smoking pot and listening to rap music. She wasn’t even a little bit racist.

So what do you think turned you around?

I think most of it started with the change in my life sentence.

I had already put the skinhead stuff to the side. I realized that all of those people were a waste of life. Randy Krager stabbed Kurtis in the back by denouncing him. Kurtis stabbed me in the back. Scotty Butters was clueless.

There were articles by the Aryan Nations that the murder was a Jewish conspiracy and that we actually killed a black guy. Another said that the Jews had switched it around and said that we were killing white people. Just all sorts of weird, ridiculous stuff. But when I won my appeal and no longer had life, I thought I’m getting released someday. I’m not going to die in prison.

What happened when other racist inmates found out you changed your views?

I was attacked. My jaw was dislocated. I fought back and was sent to the hole. I was in the hole and heard that if I came back to the main population, skinheads were going to kill me. I just knew that I hated skinheads and I was ready to fight and ready to die. But I knew I was also going to get released some day.

I was like, all right, I’m just going to fight and let them know that I can do this, too. Then I attacked another group of skinheads who were eating breakfast. And back to the hole. After that, the guards would come up with a reason to keep me in the hole for my protection and their protection. Because they knew somebody was going to get hurt, period.

So I had to wait for four years and then put in for a transfer and I got transferred here in July 2011. I’ve been here ever since and no one has bothered me.

What has your life there been like?

I’ve educated myself. I’ve learned Arabic and Greek and I’ve read the Koran and the Bible.

I’m married, too. My wife is amazing. She’s the most wonderful woman that I have known in my life. She’s patient, loving, funny, the opposite of me in almost every way. She’s a very sweet Christian girl. We were baptized as Coptic [Egyptian] Orthodox in 2012. I was baptized by the same person she was.

I still talk to my mom, but we disagree on things like alcohol. And my sister is amazing.

Now that you know you’ll be free when you are in your late 40s, what do you want to do?

I have this longstanding dream of speaking in juvenile institutions or boys’ homes. Things like that. Talking to people about my life experiences. I don’t know if it’s possible because I’m a murderer. I also want to go out and help homeless people on the streets. My wife and I, we already have our nonprofit name approved, the Randall Townsend Foundation.

What would you say to other youngsters who get caught up in the hate world?

There’s just so much more people could do with their lives than involving themselves in meaningless hate groups. A lot of times people get these ideas that they’re going to save the white race and all they’re going to do is destroy it.

If people want to be proud of being white, study your culture. If you are Irish, learn how to river dance. If you are Greek, learn how to cook their great food. It’s white supremacist nonsense, shaving your head and running around in steel-toe boots.

Basically, don’t be stupid. ▲



Reports of the Ku Klux Klan's resurgence, much like reports of its death, are greatly exaggerated. But that doesn't mean that secretive Klan groups don't still pose a serious threat.

KU KLUX KAN'T

Despite claims that the Klan is resurgent, the reality is that it's in sorry shape. That's not to say that members aren't dangerous

BY MARK POTOK

Is the Ku Klux Klan on the rise?

To read certain British papers — and, truth be told, most European newspapers can't get enough stories about Americans and the Klan — the answer is an unqualified yes. One of them even claimed this April that the Klan has not been so active since the 1960s, when its members routinely engaged in murder.

But there's not much to back up that claim.

In fact, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) annual count of hate groups and their chapters

(or klaverns, in the case of the Klan), the number of klaverns in America has dropped from a recent high of 221 in 2010 to 163 last year. The SPLC has estimated that there are, at most, 4,000 to 6,000 Klansmen in America today, a far cry from the estimated 40,000 Klansmen active in the 1960s.

In addition, the Knight Riders, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, whose 13 klaverns made up part of the 2013 count, dissolved in early January 2014. The leader of the Florida-based group closed it down after a member pleaded guilty to

weapons charges in connection with that member's plans to terrorize minorities.

"Far from being resurgent, the history of the Ku Klux Klan in recent decades has been one of periods of stagnation alternating with periods of decline," said Mark Pitcavage, director of investigative research for the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish human rights group. "It's common for extremist groups in general, and Klan groups in particular, to make extravagant claims about their membership, but the reality is that they can never back up those claims with real-world evidence."



A March 2013 Klan rally was less notable for the number of its participants than the bizarre internecine Klan arguments behind the scenes. Still, it was one of the larger Klan rallies in recent years.

There was a rash of local media stories in March and April about Klan activities, sparked entirely by leafleting by two of the country's 27 named Klan groups, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in North Carolina, and the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Missouri. And it was quite a leafleting splurge — the Loyal White Knights distributed propaganda in seven towns in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Texas and Louisiana, while the Traditionalist Knights leafleted two towns in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Both groups sought new members with their fliers, and both claimed at various points to be setting up neighborhood watches for crime. But there was no real activity on their part beyond their anonymously distributed flyers. What they really seemed to be seeking was the dues that come with new members.

They may be having some success. The Traditionalist Knights grew from three klaverns in 2012 to seven in 2013. At the same time, the Loyal White Knights grew from 16 klaverns in 2012 to 52 in 2013, making it the largest Klan group in the country by chapter count and also, with its pamphleteering, the most visible.

But that growth likely came from absorbing the detritus of other groups. "When a Klan group grows these days, its growth is primarily due to cannibalism,"

Pitcavage said. "Members of one Klan group defect and go to another. A couple of years ago, everyone wanted to join the Traditionalist Knights. Before that, it was the United Northern and Southern Knights. Now, the Loyal White Knights are getting chapters from all over, but that's because people are abandoning other groups."

The case of the Loyal White Knights, which today boasts that it is "the most active Klan in America," is illustrative. It was only formed in 2012, and it was built from the rubble of the now-defunct Rebel Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Loyal White Knights made its first splash with a rally in March 2013 in Memphis, Tenn., where it went to protest the city's decision to rename three parks, including one honoring Nathan Bedford Forrest, a slaveyard owner, Confederate officer and, after the Civil War, first national leader of the Klan. Although the event only drew some 60 white supremacists, the buildup, following the White Knights' promise to bring "thousands," got serious attention in American newspapers. And, as usual, many European papers joined in with credulous forecasts of a huge rally.

But what was far more noticeable than the number of racists — who faced down a crowd of more than 1,000 anti-racists — was the fact that one

Klan group, the Alabama-based United Klans of America (UKA), came to join the anti-racists. The UKA's national leader, Bradley Jenkins, said that the out-of-town Klan groups had no right to dictate policy to Memphians, harshly criticized their racism, and, ultimately, announced that he was teaming up with a local black street gang in order to hold a joint counter-protest. In the end, that didn't work out because the leader of the Grape Street Crips noticed that it was raining and decided to stay home.

That kind of bizarre drama is far more typical of the contemporary Klan than any effective defense of white supremacy. In fact, most Klan groups spend more time and energy attacking one another than they do their oft-named enemies.

That came to the fore again with the press attention that the Loyal White Knights and the Traditionalist American Knights got out of their leafleting — press attention that is the lifeblood of publicity- and dues-hungry Klan bosses. Predictably, the publicity set off the internecine rivalries that typify today's Klan scene.

It started with the Traditionalist Knights leader, Imperial Wizard Frank Ancona, rewriting Klan history to describe a completely different group. "We don't hate people because of their race," Ancona told a reporter. "We are a



Klan groups have sought to shake off their reputation as America's oldest terrorist organization with such public relations ploys as "food drives" for poor white people. But their efforts, meager at best, have been singularly unsuccessful.

Christian organization. Because of the acts of a few rogue Klansmen, all are supposed to be murderers and wanting to lynch black people and we're supposed to be terrorists.

"That is a complete falsehood."

That was followed days later by a riposte from Robert Jones, a leader of the Loyal White Knights, who accused Ancona of harboring a terrible secret. "This guy's group, Traditionalist American Knights, ain't even been around three years," he told the *New Lenox* (Va.) *Patch*. "Frank Ancona is also Jewish and his wife is Jewish and he's being exposed all through the Klan world as a fake and he ain't even white... . His wife actually practices the Wiccan religion, which is basically devil worshipping to me... . I just thought I'd let y'all know that."

Ancona responded by denying that and describing Jones and other members of the Loyal White Knights as "drunks and druggies." "If I was a Jew, I'd admit it," Ancona said. "We don't want their white trash Hoosier types. Apparently their messing around with

"It's common for extremist groups in general, and Klan groups in particular, to make extravagant claims about their membership, but the reality is that they can never back up those claims with real-world evidence."

alcohol has destroyed their few remaining brain cells."

Regardless of the number of brain cells in play and the sometimes almost comedic infighting among Klan groups, the sad reality is that the American Klan

scene does continue to produce people who can be seriously dangerous.

That was brought home once again in April, just as the publicity over the Loyal White Knights and Traditionalist Knights was dying out, when Frazier Glenn Cross was arrested after a murder spree that left three dead at Jewish institutions in Overland Park, Kan. Cross, who changed his last name from Miller around 1990, once led a kind of paramilitary organization called the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. That group was wrecked by an SPLC lawsuit in the 1980s.

Last year, there was another reminder. A Klansman named Glendon Scott Crawford was arrested, along with another man, for allegedly plotting to build a massive X-ray weapon that authorities said he hoped to use against Muslims and that he called "Hiroshima on a light switch." What's more, officials said, Crawford had actually taken significant steps toward building the device that he hoped would turn Muslims into "medical waste." Crawford is slated for trial this summer. ▲

For the Record

SECOND QUARTER OF 2014

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 second quarter of 2014. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website.

SPLC.CENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

ALABAMA

Munford • April 14, 2014

Allen Wayne Densen Morgan, 29, was sentenced to six years in prison for attempting to hire alleged Ku Klux Klan members to murder a black neighbor in August 2013.

Ozark • May 16, 2014

Steven Joshua Dinkle, 28, former local leader of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was sentenced to two years in prison for his role in a 2009 cross burning.

CALIFORNIA

Marysville • May 2, 2014

Anthony Merrell Tyler, 33, pleaded guilty to violating the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act for his role in a racially motivated attack on a white man and a black woman in 2011.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • June 16, 2014

Michael Phillips, 36, was sentenced to 28 months in prison after pleading guilty to assault with a dangerous weapon, enhanced as a hate crime, for pistol-whipping a transgender woman in January.

FLORIDA

Miami • April 2, 2014

Braulio Valenzuela, 73, was arrested for allegedly trying to burn down his neighbors' home because of their sexual orientation.

IDAHO

Boise • May 14, 2014

Jonathan Lynn Henery, 28, and Beau Edward Hansen, 30, were indicted on federal hate crime charges for allegedly attacking a black man because of his race in October 2013.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • April 30, 2014

Richard Hyerczyk, 54, was sentenced to 27 months in prison for mailing more than 90 threatening, racist letters to government and law enforcement officials as well as schools and religious institutions from 2003 to 2012.

MASSACHUSETTS

North Andover • April 30, 2014

White supremacist Justin R. Ladd, 33, pleaded not guilty to sexually assaulting and torturing his two teenage stepdaughters, from September 2008 to February 2013, because they were Latinas.

MICHIGAN

Detroit • April 10, 2014

A 16-year-old black youth was charged with assault and a hate crime for allegedly brutally beating a white motorist who stopped to help a boy he accidentally hit with his pickup truck.

NEW JERSEY

Trenton • June 19, 2014

New Black Panther Party National Field Marshal King Samir Shabazz was arrested on weapons charges after officers allegedly found a handgun, rifle rounds and an armor piercing bullet in his room.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque • April 24, 2014

John W. Ng, 58, was charged with two counts of hate crime offenses related to anti-Semitic threats he allegedly made against a Jewish businesswoman.

NEW YORK

New York • April 16, 2014

Perry Germano, 50, was charged with attempted assault, aggravated harassment and menacing in an April 7 assault on a 15-year-old girl riding a city bus. He

allegedly made statements attacking Islam, spat on the girl, and threatened to punch her.

New York • April 19, 2014

Christian Morales, 20, was charged with a hate crime and aggravated harassment for his role in a September 2013 attack on a Columbia University professor.

New York • April 25, 2014

Yousef al-Khattab, co-founder and former leader of Revolution Muslim, a fringe anti-Semitic Muslim group, was sentenced to 2 1/2 years in prison for using his group's website in 2009 to threaten Jews and Jewish institutions.

New York • May 3, 2014

Former New York City police officer Michael Setiawan, 36, was arrested for allegedly spray-painting anti-Semitic graffiti on 15 vehicles and four buildings near a synagogue and Jewish school.

New York • June 14, 2014

Bernhard Laufer, awaiting trial for attempted murder at a mosque in 2012, was arrested on charges of threatening to kill leaders of a leading Muslim civil rights organization, The Council on American-Islamic Relations.

OREGON

Portland • April 23, 2014

White supremacist David "Joey" Pedersen, 33, pleaded guilty to two counts of carjacking resulting in death for his part in a 2011 killing spree.

Portland • May 30, 2014

Three suspected white supremacists were arrested after authorities allegedly discovered methamphetamines, a marijuana grow operation, and five weapons at a residence.

PENNSYLVANIA

Gettysburg • June 28, 2014

Approximately 10 members of the Traditional Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Philadelphia • April 02, 2014

Corry Campbell, 20; Sandra Ng, 19; Jennifer Pratt, 29; and David Thomas, 27, were each charged with aggravated assault, reckless endangerment, kidnapping and other related counts after allegedly forcibly tattooing racial slurs and offensive images on a 52-year-old man they held hostage for three days in a basement.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Union • May 6, 2014

Jeremy Moody, 30, and his wife, Christine, 36, members of the racist skinhead group Crew 41, were each sentenced to life in prison for the July 2013 murder of a registered sex offender and his wife.

TENNESSEE

Briceville • June 10, 2014

White supremacists Leonard Lionel Kilgore, 36; Jacob Eli Campbell, 33; Michael James O'Conner Jr. and David Lee Dozard, both 32; and Crystal Lynnette McGuire, 37, were each charged with attempted first-degree murder for the December beating of a former acquaintance.

TEXAS

Helotes • June 20, 2014

David Malcolm Strickland, 27, was charged with capital murder, aggravated assault with a weapon and aggravated sexual assault for a 2012 killing of a 19-year-old lesbian, Mollie Olgin, because of her sexual orientation.

UTAH

Hurricane • April 14, 2014

Robert Keller, 70, was charged with two counts of criminal interference for allegedly threatening an interracial family.▲

What's in a Name?

In which the author discovers something quite extraordinary, and totally unexpected, about his admittedly rare surname

BY MARK POTOK

I am the son of one of those immigrant fathers who didn't change their last names at Ellis Island. I don't know why, but when he arrived here in 1940 at the age of 8, a Jewish refugee fleeing Warsaw after the Nazi invasion of Poland inaugurated World War II, his parents opted to keep the decidedly unusual name of Potok.

As a kid, I suffered the slings and arrows that most of us with such foreign names grow up with. I was called Pollock, Pockrock and worse. One unkind kid on the playground, perhaps sensing some need for attention, labeled me Peacock. Even today, when my work for the Southern Poverty Law Center calls for talking about far-right extremism to reporters, my name is routinely rendered as Potock.

There have been some small consolations.

The name means "stream" or "brook" in Polish, and if you do a Google image search, you'll find hundreds and hundreds of lovely photos and videos of waterways in Eastern Europe. I'm distantly related to the truly great writer, Chaim Potok, which for a magazine editor seems like a good thing. It's easy to spell — well, it should be, anyway, at a mere five letters — and my wife and son seem to like it.

But that's about all I've ever thought about it.

Until, that is, I received an E-mail recently from a friend in the same business, Mark Pitcavage, the fact-finding director of the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish human rights group. As he often does, Pitcavage had been leafing through obscure radical-right tracts, and he'd just put down a 1923 book by one Henry Peck Fry, *The Modern Ku Klux Klan*. Fry

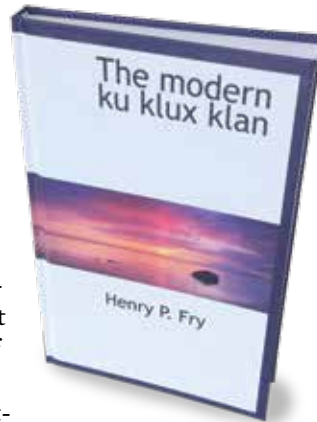
was a former Kleagle, or recruiter, for the Klan, and his book, while endorsing white supremacy, attacked the 1920s organization as violent, un-American and essentially a racket run by people looking to get rich — which it was. Fry had been the chief source for at least one of 21 consecutive articles written by *The New York World* in an important 1921 exposé of the Klan.

Pitcavage had discovered something bizarre.

On page 92 of his book, Fry was in the thick of a detailed description of the ceremonies that the 1920s, or "second era," Klan was into. Newly "naturalized" members of the Invisible Empire, he said, are at a particular point introduced to the Mystical Insignia of a Klansman, described as a "cheap little celluloid button," red in color and inscribed with the letters KOTOP. Fry said that word was unexplained and came accompanied by images of a square and an extended open hand.

And then there was this, without further elaboration: "Kotop is also used as a hailing word, its answer being 'Potok,' a reversal of the previous word."

Now, I've had some odd experiences in the 17 years I've been doing anti-racist work for the SPLC. One of the more amusing ones came very early on, when I inadvertently agreed to go on a radio show that was run by adherents of the theology of Christian Identity, which describes Jews as biologically descended from Satan. At one point, the show's host referred to "your father, the Devil." I didn't know a thing about Identity at



the time, but I did know my father could be a grouch. I responded in the only way I could think of: "How in the world did you know *that*?"

But my name? My very Jewish name? The one I share with my Holocaust-survivor father and one of the most famous Jewish-American writers ever?

A Klan hailing word?

For some reason, as I turned this bit of bizarre arcana over in my mind later, I got to thinking about David Duke, the neo-Nazi and former Klan leader who came close to being elected governor of Louisiana in 1991 and is the author of that timeless work, *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question*. What would Duke, who has often personally attacked me, have to say about all this?

He wouldn't like it, no doubt. Although I'm not even technically Jewish — my mother was raised an Episcopalian — Duke would surely see it as yet another sign that the Jewish "tribe" had been bold enough to infiltrate his beloved Klan. What other possible explanation could there be for "Potok" being part of Klan lore?

It would be almost as if the International Jewish Conspiracy had adopted, as one of its own secret passwords, the "hailing name" of Duke. But in that case, the reversed name response, "Ekud," almost sounds Hebrew — kind of like Ehud Barak, a former prime minister, defense minister and deputy prime minister of Israel.

And neither David Duke nor I would like that. ▲

The Southern Poverty Law Center's Three-Point Strategy to Fight Hate and Extremism



Neo-Nazi Frazier Glenn Miller is arrested for the anti-Semitic shooting rampage that left three dead in Kansas.

1 Expose Potentially Violent Extremists

As the nation's pre-eminent monitor and analyst of American political extremism, the SPLC tracks thousands of extremist and racist hate groups and is often called on to counter mainstream hate through public information campaigns and academic forums.

"My greatest fear is that domestic extremists in this country will somehow ... [carry] out a mass-casualty attack."

— Daryl Johnson, former Homeland Security analyst

The SPLC "has cracked cases even the FBI couldn't solve."

— CBS News

"Thanks to the courageous folks at the SPLC and the innovative training tools they create, law enforcement agencies are far better equipped to fight the forces of hate and antigovernment extremism."

— Retired Police Chief, Arkansas

2 Fight Hate in the Courtroom

The SPLC is internationally known for its legal work dismantling extremist groups. Most recently, we won the final round of a lawsuit against members of the Imperial Klans of America (IKA). The Kentucky Supreme Court upheld our crushing \$2.5 million verdict, which destroyed the group.



The SPLC founder Morris Dees addresses the jury during the IKA trial.

3 Provide Free, Life-saving Training to Law Enforcement



The Intelligence Project provides the best and latest intelligence on the threats posed by the hate and extremist movement. We train thousands of law enforcement officials on recognizing and combating domestic terrorists each year, and our investigators support dozens of agencies as they solve or build cases against extremists.

Our latest training video gives officers an unprecedented view into the violent skinhead movement.

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