

NEO-CONFEDERATES START PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION



Intelligence Report

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HAVE THE NATIVIST EXTREMISTS RETURNED?

BACK TO THE BORDER



Propaganda, Duncan Hunter and the Border

BY MARK POTOK

There are propagandists who use selective facts to make their dubious points. There are propagandists who lie to cover up what the real facts are.

And then there are propagandists who just don't care.

It's hard to avoid the conclusion that U.S. Rep. Duncan D. Hunter, a Republican congressman who represents the area around San Diego, belongs in the latter category.

Since appearing on Oct. 7 on Fox News' "On the Record with Greta Van Susteren," Hunter has not produced the remotest shred of evidence to support the claims he made there — and he even doubled down on them as news organization after news organization found them to be utterly false.

"ISIS is coming across the border," Hunter told Van Susteren, referring to the Islamic State, the infamous Middle

Eastern terror group known for its beheadings. "They don't fly B-1 bombers bombing American cities, but they are going to be bombing American cities coming across from Mexico."

Van Susteren asked if he could back his claim.

"Yes," he replied. "Yes, I know that at least 10 ISIS fighters have been caught coming across the Mexican border in Texas. There's nobody talking about it."

"How do you know?" asked Van Susteren.

"Because I've asked the Border Patrol, Greta," he said. He added: "If they catch five or 10 of them, then you know there's going to be dozens more that did not get caught by the Border Patrol. ... All you have to do is ask the Border Patrol."

The Department of Homeland Security immediately called Hunter's fairy tale "categorically false." The Texas Department of Public Safety wrote state legislators saying it had nothing to back up the claim, and a spokesman for the Border Patrol agents' union said the same. Terrorism analysts said they knew nothing of any arrests. And PolitiFact, known for carefully examining such claims, concluded it was a "Pants on Fire" falsehood.

Hunter, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, is a longtime immigration opponent, even advocating the deportation of citizens who are children of undocumented immigrants. Clearly, to support his nativist claims he was willing to say just about anything — whether or not it had any relation to the truth.

His statements illustrate the nativist hysteria sweeping the country.

In this issue's cover story, we examine the return to the border of nativist extremists in the wake of a surge of unaccompanied minor immigrants that began earlier this

year. Although the Minuteman movement that swept the country between 2005 and 2011 has receded, the news of tens of thousands of undocumented children arriving on the border has spurred what may become a major revival of the armed civilian groups that President George W. Bush once labeled "vigilantes."

There's no doubt that the humanitarian crisis on the border drew opportunistic extremists from the radical right. But as we report here, the demonizing propaganda and conspiracy theories that dominated the political reaction to the crisis originated mainly in the political mainstream — with people like Congressman Hunter.

Hunter's rumor-mongering was only the latest to emanate from the political right, from Fox News and other right-wing outlets to an array of fact-challenged politicians, pundits and preachers. Earlier, there were claims that the children were really gangsters and drug runners; that they were carrying an array of dread diseases including leprosy; that the government intended to house them in a luxury resort; and that Obama was bringing them in to create new Democratic voters.

Hunter wasn't the only fear merchant selling the ISIS story. In late August, Texas Gov. Rick Perry said that it was a "very real possibility" that ISIS had crossed the southern border — but added that he had no evidence to back that up. Other Texas politicians have made similar statements. Around the same time that Perry spoke, Judicial Watch, an extremist group run by conspiracy-monger Larry Klayman, also began claiming ISIS was headed north from Mexico.

But it was thanks to Hunter that the story metastasized.

Within days of Hunter's comments on Fox, Jerome Corsi, who wrote a book claiming Obama is not eligible for the presidency, said the president was planning for the U.S. to be "invaded simultaneously by illegal immigrant Hispanics and ISIS radical Islamic terrorists walking across the border." Others added Ebola into the equation, suggesting that the disease was just another "engineered event" created by an Obama bent on America's destruction. It was, in many ways, a replay of the way that demonizing propaganda about the unaccompanied children exploded.

Propaganda, especially when it comes from those who are perceived as leaders, has consequences. Instead of dealing with the very real problems that face us — impoverished children and others surging across our borders, the arrival of the Ebola virus in the U.S., and the very real threat posed by ISIS, for a start — we become mired in an angry debate that is based not on facts but on fantasies.

Duncan Hunter, like so many others, should be ashamed. ▲



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12 'Warrior for God'

The Family Research Council was already a viciously anti-LGBT organization that falsely described pedophilia as a “homosexual problem.” Then, two years ago, the religious-right group doubled down, hiring as its executive vice president retired three-star general William “Jerry” Boykin, a longtime anti-Muslim activist.

ON THE COVER

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When three buses carrying unaccompanied minor immigrants arrived in Murrieta, Calif., this July, they were met by a howling mob of nativists who succeeded in turning the buses back from a Border Patrol facility. That was the ugly start of what may turn out to be a rebirth of the nativist extremist movement — then-President Bush called them “vigilantes” — that swept the country between 2005 and 2011.



18 East of Eden

A recent confrontation between women's rights marchers and a small hate group called the Traditionalist Youth Network highlighted the attempts of racists and anti-Semites to find a home in the Orthodox Church. Although the church has its share of extreme-right functionaries, it vigorously rejects any association with such groups.

Name	Time	Genre	Price
Rock Of 1984-1999	1:00	Rock	\$9.99
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The white power music industry, whose products are a powerful lure to the young and a leading generator of funds for the extreme right, had been on the decline in recent years for a variety of reasons. But then racist bands discovered iTunes and its lenient enforcement of its own sales policies, and now they're back in business.

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The League of the South has grown steadily more radical since its founding in 1994. Now, the neo-secessionist group has formed a secret paramilitary organization.



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Although it was disrupted by Hungarian authorities, a recent gathering in Budapest highlighted the efforts of an American to build an international racist network.



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Yvette Cantu Schneider, who converted to Christianity in the 1990s, explains why she recently joined eight other activists in renouncing the "ex-gay" movement.



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Jordan Jereb, head of the far-right Republic of Florida, worked hard to get an interview he hoped would make him famous. It might have, if he hadn't been in jail.

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.





[RACISM & MUSIC]

Aging Racist Rocker Meets Trouble on Summer Tour

Ted Nugent called his nationwide summer tour “Shutup & Jam!” but the ’70s rocker did everything but shut up as he was hit with cancelled concerts and blistering criticism for his racist and anti-Indian statements.

Even before the tour, Nugent got some national attention by calling President Obama a “subhuman mongrel” and a “chimpanzee.” By the time it ended, the “Motor City Madman” had used the racial slur “Japs,” savaged a group of American Indians, and apparently suggested neutering certain women. Nugent even blasted a Toledo, Ohio, newspaper that took its own heat for sponsoring his appearance at a community festival — the last time he will be invited by that paper.

Things began to turn sour for “The Nuge” in March, when the city of Longview, Texas, paid him \$16,000 — half his contract amount — to not appear at the town’s Fourth of July Festival, despite having booked him earlier. Without elaborating, a city spokesman said Nugent was “not the right feel for this kind of community event.” That cancellation came around the time Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott, a Republican running for governor with Nugent’s support, was apologizing for Nugent’s racist comments about the president.

In July, the Coeur d’Alene Tribe of Indians, which has contributed thousands to human rights, was asked by the *Intelligence Report*

why its Idaho casino had booked the racist rocker for an Aug. 4 concert. Within hours, the tribe had decided to cancel the concert because of Nugent’s “history of racist and hate-filled remarks.” It didn’t mention Nugent’s claim that he’s more Native American than some Indians and his furious attacks on people campaigning against sports team names such as Redskins, Braves and Chiefs.

With that, social media ignited. Soon the Puyallup Tribe in western Washington, deluged with complaints, announced it was cancelling two Nugent shows because of his “racist attitudes and views.”

As is his wont, Nugent didn’t mince words. “It is so glaringly obvious that the lying unclean

Out of the frying pan: Ever since Ted Nugent described President Obama in terms reminiscent of Nazi propagandist Julius Streicher, the 66-year-old rock ‘n’ roller has seen his fortunes plummet. Cancellations of several of his concerts drove Nugent into a rage against the “unclean vermin” who criticized him.

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

phonics & hygiene challenged haters attacking me are blackhearted soulless robotic idiots,” he fumed.

Then Nugent played a biker bar concert in Sturgis, S.D., while protesters picketed. The apologetic bar owner said publicly that it would have cost too much to cancel, but pledged he wouldn’t book Nugent again.

Safely aboard his jet, Nugent fired back, calling the American Indian demonstrators “stinkyass unclean dipshit protestors that admitted they hate me AND ALL WHITE PEOPLE THAT STOLE THEIR LAND BULLSHIT!! See, it aint me they hate, they hate all Americans that produce & live the American Dream. Simply insane!”

He added that journalists were a liberal army of “Nazi propagandists” and said his critics were “unclean vermin.”

Still, the long-time National Rifle Association (NRA) board member, “ambassador” of the Outdoor Channel, and contributor to the conspiracy-minded WorldNetDaily was warmly embraced in a few quarters, including a Tea Party gathering in Big Horn Basin, Wyo., where he was “deputized” by the local sheriff. Nugent, who wrote a book called *Kill It & Grill It*, took that opportunity to say that women who oppose hunting should be “fixed” by their pro-gun partners.

In the end, many wondered aloud if his “shut-up” tour might be Nugent’s last. Music industry reports suggest Nugent’s growing record of hatred may be seriously damaging his career — whatever is left for the 66-year-old guitarist. One South Dakota newspaper columnist and NRA member suggested that if Nugent isn’t booted from the NRA board for his “neo-Ku Klux Klan views,” the nation’s largest gun lobby deserves the “retribution that comes to those who fail to confront hate.”

['COMMON-LAW' COURTS]

New Yorker Claims National Network of Pseudo-Legal Grand Juries

A retired carpenter from Poughkeepsie, N.Y., by way of the Bronx, longs to be the Johnny Appleseed of the so-called “common-law grand juries” movement — a crusade by extreme-right “sovereign citizens” to create a judicial alternate universe.

His name is John Darash and his not-so-sweet dream of anti-government grandeur is to plant common-law grand juries in all 3,141 counties in the United States. Darash claims that the bogus and powerless juries have the constitutional — and, of course, God-given — authority to conduct investigations, issue indictments and remove duly elected and appointed government officials from office. That would include pesky judges who insist that everyone must pay their taxes, obey traffic laws and respect property rights, three facts of American life that constantly get sovereign citizens in trouble with the law.

In July, Darash, the founder of the New York State-based National Liberty Alliance, the movement’s heart and soul, told the *Anderson Independent Mail* of South Carolina that he is well on his way to making his dream a reality. He claimed that the grand juries have been established in 2,296 counties in 36 states. By late September, according to the group’s website, the juries supposedly had spread to 48 states.

“But in order to be successful,” the group declares, “we must first seek the blessings from the ‘GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE’ and build our endeavor upon Him and

His principles (1) HONOR, (2) JUSTICE, and (3) MERCY. This is the only sure foundation, any other will succumb to tyrants.”

The common-law grand juries are a scheme right out of the playbook of sovereign citizens, who believe that most federal laws don’t apply to them. Indeed, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) calls Darash a “sovereign citizen guru,” trying to establish “vigilante” grand juries. Darash, however, claims not to be a sovereign citizen, a term, he told the South Carolina newspaper, that “is alien to us.”

But as a variation on the old saying goes, if it files frivolous lawsuits and liens like a sovereign citizen and throws around meaningless indictments like a sovereign citizen and makes outlandish monetary demands on the government like a sovereign, it’s a...

In Florida in January, according to the ADL, a common-law grand jury, or CLGJ, sent a “Writ of Mandamus” to the officials of one county demanding a budget of \$1.5 million, office space and equipment. That document was followed up in February with a “Notice of Demand,” warning county officials that the earlier demand was not optional.

The CLGJ crusade is just the latest variation on a long-running antigovernment theme. In the 1980s and 1990s, the sovereign citizen movement formed numerous “common-law courts” around the country. By the end of the decade, at least 27 states had passed or were considering legislation to crack down on the phony courts.

This spring, Darash gave a talk about his dream to a small group at a public library in New York City. The Queens County Libertarian Party sponsored the meeting. As Darash set up his audiovisual equipment for his presentation, one of the libertarians was talking to another about

He has a dream: John Darash says he will start antigovernment “common-law grand juries” in 3,141 U.S. counties.



a lawsuit he'd just lost, contesting the state's ban on midget bowling.

"First of all, the midgets are adults," the libertarian complained. "They're not children, even if they're small. They aren't being forced to do anything against their will. And it's not really a sport. It's an art, its curatorial."

Darash commiserated with the loser and advised him to challenge the court's jurisdiction next time.

That, he said, always works for him.

[ANTI-SEMITISM]

Edgar Steele, 'Attorney for the Damned,' Dies in Prison

Attorney and author Edgar J. Steele, who dove deeply into the world of anti-Semitism and racist extremism after unsuccessfully



defending Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler, died Aug. 4 in a federal prison in California. He was 69, serving a 50-year term for hiring a hit man to murder his wife and her mother so he could start a relationship with another woman.

To the end, Steele and a handful of supporters claimed he was railroaded by a Jewish-controlled, corrupt federal government. Even

his wife, Cyndi, blasted federal officials, refusing to believe she had been the intended target of an attempted car bombing. But in October 2013, a federal appeals court upheld Steele's murder conspiracy conviction, rejecting claims of improper jury instructions and other judicial errors.

Steele got a law degree in 1982 from UCLA and moved his law practice from California to North Idaho in the mid-1990s. In 1999, he was hired by Butler to defend the Aryan Nations in a civil suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of a mother and her son who were assaulted by three guards outside the 20-acre Aryan compound near Hayden Lake. The jury didn't buy Steele's "free speech" defense and, in 2000, awarded the plaintiffs \$6.3 million in damages, leading to the group's bankruptcy and demolition of its buildings.

The following year, Steele represented a woman at the center of a five-day standoff that ended

peacefully after the standoff became a hot button for militia and antigovernment groups. Steele started calling himself "the attorney for the damned" and bragged that he was "exceedingly politically incorrect." He proved that in a series of anti-Semitic, anti-government essays published on his "Conspiracy Pen Pal"

blog and in speeches he delivered at various extremist gatherings.

Steele seemed to really cross the extremist Rubicon in 2002, when he wrote a kind of coming-out essay entitled "IT'S THE JEWS, STUPID!!!" There "is a conspiracy," he wrote, and "it is being run by jews. Yes, it is being condoned by our government, which has become jewish." He

accused Jews of controlling the Federal Reserve and orchestrating the terrorists attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

He later expanded his enemies list, claiming the late civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was a "misbegotten individual" with "nonexistent ideals." Steele wrote that the MLK national holiday really should "stand for Marchin' Lootin' Killin' Day."

In 2004, Steele published *Defensive Racism: An Unapologetic Examination of Racial Differences*, detailing his vision of a race war and the ultimate destruction of American society.

Cyndi Steele shared her imprisoned husband's views in assorted public appearances and backed his legal defense fund. Upon his death, she claimed that he was murdered in prison after being "under the control of pure evil for the past four years."

[RACIST SKINHEADS]

Pair Acquitted in Infamous Double Murder of Anti-Racist Skins

Ross Hack, the alleged neo-Nazi mastermind behind the ambush murders of two anti-racist skinheads 16 years ago, was found not guilty by a federal jury in Las Vegas in September despite his sister's and ex-girlfriend's dramatic testimony against him. Hack's co-defendant, Leland Jones, was also acquitted after the two-week trial that included a parade of white supremacists and meth addicts, testifying for both the prosecution and the defense.

Hack's sister, Melissa, 39, and his ex-girlfriend, Mandie Abels, 36, testified that they lured the anti-racist activists — Lin "Spit" Newborn, 24, and Daniel Shersty, 20 — to a rocky patch of desert

Edgar Steele went from a relatively normal law practice to defending white supremacists, then became one himself before landing in prison for attempting to have his wife murdered. It all ended in a California penitentiary, where he died in August.



Although Melissa Hack pleaded guilty and testified against her brother in the murder of two anti-racist skinheads, Ross Hack and another man were acquitted of all charges.

about 20 miles from Las Vegas with the promise of a night of partying. Hack, Jones and John “Polar Bear” Butler gunned down Newborn, who was black, and Shersty, who was white, within minutes of their arrival in the desert in the early morning darkness of July 4, 1998, the women said.

The ambush, the women testified, was Hack’s idea.

“Why?” Melissa Hack shouted from the witness stand across the courtroom at her 42-year-old brother, sitting with Jones, 33, at the defense table. “Because of fucking hate. That’s why.”

For decades, racist and anti-racist skinheads have battled in the streets, often violently, though rarely has it come to double murder like the Shersty-Newborn slayings. Both men were shot multiple times.

Until the recent federal trial, only John Butler, the leader of a neo-Nazi skinhead gang in Las Vegas and the boyfriend of Melissa Hack at the time, had ever been tried for the double-murder. He was convicted in state court in 2000 and is serving two life sentences. But after his conviction, the case seemed to fall off the radar of law enforcement until Jones, Hack and his sister Melissa were arrested and charged by federal authorities with the slayings in 2012, some 14 years after the ambush.

Newborn and Shersty were killed on government land.

Melissa Hack pleaded guilty last spring and is expected to receive a prison sentence of up to 20 years in exchange for her testimony against her brother, whom she said started showing her videos of Hitler when she was 12. Abels, who pleaded guilty in 2012, is serving a 15-year sentence. Butler also testified against Hack and Jones. In exchange for his testimony, he has been moved to a secret prison location as part of the Witness Protection Program.

Hack’s defense lawyer, federal public defender William Kennedy, hammered away at Butler, Melissa Hack and Abels, attacking their credibility and calling them liars and meth addicts, willing to say anything to have their time behind bars reduced.

There was no physical evidence tying Hack or Jones to the killings. Neither defendant testified.

But Melissa Hack had plenty to say. She told the court that after Shersty was shot, he fell to the ground and asked for mercy.

“I can’t get the voice out of my head,” she said. “I kept hearing him crying, ‘God, please help me.’”

['SOVEREIGN CITIZENS']

One After Another, ‘Sovereigns’ Marching Off to Jail

What a busy sovereign season it has been.

In the last few months, anti-government “sovereign citizens” have been charged with robbing banks in Pennsylvania, shooting law enforcement officers in the woods of Northern California, and sentenced to life in an Alabama prison for murder.

Sovereign citizens, who believe that most federal laws don’t apply

to them, are the Energizer Bunnies of the far right. They just keep going and going — to prison.

James Timothy Turner, head of the largest sovereign citizen group in the country, the Republic for United States of America (RuSA), is already there, serving an 18-year sentence for, among other offenses, conspiracy to defraud the government and attempting to pay taxes with fictitious financial instruments.

Behind bars is where Turner will stay, according to a federal appeals court panel, which in August upheld his 2013 conviction.

In his appeal, according to The Associated Press, Turner, of Ozark, Ala., argued that his trial should have been delayed until the government proved that the federal courts had jurisdiction over him. The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta didn’t buy his counterfeit argument.

Challenging the jurisdiction of the courts is a popular — and losing — sovereign strategy.

In June, Ishaq Ibrahim, a 28-year-old self-described sovereign, along with two alleged accomplices, was charged with robbing a bank near Philadelphia. In court in July, Rawstory.com reports, Ibrahim, who asked to be tried separately, told the judge, “I’m a sovereign citizen



“Sovereign citizen” Beau Hawkes unsuccessfully tries to escape a police officer’s Taser.

NEVADA PUBLIC RECORDS (HACK), YOUTUBE (HAWKES)

of a sovereign state and my common law rights have been withheld and denied.”

Ibrahim also told the court that prosecutors had no authority to try him and he challenged the court’s jurisdiction of the case. To which the judge, William Furber Jr., replied, “My ruling is I do have the jurisdiction and that ends it.”

Three thousand miles away in the woods of Northern California, Brent Douglas Cole, another self-described sovereign citizen, was arrested in June following an armed confrontation with two law enforcement officers. All three men were wounded in the ensuing shootout.

The shootout reportedly began when a federal Bureau of Land Management ranger contacted the California Highway Patrol and asked for backup at a wooded campground near Nevada City, a few miles west of Lake Tahoe, as part of an investigation involving vehicles at the site. As the two officers headed into the brush and began approaching a remote makeshift campsite, they were confronted by Cole, 60.

Gunfire was exchanged. Cole was hit by several rounds and hospitalized. The officers were treated and released.

Cole has a history of indulging in far-right conspiracies on the Internet. At one site, he described himself as a “sovereign American Citizen attempting to thwart the obvious conspiracy and subterfuges of powers inimical to the United States.”

A sovereign citizen in Hawaii took a different approach. He didn’t try to beat the government; he tried to join it.

This summer, Beau Hawkes, a 34-year-old bamboo bong maker and “sovereign individual,” ran for mayor of Maui. Hawkes also ran away from the police a few weeks before the August election.

In July, according to the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, police stopped Hawkes’ truck and cited him for talking on his cellphone



“YOU NOW HAVE A ‘MUSLIM’ on the City Council!!! What A SHAME!!!!”

—Keller, Texas, school board trustee **JO LYNN HAUSSMANN**, in Facebook comments about a newly elected Southlake City Council member that resulted in her **June 2** apology for what her own board described as an “unacceptable” statement



“I believe I did use the ‘N’ word in reference to the current occupant of the Whitehouse. For this, I do not apologize — he meets and exceeds my criteria for such.”

—Wolfeboro, N.H., Police Commissioner **ROBERT COPELAND**, in a letter to a constituent that led to his resignation on **June 6** after a public outcry



“Lying cunt. I hope she gets shot in her ass fuck face.”

—**ANTHONY CUMIA**, co-host of the popular radio show “Opie and Anthony,” in a racist **July 2** Twitter tirade about a black woman who supposedly attacked him that resulted in his being fired by SiriusXM



“[B]eing hung, drawn and quartered is probably too good for him.”

—Center for Immigration Studies Senior Policy Analyst **STEPHEN STEINLIGHT**, an anti-immigrant activist, referring to President Obama on **July 17**



“I think we would be totally in the right to do it.”

—**SCOTT ESK**, Tea Party candidate for Oklahoma’s State House District 91, in **July 29** Facebook comments endorsing the execution of gay people because they are “worthy of death”



“This is part of the war on whites that’s being launched by the Democratic Party.”

—U.S. Rep. **MO BROOKS** (R-Ala.), in an **Aug. 4** comment about the Democratic Party’s immigration policy



“Ebola could solve America’s problems with atheism, homosexuality, sexual promiscuity, pornography and abortion.”

—**RICK WILES**, suggesting on his **Aug. 5** Trunews online radio program that mass deaths would give a needed “attitude adjustment” to people he doesn’t approve of



“[T]hat person should be shot, he should be hanged, he should be wrapped in a carpet and thrown in the Potomac River.”

—**RICH LOWRY**, *National Review* editor, in an **Aug. 21** comment about what should be done with any Republican who says there are jobs “Americans won’t do”



“This entire federal government is geared up to fight a war against white people.”

—**MICHAEL SAVAGE**, speaking on his radio show, “The Savage Nation,” on **Aug. 21** about the lack of a federal crackdown on black protesters in Ferguson, Mo.



“Islam is a cancer on the nation that needs to be cut out.”

—Oklahoma State Rep. **JOHN BENNETT** (R-Sallisaw), in a **Sept. 15** talk that was criticized by rights activists but backed by state GOP Chairman **DAVE WESTON**

while driving, as well as having no driver's license or license plates. The mayoral candidate reportedly told the officer that he didn't believe in those types of rules. He ignored the officer's request to turn off the engine and continued on his way to attend a Maui County Council meeting.

Hawkes signed up to speak at the meeting and was headed back to his truck to wait his turn when the officer arrived. The officer told Hawkes to put his hands up and declared, "You're under arrest."

Hawkes fled — barefoot — down the street with the officer in pursuit.

The confrontation was caught on video.

The officer pulled out his Taser and twice shouted at the fleeing sovereign politician, according to the *Star*, "You're going to get tased."

Then the officer fired his Taser and the potential mayor fell face first to the ground. He was handcuffed and taken to jail, where he made bail.

Later, Hawkes told the *Star*, "I'm not a lunatic. I am a hippie. Jesus was a hippie."

Hawkes made banning the police use of Tasers part of his campaign.

In a field of six candidates, Hawkes came in last with 372 votes.

[ANTI-WOMAN]

Disgraced Arizona Politician Disgraced Once Again

Poor Russell Pearce. He just can't keep a job.

Pearce, the former far-right lawmaker who helped push Arizona's draconian anti-immigrant law a few years ago, resigned this fall as a top official in the state's Republican Party after making remarks about sterilizing poor women.

He resigned, with mid-term elections just weeks away, as the state GOP's first vice president after being roundly criticized, including by fellow Arizona Republicans, for saying on his radio show that if he were put in "charge of Medicaid, the first thing I'd do is get Norplant, birth-control implants, or tubal ligations."

"Then we'll test recipients for drugs and alcohol," he continued, "and if you want to [reproduce] or use drugs or alcohol, then get a job."



The *Arizona Republic* called Pearce "the reckless cowboy" and quoted an angry tweet from Michele Reagan, GOP candidate for secretary of state.

"The obnoxious comments made by Russell Pearce were both disgusting and offensive," Reagan wrote. "Let it be known, he is NOT the voice of my GOP. #Resign!"

In a statement released by the Arizona GOP, Pearce, according to *Politico*, blamed the media and "the progressive left" for the controversy and said he was resigning to protect "Republican candidates."

Pearce said that during a discussion on his radio show about the alleged abuses of the state's public assistance system, he "shared comments written by someone else and failed to attribute them to the author."

"I do not want the progressive left and the media to try and take a misstatement from my show and use it to attack our candidates," Pearce said. "I care about the Republican Party and its conservative platform too much to let them do that."

This isn't the first time Pearce has been forced out of a job in politics.

In 2011, when he was the president of the Arizona state Senate, he became the first state senator in Arizona's history to be recalled and then ousted in a special election.

He got the boot largely because of his harsh and controversial so-called "papers, please" anti-immigration legislation, but "an ethics issue and under-handed campaign tactics also played a role," *The Washington Post* reported at the time.

Eight years ago, according to the *Republic*, Pearce proposed "a deranged idea to bring back the Eisenhower-era program 'Operation Wetback' to deport all undocumented migrants."

"Operation Wetback," the paper said recently, "should have been Russell Pearce's last rodeo. He lived on to bring us Operation Sterilization."

[ANTIGOVERNMENT EXTREMISM]

DHS Report is Latest to Warn of Fallout From Bundy Ranch Standoff

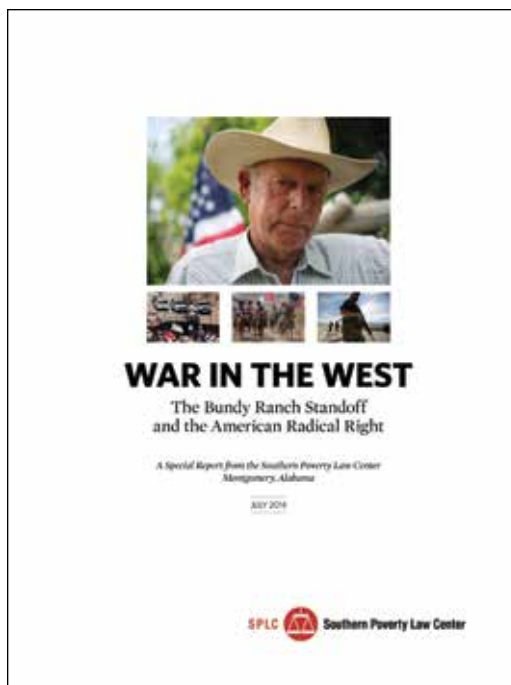
A recent report by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) finds that the April confrontation between the federal government and a Nevada rancher will likely inspire more radical anti-government violence — the same conclusion reached earlier in a major study of the incident by the

Southern Poverty Law Center.

The July DHS report, “Domestic Extremists Pose Increased Threat to Law Enforcement and Government Officials,” notes the role earlier stand-offs have played. “Historically,” it said, “spikes in violence have followed high-profile confrontations involving the United States Government, such as Ruby Ridge and Waco,” a reference to deadly standoffs with extremists in Idaho and Texas in 1992 and 1993, respectively. “The April 2014 Bunkerville, Nevada standoff likely represents a similar event that could inspire further violence.”

The report was referring to the case of Cliven Bundy, a rancher who had accumulated a debt of more than \$1 million in federal grazing fees that he refused to pay, calling the federal government illegitimate. When the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) finally moved to seize Bundy’s cattle based on a court order, the rancher put out a call to radical militias, many of whose members flocked to the ranch. There, a tense standoff ensued, with many militiamen pointing their weapons at federal officers, finally causing the BLM to withdraw rather than court the very real possibility of a bloodbath.

About two weeks before the July 22 DHS report was released, the Southern Poverty Law Center published a comprehensive study of the incident, “War in the West: The Bundy Ranch Standoff and the American Radical Right.” It concluded that what was seen as a Bundy victory had “invigorated”



and “emboldened” the radical right, and noted that several similar confrontations had followed the Bundy standoff as a result. Parts of that study also were published in the last issue of the *Intelligence Report*.

The DHS report said that for “militia extremists,” the BLM climbdown was seen as a “defining victory over government oppression” that was “galvanizing some individuals ... to actively confront law enforcement officials.” It cited three cases that followed the standoff: the murder of two Las Vegas police officers and another man by a couple who had been at the Bundy ranch; another person who reportedly was at the ranch who later said that militias would “exterminate” federal officials attempting a “land grab” in north Texas; and a Missouri militia group that discussed possible attacks on federal forces that might be used in some future law enforcement raid on the Bundy ranch.

Another recent law enforcement report, a New York state counterterrorism bulletin, made a similar point. The New York State

Intelligence Center’s June report said that the recent killings of five police officers in the United States and Canada “highlight a trend of growing violence by far-right extremists that is likely to continue in the near term.”

That report followed a June announcement from Attorney General Eric Holder that he was re-establishing the Domestic Terrorism Executive Committee to deal with domestic extremists with motives “from anti-government animus to racial prejudice.”

[EXTREMISM ON TV]

Dubious Broadcast ‘Experts’ Seen on Many Networks

Russia Today, a Moscow-headquartered news network aimed at enhancing Russia’s image in the West, is not known for its level-headed approach to the news. Since its founding in 2005, the network has endlessly touted 9/11 conspiracy theories, questioned President Obama’s place of birth, quoted “journalists” from unhinged “news” sources like WorldNetDaily, and even, in one case, interviewed a well-known white supremacist about Obama without mentioning his racism.

But there’s more.

Thanks to a June report by Adam Holland in the online Interpreter magazine, which specializes in translating and reporting Russian news, we now know that Russia Today regularly uses one Ryan Dawson as an “expert” on a whole plethora of subjects — the U.S. role in Yemen, Russia’s role in the Ukraine, disputes between China and Japan, and more. He’s been identified there as an author, a “journalist specializing in Asian affairs,” a “political blogger and peace activist,” a writer for WhatReallyHappened.com,

The Department of Homeland Security warned that an April standoff had energized the radical right, echoing findings in a Southern Poverty Law Center report entitled “War in the West.”



According to the Russia Today television network, Ryan Dawson is an expert in just about everything. He's also a Holocaust denier and 9/11 conspiracy theorist.

an “analyst,” and a “human rights activist.”

Dawson may be some of those things. But he's something else, too.

According to Holland, Dawson has for more than a decade been a Holocaust denier, a conspiracy theorist about Israel's supposed role in 9/11, and a promoter of the idea that Judaism sanctions pedophilia and rape. This January, he did a friendly interview with Michael Collins Piper, who writes for the Holocaust denial journal *The Barnes Review* and other radical publications. More recently, he and another interviewee laughed at the idea that the Nazis killed Jews in gas chambers.

Russia Today, Holland says, mentions none of this.

It isn't only foreign networks that like to use extremists as commentators. Over at Fox News this June, frequent Fox guest Gavin McInnes, a co-founder of *Vice* magazine who left in 2008, went on a rant against Neil deGrasse Tyson, a well-known black astrophysicist who hosts Fox's “Cosmos” program.

“I hate this guy,” McInnes said. “White liberal nerds love this guy so much, he could defecate on them ... and they would dance in the streets.” He went on to mock Tyson's account of being racially profiled as a youth, saying Tyson “had a huge Afro and a cut-off shirt” and concluding, “Sorry, you fit the profile.”

Media Matters, a liberal watchdog group, reported that McInnes used to write for the racist VDARE.com web site, has referred to Asian Americans as “slopes” and “riceballs,” and said Muslims are “stupider” due to inbreeding.

Even PBS is not wholly immune to this sort of thing.

In June, Bonnie Erbe, host of the public television network's “To the Contrary” program, accepted an annual journalism prize from the Center for Immigration Studies, an allegedly “nonpartisan” think tank that has never found any aspect of immigration that it likes, despite publishing scores of studies. As she has in the past, Erbe lauded the group, which, like her,

promotes the idea that immigration depletes natural resources and contributes to global warming. In her acceptance speech, Erbe complained that “in the journalistic community, if you dare raise any negative impact of mass immigration” then “you are shunted aside.”

If that's true, Erbe is a notable exception to the rule.

EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM

Fringe Candidates on Ballot in Seven States

Among the thousands of candidates for political office who are brought out by every election cycle, there are almost always a number from the ideological fringe. This year, a mid-term election that could give control of the Senate (and therefore, both houses of Congress) to the Republican Party, is no exception. Here's a brief roundup of a few:

Richard Bunk, Town Council, **Apple Valley, Calif.:** Bunk was once a member of the neo-Nazi

BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

MAY 6

The couple who made up the **South Carolina** chapter of the racist skinhead group **Crew 41**, Jeremy and Christine Moody, laughed, kissed and boasted that they'd do it again as they were each handed two consecutive life terms for the July 2013 murders of a registered sex offender and his wife in **Jonesville**. The year-old group, also called **Die Auserwählten** (German for Chosen Few), is known for its members' violence.

MAY 12

Keith Luke, who was serving two consecutive life terms for a racist 2009 murder spree that



Keith Luke

left two people in **Brockton, Mass.**, dead and a woman critically injured, died in

what appeared to be his fourth suicide attempt. Luke, a **neo-Nazi** who carved a swastika into his own forehead while awaiting trial, killed his victims because they were black and was planning to murder Orthodox Jews when he was captured.

JUNE 10

Sami Osmakac, a Kosovo-born

American Muslim who threatened “a second 9/11,” was convicted in **Tampa, Fla.**, of possessing an unregistered weapon and attempting to use weapons of mass destruction to avenge the deaths of Osama bin Laden and other **Al Qaeda** leaders. Prosecutors said that Osmakac was gathering weapons to bomb a local pub, take hostages and exchange them for Islamist prisoners held by the United States, and blow himself up with a suicide vest as police closed in.

JULY 10

Police and FBI agents in **Tremonton, Utah**, arrested John Huggins, 47, for alleg-

edly plotting to assassinate two police officers and bomb the local police department and nearby bridges in a bid to spark an **antigovernment** uprising. Huggins, who kept logs of police activity and in whose home explosive materials and one device were found, was described by his wife as a “**survivalist**” and explosives enthusiast.

AUG. 14

The last of 36 indicted members of the **Aryan Brotherhood of Texas** pleaded guilty in a major racketeering case brought against the ultra-violent white supremacist prison gang in 2012. Officials said

National Socialist White People's Party, and was mentored by racist Christian Identity pastor John Hale McGee.

Robert Ransdell (write-in), U.S. Senate, **Kentucky**: Ransdell is a former regional coordinator for the neo-Nazi National Alliance and flaunts campaign signs that say, "With Jews We Lose."

Jerry DeLemus, sheriff, **Stratford County, N.H.**: DeLemus is a local Tea Party activist whose wife is a state representative and head of a Tea Party chapter. He attended a meeting geared to forming a militia last year.

Michael Peroutka (R), County Council, **Anne Arundel County, Md.**: Peroutka is an attorney who runs the far-right Institute on the Constitution. He also has been a board member of the neo-Confederate League of the South, which calls for a second Southern secession, formation of a white-dominated country, and an end to interracial marriage.

Jody Hice (R), U.S. Congress, **Georgia**: Hice wants to deny First

Amendment protection to Muslims; believes in the false idea that states have the right to nullify federal laws; has compared homosexuality to alcoholism and drug addiction; and believes women should get their husbands' permission before running for office.

Gordon Klingenschmitt (R), state legislature, **Colorado**: Klingenschmitt believes that demonic spirits cause homosexuality and abortion and that the Federal Communications Commission, by not tightening decency standards, is allowing demons to "molest and visually rape" children. He has also claimed that gay people cannot serve in the military due to having to take breaks during battle to change their diapers because their "treacherous sin" causes them to "lose their bowels."

Joni Ernst (R), U.S. Senate, **Iowa**: Ernst has endorsed nullifying the Affordable Care Act and imprisoning federal officials who attempt to implement it; endorsed impeaching President Obama; and claimed that the United Nations is



On the ballot (from top left): Richard Bunck, Robert Ransdell, Jerry DeLemus, Michael Peroutka, Jody Hice, Gordon Klingenschmitt, and Joni Ernst.

forcing Agenda 21—a 1992 non-binding resolution encouraging countries to be more environmentally sustainable—on Iowa farmers, something that will supposedly result in their land being taken away. ▲

those who pleaded in Texas' Southern District include the five "generals" who run the gang that is known for murders, kidnappings, drug trafficking and more. The pleas capped a six-year effort that led to a total of 73 convictions in five federal districts in Texas, decimating the gang's leadership.

AUG. 19

Joseph Caleca of **Setauket on Long Island, N.Y.**, was charged with attempted murder as a hate crime after allegedly attacking a Sikh man in **Ozark Park, Queens**. Officials said that Caleca confronted Sandeep Singh as he spoke with

friends, calling him a "fucking Osama" and then running him over with his pickup truck. Singh was dragged for more than 30 feet and suffered internal injuries and other wounds.

SEPT. 10

Shannon Maureen Conley, a 19-year-old **Colorado** convert to Islam, pleaded guilty to federal charges of conspiring to support a foreign terrorist organization. Conley was arrested in April as she attempted to board a plane in **Denver** for the first leg of a trip to Syria, where she planned to marry a 32-year-old Tunisian fighter she met

on the Internet and become a jihadist working for the **ISIS** terrorist group.

SEPT. 12

A jury in **Orlando, Fla.**, found Bill White, an infamous neo-Nazi who was already serving time for threatening a whole array of enemies, guilty of sending death threats to officials involved in the case against members of the **American Front**, a white supremacist group whose compound was raided in May 2012. White, previously an official with the **National Socialist Movement** and, later, founder of the **American National Socialist Workers**

Party, faced a possible term of decades in prison.

SEPT. 12

A **Kissimmee, Fla.**, jury convicted Marcus Faella, a leader of the racist skinhead group **American Front**, on two counts of illegal paramilitary training in connection with his alleged plans to attack an anti-racist group and eventually engage in a race war. Faella was one of more than a dozen people arrested in a raid on his **Osceola County** compound, which was fitted with firing ports and gun entrenchments. Most of those cases were eventually dismissed. Faella faces up to 30 years in prison.



‘WARRIOR FOR

Two years ago, Jerry Boykin was hired by the Family Research Council. Will the group now target Muslims along with gay people?

BY DON TERRY

SPARKS, Nev. — Retired three-star general William “Jerry” Boykin is the executive vice president of the anti-LGBT, archconservative Family Research Council, the FRC. He is in charge of its day-to-day operations, but he is no desk jockey.

White-haired and 66, Boykin is an old soldier who refuses to fade away. A popular speaker on the conservative Christian speaking circuit, Boykin is constantly on the road, crisscrossing the country from pulpit to pulpit, recruiting a Christian army to battle the forces of Satan, hell-bent, he says, on destroying America with such weapons as same-sex marriage, radical Islamists, gun control, abortion, and a “Marxist model” for world conquest.

“You wonder why there’s so much religious persecution in America today,” he asked a Texas church audience two years ago. “It’s because we’re becoming a Marxist nation.”

Over the recent Fourth of July weekend — Boykin’s favorite time of the year except for Easter and Christmas — the self-described Warrior for God was on the road far from his Washington, D.C., office. Boykin was in the pulpit of an evangelical church in the scraggly brown hills of Nevada, not far from the neon lights and blackjack tables of Reno, “The Biggest Little City in the World.”

GOD'

A close-up photograph of a middle-aged man with short, light-colored hair, wearing a dark suit jacket, a light blue shirt, and a dark tie with white polka dots. He is looking upwards and to the right with an expressive, open-mouthed expression. His right hand is raised, with fingers spread, as if gesturing during a speech or sermon. The background is dark and out of focus, with some warm, reddish-brown tones on the left side. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting his face and hand.

Boykin spoke at six separate services — upstairs and downstairs — at the Summit Christian Church on Saturday and Sunday, repeating his themes of peril, prayer and politics.

“Tyranny is returning to America,” he said at one session. “Tyranny, as we see our Constitution being shredded. Tyranny, as we see every liberty we have been provided being challenged.”

At another service he declared, “Our faith is under fire today like it has never been under fire.”

And as he prowled the pulpit like a talk-show host, a huge Bible in one hand, a pocket-sized copy of the United States Constitution in the other, and a wireless microphone strapped to his head, he announced, “I’m neither a Republican nor a Democrat.”

“In fact,” he said, “the Republicans tried to get me to run for Senate this year. I said, ‘I can’t run [on the GOP ticket] because I’m an independent. And until you become the conservatives I expect you to be, until you start standing for my values, I’m not going to call myself a Republican.’”

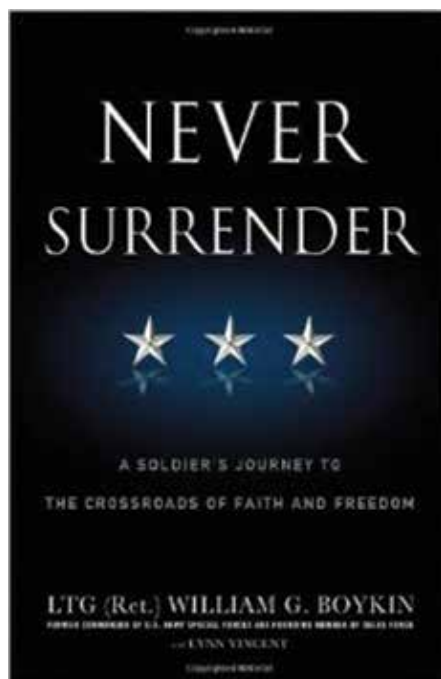
The Republican Party of Cheney, Cruz and Coulter is not conservative enough for Jerry Boykin.

Listening to Boykin speak in Nevada last July, it quickly became obvious that persuading the grandfather of six to give up the ghosts of the Red Scare and the Cold War is a mission impossible. Boykin is not just stubborn. The barrel-chested, ordained minister with a shoulder-fired SA-7 rocket on his basement wall and “probably more guns than anybody in here” claims to have some well-connected back-up in his crusade to restore and save his version of America.

“Me plus the Holy Spirit,” he said, “is the majority.”

Theocracy and Islamophobia

Boykin’s far-right résumé since retiring from the military includes a seat on the board of the Christian Dominionist-leaning Oak Initiative, which, according



Jerry Boykin, who is now an executive of one of the country’s hardest-line anti-LGBT groups, touched on the subject of homosexuality in his 350-page memoir. But the book focuses much more on Boykin’s faith.

to its website, promotes a grassroots movement to “mobilize and organize a cohesive force of activated Christians.” Dominion theology calls for Christians to implement a nation governed by Christians or by a conservative Christian interpretation of biblical law.

The general has made videos on behalf of the Oak Initiative. In one, he looks into the camera and — with a straight face — claims that President Obama is developing his own brown-shirt army to enforce Marxism under the guise of healthcare reform.

Boykin, who also teaches at Hampden-Sydney, a liberal arts college for men in Virginia, was named executive vice president of the FRC in 2012. His appointment left some longtime observers of the group, which has been listed

by the Southern Poverty Law Center since 2010 as a hate group, scratching their heads. FRC is feverishly obsessed with the LGBT community, and it has regularly and baselessly made claims like LGBT people are promiscuous, unstable and dangerous to children and that gay men are prone to pedophilia. Yet, Boykin’s main concern — his grand obsession — is Islam, specifically the Muslim Brotherhood, which he says is infiltrating the United States government and laying the groundwork for imposing Shariah religious law across the land.

“I’ve been outspoken about my concerns about radical Islam and I’ve been hammered for it,” he said in the Christian Summit Church sanctuary. “The interesting thing is there are more and more Americans who are beginning to wake up and realize there really is a threat from the Muslim Brotherhood inside America. Don’t think they aren’t here. They are here.”

“I’m not talking about every Muslim,” he quickly added. “But I’ve been outspoken about the fact that we’ve got to stand up to the Muslim Brotherhood in America.”

Somewhere, Sen. Joe McCarthy is smiling.

When it comes to gay issues, Boykin’s is a softer, gentler, hate-the-sin, love-the-sinner form of bigotry. “I believe homosexuality is wrong biblically, but it’s no greater than my sins,” he told a Texas audience two years ago. “I’ve sinned, too. It’s just a sin like the sins I’ve committed.”

Boykin denies being a bigot of any kind. In Nevada, Boykin told the congregation that neither he nor the FRC hate gays as some of their critics claim. “On the contrary,” he said, adding that they simply believe in “natural marriage, marriage between a man and a woman.”

The subject of homosexuality comes up briefly in his 350-page, 2008 memoir, *Never Surrender: A Soldier’s Journey to the Crossroads of Faith and Freedom*. Boykin

writes about a military psychiatrist — “a strange, slightly overweight fellow” — who probed his fitness to join the United States Army’s brand-new elite Delta Force special operations unit in 1978.

The shrink questioned Boykin for two hours. “Could you spend several days alone in a sniper position with a homosexual?” he asked.

“It was his first question,” Boykin writes. “In 1978, it was also a weird question, and it got my attention.”

So Boykin gave his answer some thought.

“If it was my mission, I could,” Boykin says he replied. “But he’d better understand that I’m not like that.”

The Darkness Spreads

Boykin’s sermons are sprinkled with war stories, examples, he says, of God’s grace and the power of prayer. Boykin spent 36 years in the Army, including 13 as a commando and, later, leader of the Delta Force, despite the concerns of the chubby shrink who tried to keep Boykin out of the unit.

The psychiatrist told Boykin that “from my analysis of your test data, I believe you rely too much on your faith and not enough on yourself. I’m going to recommend against your being part of this organization.” The words hit Boykin like “a bullet.” But the doctor’s concerns were overruled by the Delta Force commanders and Boykin was signed up.

Before retiring from the military in 2007 as a three-star lieutenant general, Boykin — “a warrior’s warrior,” as NBC News once called him — was twice wounded and took part in some of the most high-profile missions of his generation, from the failed Iranian hostage rescue attempt in 1980 to the invasion of the Caribbean island nation of Grenada to the infamous *Black Hawk Down* firefight in the dusty streets of Mogadishu, Somalia, that left 18 of his soldiers dead, 84 wounded and Boykin questioning his faith.

“I’m a knucklehead,” Boykin told the Nevada congregation. “I question God all

the time. I even get angry at Him.”

From 2002 to 2007, Boykin was the Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence in the Bush administration, part of the team hunting down Osama Bin Laden, Saddam Hussein and other “high-value targets” in the so-called “war on terror.” Boykin also worked for the CIA; he was a soldier and a spook. Yet, despite his long and distinguished military career in uniform and out, Boykin is best known for his inflammatory statements about Muslims over the years.

Salon, the online magazine, described Boykin as “a highly controversial anti-Islamic activist,” who once said that Islam “should not be protected by the First Amendment” because it “is not just a religion, it is a totalitarian way of life.” CBS News said Boykin has been called “a national embarrassment, a religious fanatic and a three-star bigot.”

For such an experienced soldier, Boykin has made himself an easy target with his mouth. “The continent of Europe is dark, it is hopelessly lost and it’s going to get worse,” he said at FRC’s Watchmen on the Wall conference in 2012. “Every expert will tell you that by the middle of this century, the continent of Europe will be an Islamic continent, and they can’t reverse it, they can’t stop it. It is because they took Jesus out of their societies and it’s been replaced by darkness.”

Darkness is also spreading across America, according to Boykin. “Our government is infiltrated and the Muslim Brotherhood has so much influence in this country, it is incredible,” he said during an interview on a right-wing radio station, WND Radio America, in 2012.

That same year, Boykin was scheduled to give a talk at a prayer breakfast at West Point. His participation was abruptly canceled, according to *The New York Times*, after “a growing list of liberal veterans’ groups, civil liberties advocates and Muslim organizations called

on the Military Academy to rescind the invitation.”

Votevets.org, one of the veterans’ groups, demanded that Boykin be disinvented from the breakfast, saying in a letter to West Point officials that the retired general’s remarks were “incompatible with Army values” and would “put our troops in danger” by making Muslims think the war on terror was really a crusade against Islam.

Two years later, in the hills of Nevada, Boykin was still feeling the sting of the anti-Boykin coalition. He mentioned the West Point controversy from the pulpit, an example, he said, of religious and ideological persecution. “Getting criticized hurts,” he told the Summit Church congregation. “I can tell you from personal experience. But it doesn’t hurt enough not to do it. Our ultimate accountability is not to anybody on this earth.”

He held his big black Bible over his head.

“If it’s in this book,” he said. “I believe it.”

Islam as Satan

For more than 30 years, Boykin served the military — like most of the young American men and women sent to fight and die around the world — in quiet honor and obscurity.

Then, in 2003, the newly minted three-star general and Bush administration deputy undersecretary came under fire for remarks he made, dressed in full uniform, with a chest full of medals and ribbons, to several church groups. During those presentations, Boykin referred to the United States as a “Christian nation” joined in “spiritual battle” against Satan. He cast Islam as the enemy and couched the war on terror in religious terms. He told a religious group in Oregon that Islamic extremists hate the United States “because we’re a Christian nation, because our foundation and our roots are Judeo-Christian.”

There was a loud outcry about his comments from Democrats and

"The General Who Roared": Jerry Boykin is fond of displaying a miniature copy of the Constitution, as he did during a 2011 speech at a Colorado Christian university.

Republicans, including President Bush, who publicly distanced himself from the general, saying his remarks did not reflect the sentiments of the administration. *The New York Times* called Boykin "The General Who Roared" and said he should be fired.

"Not only did a high-ranking government official make remarks that espoused a single religious view and denigrated others," the *Times* said in an editorial, calling for his resignation, "but he damaged the national security policy of the United States."

But with the firm backing of his boss, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Boykin kept his job. He did, however, receive a slap-on-the-wrist reprimand after a Defense Department investigation concluded he had violated three internal regulations, including failing to obtain clearance for his remarks.

'Relying on God'

Boykin was born and raised in rural North Carolina, where growing and picking tobacco put food on many a table. But it was God and country that held the number one spot in the hearts and minds of most of his kin and friends. His mother, Katie, a devout evangelical, raised him in church, "starting with a plain little country church way off in the sticks," he writes in his memoir.

When he wasn't in church or playing high school football, Boykin was strumming a guitar and singing. He was in a folk music trio with a future Miss North Carolina and a buddy who went onto a long professional career in show business. The trio performed "Puff the Magic Dragon" at every country fair and talent contest in a tri-county area. "I wanted to sing country music," Boykin writes, but

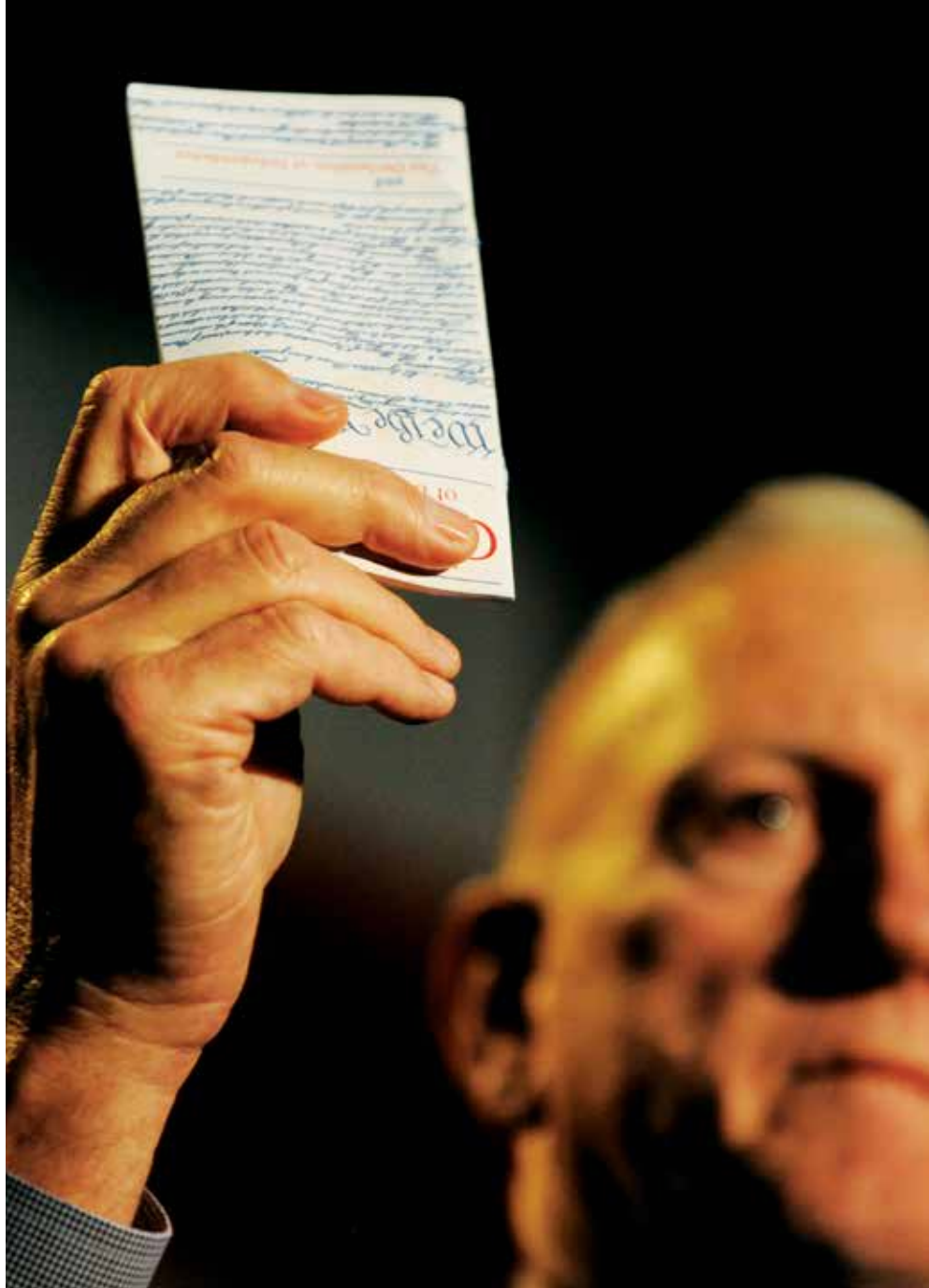
his bandmates "hated it and wouldn't let me."

Boykin attended Virginia Tech on a football scholarship and played for a coach, "a Southern Baptist so conservative he'd make Ronald Reagan look like a liberal." But Boykin's lifelong ambition had nothing to do with sports or singing. All he ever wanted to do was follow his four uncles and his father, Cecil, a wounded veteran of D-Day, who also served in the Korean War, into the military. "I never knew a time when I didn't dream of being a soldier," he writes. He attended Virginia Tech on a football scholarship and was over-

joyed to be accepted into the Corps of Cadets, a military program that led to an army commission.

In the fall of 1967, the start of his sophomore year in college, Boykin married his high school sweetheart, Lynne Cameron, "a beautiful blonde who'd transferred into our country school from New Haven, Connecticut." Everybody in his hometown thought the Yankee girl talked funny.

The day after Christmas, 1970, Boykin raised his right hand and swore his allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, fulfilling his boyhood dream by officially becoming a soldier in the



United States Army. The road ahead wasn't easy and Boykin says he began relying more and more on God. To get through basic training, he writes that he began working hard to "deepen my faith." During rigorous Army Ranger training exercises in the freezing mountains of North Carolina, if he could keep his eyes open at the end of the day, he'd pull out a tiny copy of the New Testament he carried in small plastic bag. Then he'd pray for God to help him make it through another day. He says he began Ranger school "a colossal failure" and "ended it as an honor graduate."

"For me," he writes, "that was the beginning of a life lived relying on God moment by moment."

War and its Discontents

Boykin pleaded with his superiors to send him to Vietnam. He got his wish in 1972, but for only a few months, as the war was winding down. In 1980, he was the Delta Force operations officer during the Iranian hostage rescue mission. The mission ended in fiery failure when eight soldiers were killed in a crash at the mission's desert staging area.

In 1983, Boykin was badly wounded during Operation Urgent Fury, the invasion of Grenada. A bullet that hit the radio Boykin was operating, tore through his armpit and exited his shoulder. It appeared he might lose the arm, or use of it. But he recovered and claimed God had healed him.

Boykin was also badly wounded during the 1993 engagement in Mogadishu made famous by the book *Black Hawk Down* and the movie of the same title. By then, Boykin was the Delta commander. Drenched in despair and rage, he watched as CNN broadcast videos of the bodies of two of his fallen soldiers being dragged through the dusty streets by a rope attached to a jeep. Two days after the battle, Boykin was hit by shrapnel in his legs and feet when a mortar round landed in the Americans' airfield. A sergeant was

“By the middle of this century, the continent of Europe will be an Islamic continent, and they can’t reverse it. It is because they took Jesus out of their societies and it’s been replaced by darkness.”

killed and the Delta Force surgeon was critically wounded.

Boykin often tells the story of what he says happened next. As the surgeon lay dying on a medical cot next to his, Boykin reached over and held the doctor's hand.

And he prayed.

That dying doctor, Boykin said in Nevada as "amens" floated through the sanctuary, is practicing medicine today in the Shenandoah Valley.

Months after the battle, the Senate Armed Services Committee began an investigation into tactical and policy decisions that might have contributed to the American casualties. An anonymous letter, Boykin writes in his memoir, was sent to each of the committee members, accusing Boykin of fostering a tense and unlivable atmosphere at Delta and pointing to his poor leadership as the reason so many men died in Somalia.

For Boykin, "the aftermath of Mogadishu was already like an emotional grave." The letter and the investigation, he writes, was "as if someone was standing up top, shoveling in the dirt."

Boykin was cleared of any wrongdoing but he was still emotionally trapped. Just after Christmas, his wife, Lynne, walked into the house and said she wanted a divorce.

He has said she called him "a religious fanatic" and told him she was leaving.

After Lynne's bombshell, Boykin lay across his bed and "plunged back into despair."

"As I stared up at the ceiling," he writes, "I prayed what Isaiah prayed: *Lord, just take me. I am a total failure.*"

Warriors for God

Boykin eventually remarried. His second wife, Ashley — "the love of my life" — gave him the small copy of the Constitution he carries with him whenever he speaks. He chokes up talking about her. Ashley, he says, is completely tolerant every time he brings home a new pistol to add to his large personal collection of weapons.

"I got a brother who owns a gun shop," he said. "That's probably the worst thing that could happen to a guy like me."

Boykin sometimes muses about Jesus carrying an assault rifle to vanquish evil. So it was appropriate that the Summit Christian Church's nine-piece rock band played a militaristic song of praise before Boykin was introduced.

*Our God a mighty warrior
You're a consuming fire
In victory you reign
We triumph in your name
Jesus the great commander*

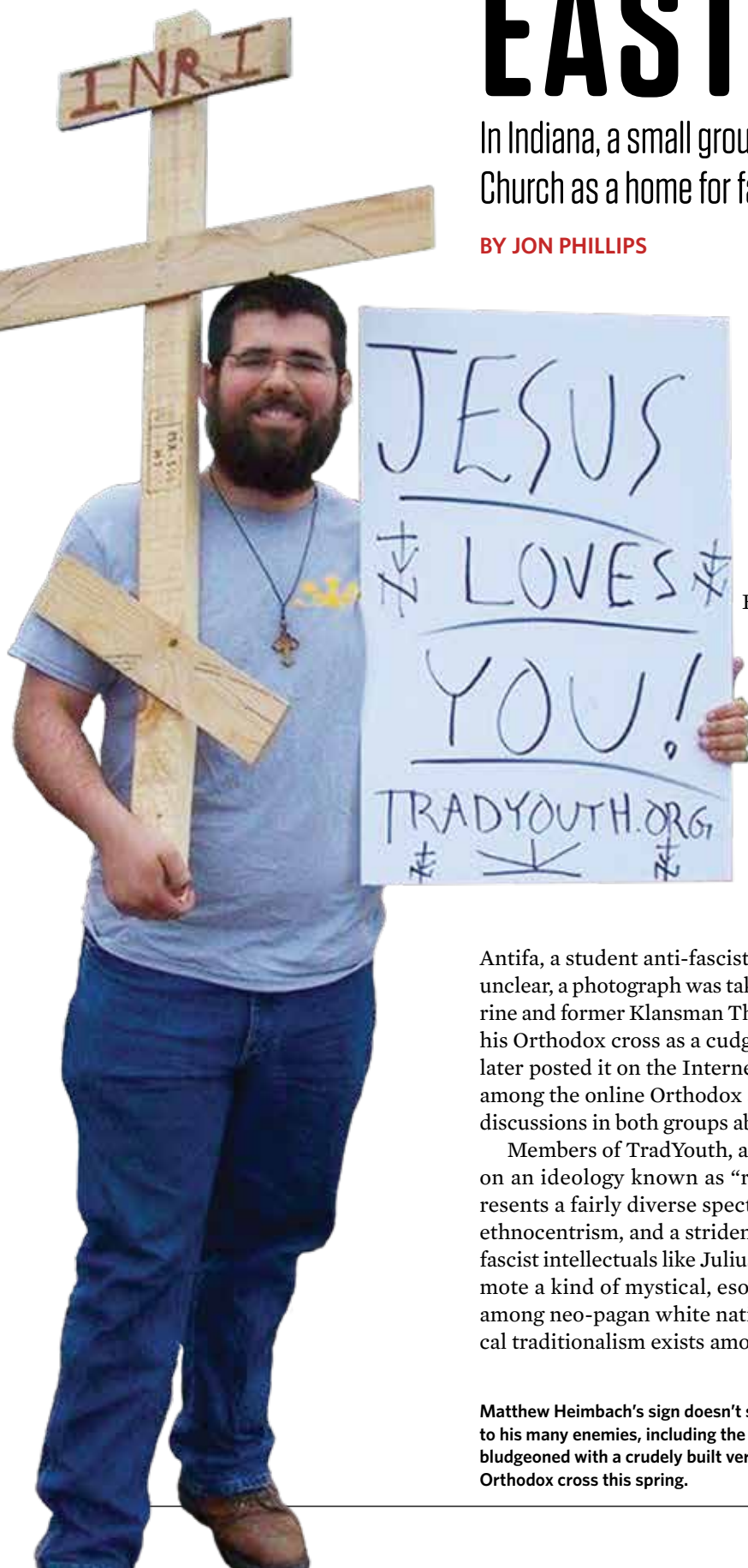
Bible in hand and the Constitution in his pocket, Boykin took the pulpit and began his long weekend in the hills talking about Jesus, guns and the coming "spiritual warfare" for the future of America.

"It's time to put our faith into action and be what God calls us to be," he said. "Warriors." ▲

EAST OF EDEN

In Indiana, a small group of racists are promoting the Orthodox Church as a home for fascism. The church begs to differ

BY JON PHILLIPS



This spring, a group of about 100 students and others gathered at Indiana University at Bloomington to participate in their local Slutwalk, an annual protest held in cities around the world to denounce rape culture and victim-shaming. Facing them were a handful of counter-protesters who, misunderstanding the idea of Slutwalk, heckled the crowd, wielding crude signs decrying “slut culture.”

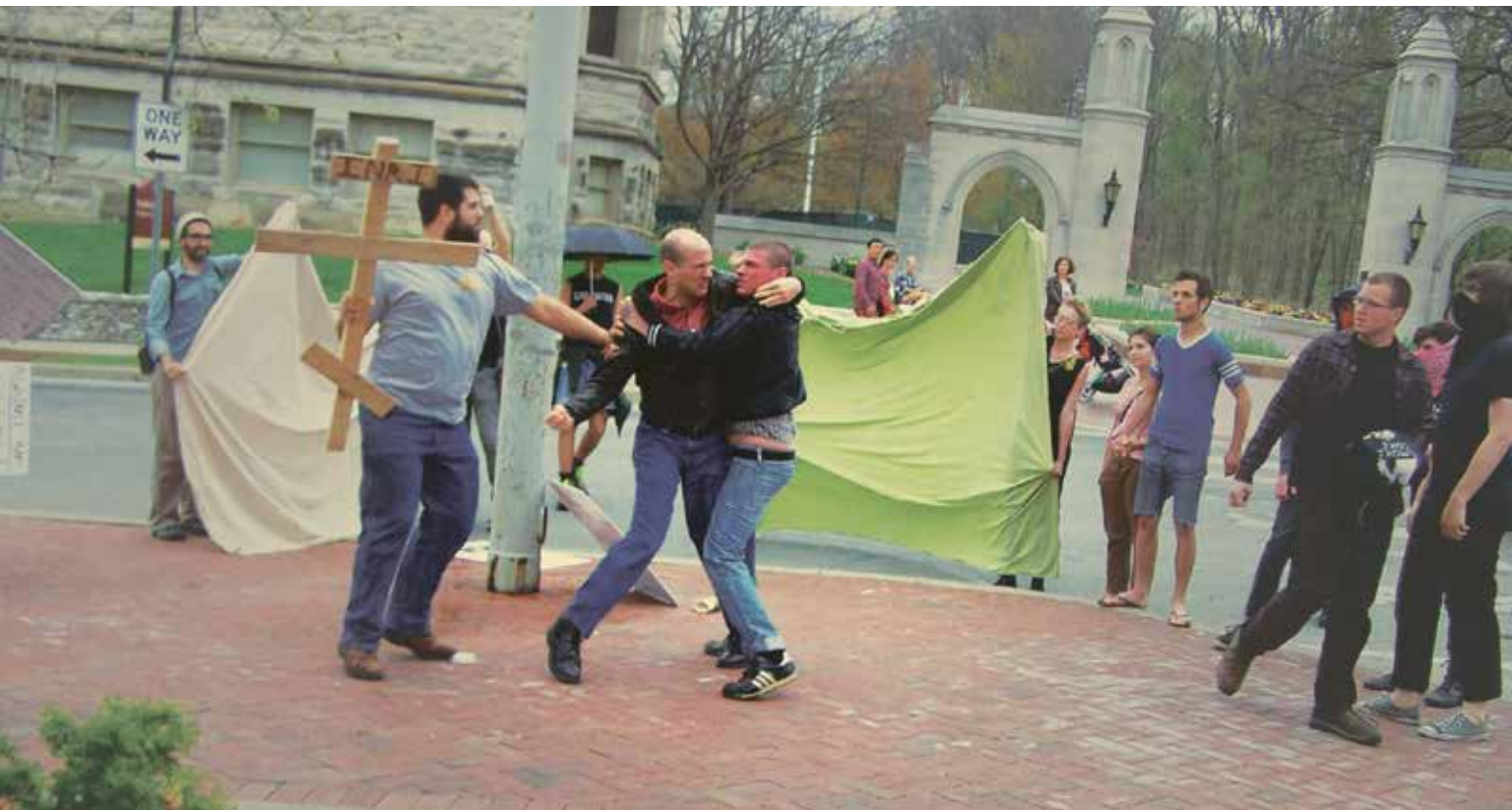
The hecklers at the April 21 event came from the Bloomington-based Traditionalist Youth Network, led by 23-year-old Matthew Heimbach, who was already a veteran of several other white nationalist hate groups. To Heimbach and his TradYouth activists, SlutWalk was just one more sign of a “degenerate” culture that celebrates promiscuity, homosexuality and miscegenation. Heimbach led the counter-protest waving a three-barred cross, the traditional symbol of the Orthodox Church, to which Heimbach and his compatriots are recent converts.

At some point, an altercation took place between the TradYouth counter-protesters and a man who appears to have been a member of the IU Bloomington Antifa, a student anti-fascist organization. While the exact sequence of events is unclear, a photograph was taken showing a 31-year-old TradYouth member, ex-Marine and former Klansman Thomas Buhls, holding the man while Heimbach wields his Orthodox cross as a cudgel, bludgeoning his antagonist. TradYouth members later posted it on the Internet, captioned “Good Night, Anti-White.” It went viral among the online Orthodox and white nationalist communities, sparking intense discussions in both groups about the relationship between them.

Members of TradYouth, as they call their group, promote an idiosyncratic take on an ideology known as “radical traditionalism.” Radical traditionalism represents a fairly diverse spectrum of far-right thought, emphasizing nationalism, ethnocentrism, and a strident opposition to “degenerate” modernity. Drawing on fascist intellectuals like Julius Evola and Francis Parker Yockey, traditionalists promote a kind of mystical, esoteric nationalism of the sort most commonly found among neo-pagan white nationalists and national socialists. One version of radical traditionalism exists among anti-Semitic Catholics who reject the liberalizing

church reforms of Vatican II. Heimbach and other TradYouthers, on the other hand, locate their version of traditionalism in their newfound Orthodox Christian faith.

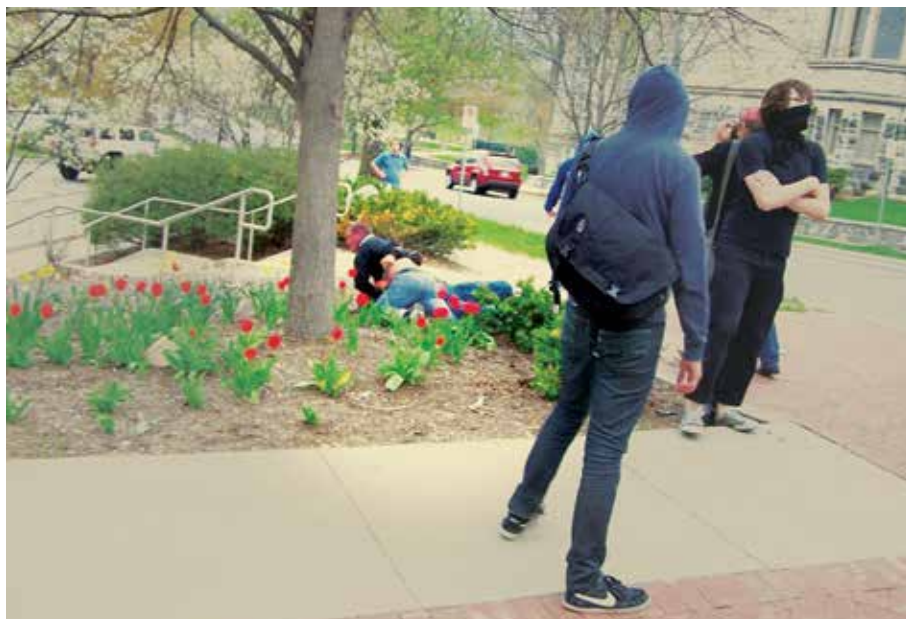
Matthew Heimbach's sign doesn't seem to apply to his many enemies, including the anti-racist he bludgeoned with a crudely built version of the Orthodox cross this spring.



Spiritual warfare? Matthew Heimbach uses an Orthodox cross as a cudgel as he assists former Klansman Thomas Buhls (bald head) in a fistfight with an anti-racist activist. The fight's main result was Heimbach's excommunication from the Orthodox Church.

TradYouth's mission statement says it promotes "Tribe and Tradition" and encourages solidarity within ethnic groups without preference or prejudice. It even describes itself as "inclusive." In reality, of course, TradYouth is simply a new vehicle for the same virulent white nationalism its core leadership has been involved with for years. Its Facebook page reflects that, with one image of the long-defunct British Union of Fascists in Nazi-style uniforms labeled "Real Men Stand Up for Faith, Family, Folk." The group's Facebook page also celebrates various European fascists, Confederate leaders, homophobia, racism and violent militarism.

In an interview with the *Indiana Daily Student*, IU's student newspaper, TradYouth co-founder Buhls described it as the "national extension" of the White Student Union, which was founded by Heimbach at his college in Towson,



Md. Heimbach eventually moved to Bloomington to assist Buhls and Matt Parrott, the third founding member of both the Bloomington White Student Union and the Traditionalist Youth Network, in reaching high school and college students.

All three leaders have deep roots in the white nationalist movement.

Heimbach was a member of the neo-Confederate League of the South until he was kicked out of the group after participating in a rally with the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement and the Aryan Terror Brigade, but still promotes "Southern nationalism." Buhls served as a recruiter for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (now rebranded as

the “Knights Party”). Parrott is a former director of American Third Position (now the American Freedom Party), former host of an anti-Semitic and white nationalist show on the now-defunct Voice of Reason Internet radio station, and a contributor to numerous other racist media outlets. Parrott is also an anti-feminist men’s rights activist and proponent of racist pseudoscience.

What is the attraction to these men of Orthodox Christianity?

Orthodoxy and Nationalism

The move to abandon established groups in favor of setting up their own white nationalist organization, one ostensibly based on Orthodox Christianity and its tenets, seems strange at first glance. Orthodoxy, especially in America, isn’t linked to any particular political ideology. Moreover, in 1872, the Orthodox Church decreed that ethnonationalism was a heresy incompatible with its teachings, issuing a statement saying, “We renounce, censure and condemn racism, that is racial discrimination, ethnic feuds, hatreds and dissensions within the Church of Christ, as contrary to the teaching of the Gospel and the holy canons of our blessed fathers.”

Just three days after the Bloomington assault, Bartholomew, the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople and the church’s most senior bishop, reaffirmed this. “Whenever an Orthodox Church succumbs to nationalist rhetoric and lends support to racial tendencies, it loses sight of the authentic theological principles and gives in to a fallen mindset, totally alien to the core of Orthodoxy,” he said.

Given all of this, it may be hard to see what, beyond an unthinking fetishization of “tradition,” led TradYouth’s founders to Orthodoxy in the first place. But they certainly aren’t alone in their belief that the Orthodox Church is a natural haven for white nationalism. Religious debates flare up frequently on racist sites like Stormfront and the Vanguard News Network (VNN), and



Although the Orthodox Church has condemned racism and ethnonationalism for more than 140 years now, some of its officials have not been on board. Metropolitan Seraphim of Greece (top) has made a series of anti-Semitic claims, while the late Metropolitan Ioannis of Russia made even harsher remarks about Jews.

while many participants insist that all Christian denominations are equally degenerate, inevitably some will hold up Orthodoxy as uniquely immune to the Jewish influence that supposedly permeates the rest of Christendom. Just last year, Stormfront ran a poll, asking “Can Christianity Save Europe?” The available choices were “Yes,” “No,” “Maybe,”

“European man should not be Christian” and “Only Orthodox Christianity.”

The resurgence of fascist groups in largely Orthodox countries across Eastern Europe, from political parties like Greece’s Golden Dawn and Ukraine’s Svoboda to Orthodox ultranationalist groups like Russia’s Narodny Sobor and Romania’s Noua Dreapta, have reinforced the perception among white nationalists that the Church might be an ally in their war against Judaism, homosexuality, multiculturalism, feminism and the other forces of “cultural Marxism.” Even non-Christians in these communities seem to think that Orthodox Christianity is special, leaving comments like this statement from a self-professed atheist on VNN: “At the end of the day, the countries who have Orthodox populations have remained more racially and culturally sound than the nations with no religion or worse, Protestantism. The Orthodox base is a major reason why Greeks, Russians and Serbs understand the Jewish question far better than any member of your college Atheists club.”

On the Dark Side

The most troubling part of this belief is that it’s not entirely unfounded. While official Church teachings, not to mention the overwhelming majority of Orthodox Christians worldwide, condemn racism and far-right ultranationalism, extremist groups in Greece, Russia and across central and eastern Europe do enjoy the support of fringe Orthodox priests and bishops. Some are even highly ranked.

Metropolitan Seraphim of Piraeus, the senior bishop in the region near Athens that includes Greece’s largest seaport, gave an interview in 2010 in which he said that “Adolf Hitler was an instrument of world Zionism and was financed from the renowned Rothschild family with the sole purpose of convincing the Jews to leave the shores of Europe and go to Israel to establish the new Empire.” According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, he also accused an interna-

tional Zionist conspiracy of attempting to enslave Greece and the Orthodox Church, and of “trying to destroy the family unit by promoting one-parent families and same-sex marriages.”

In September, Seraphim attacked a new “anti-racist” law in Greece, issuing a statement that charged that the law “abolishes freedom of expression” and mandates “legal protection of homosexual orientation, which is a perversion of the human nature and physiology.” He said the law was implemented in “a fascist-like manner” and complained of a “New World Order” where people are being “controlled by the sly and mean conspirators of the financial markets’ global dictatorship.” “New terms have been invented,” he went on, “‘islamophobia,’ ‘homophobia’ and so on. They are aimed at a specific type of person: a citizen who likes the history, culture, and traditions of his or her nation: that is, an interested European Christian.”

Similarly, Russia’s Metropolitan Ioannis of St. Petersburg and Lagoda, who was the second most senior official in the Russian Orthodox Church until his death in 1995, was so extreme that even other Orthodox clergy publicly referred to him as a fascist and the Patriarch of Moscow eventually banned him from publishing in any official church publications. In anti-Semitic speeches, Ioann quoted liberally from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the notorious turn-of-the-century Russian forgery that claimed to expose a Jewish plot aimed at world domination. He also backed canonizing Tsar Nicholas II on the grounds that he died as a “ritual victim” of the Jews who supposedly masterminded the Bolshevik Revolution.

The SOVA Center for Information and Analysis, a Russian nonprofit that researches “nationalism and racism, relations between the churches and secular society, and political radicalism,” has described Ioann as the spiritual leader of what it calls “Orthodox fundamentalism.” It describes that fundamentalism as an ideology of religious and ethnic nationalism that promotes a return to



American fascists in the Traditionalist Youth Network laud historical figures associated with the Orthodox Church like John of Kronstadt (top), a Russian priest involved in the ultranationalist Black Hundreds, and Corneliu Codreanu, a founder of Romanian Iron Guard.

the supposed “Golden Age” of pre-revolutionary Russian imperialism, with an emphasis on promoting “full fledged autocracy, restrictions for foreign believers and... foreigners, the imperial structure for internal and external policy, ruling status for the [Russian Orthodox Church], and a rigorous state-Orthodox paternalism.”

The Orthodox fundamentalism that SOVA describes is the ideological descendant of groups like the Black Hundreds, an early 20th century Russian Orthodox ultranationalist and monarchist movement, and the Iron Guard, an Orthodox fascist group which briefly came to power in Romania during World War II. Both groups were known for their extreme nationalism and virulent anti-Semitism, as well as the deadly violence they committed in the name of these ideologies. And both organizations were responsible for pogroms against Jews in their respective countries, and for numerous political assassinations.

To Russia, With Love

The Traditionalist Youth Network is working to bring Orthodox fundamentalism to the United States. Its leaders routinely point to figures like Corneliu Codreanu, the founder of the Iron Guard, and John of Kronstadt, a Russian saint controversial for his involvement with the Black Hundreds, as figures American white nationalists should celebrate and emulate. Fr. Michael Raphael Johnson — a priest in a schismatic Orthodox sect who, like Matt Parrott hosted a radio show, “The Orthodox Nationalist,” at the Voice of Reason network, and who is now a TradYouth contributor — praises Ioann as “one of the great 20th-century theologians” and lauds his “essays and sermons concerning number one, the place of Russia, number two, the role of the Jews, and number three, the role of the New World Order, or Antichrist, which he considers to be one and the same thing.”

TradYouth’s embrace of Orthodox fundamentalism leads its members to view Russia, especially President Vladimir Putin’s regime, as a model. In a post on the TradYouth website this past January, Heimbach praised Putin for restoring “[t]he strength of Orthodoxy united with Russian nationalism.” According to Heimbach, Tsarist Russia was an ideal state, one that was destroyed by a Jewish conspiracy: “One cannot truly



Matthew Heimbach took a three-month hiatus from racist activism after his Orthodox priest took him to task. But then he was back with a vengeance, attacking Jews and singing the praises of an infamous Romanian fascist.

understand the rise of the Bolsheviks without understanding the push behind the coalition of Jews and modernists to overthrow the entire Russian system. Russia at the time of the Revolution was essentially a theocratic monarchy, everything that the Left truly despised. ‘Communism’ and other ‘isms’ were and are simply slogans to be used to advance the agenda of those who are opposed to Tradition and Christendom.” Heimbach ended this essay with what appears to be

a pledge to stand with Russia against the “degenerate” United States.

“As America falls deeper into the tar pit of modernity, Russia stands strong,” he wrote. “While in America satanists are preparing to fund a statue to the devil in a state capital, Russia builds churches. While America forces the Church to pay for abortions and spits upon her sacred institutions, Russia is promoting the Church and Christian symbols. As both Republicans and Democrats turn their back on the American faithful and our Traditions, President Putin and the Russian government stand united with the Church. If trends continue and God allows this powerful spiritual revival of the Russian people we will see the coming of the Third Rome.”

“I proudly stand behind Mother Russia and her defense of Tradition,” Heimbach concludes in his paean to Putin’s Russia. “Hail the Third Rome!”

Bringing It All Back Home

Ironically, their continued promotion of white nationalism and Orthodox fundamentalism may cost Heimbach, Parrott and Buhls their place in the Orthodox Church. Shortly after the photo of Heimbach and Buhls assaulting the SlutWalker went viral, the priest of the Bloomington church that the three TradYouth founders attend issued a public statement calling on Heimbach to recant his racist ideology, and excommunicating him until he had done so and undergone a period of penance. In response, Heimbach and Parrott announced that they would be taking an “indefinite sabbatical” from TradYouth. (Buhls did not join the sabbatical; although he attends that church and identifies as Orthodox, the priest stated in an E-mail that Buhls was never accepted into membership in the Orthodox Church.)

“Whenever an Orthodox Church succumbs to nationalist rhetoric and lends support to racial tendencies, it loses sight of the authentic theological principles and gives in to a fallen mindset.”

Parrott’s sabbatical lasted exactly one week before he rejoined the fray, denying that white nationalism is heresy and accusing his priest and the bishop above him of being the real heretics. He quickly resumed regular posting.

Heimbach — who Parrott described as being “too fearful for his salvation to speak out” — went three months before returning in August with an anti-Semitic post lambasting “the governments of America and Canada [which] remain firmly in the hands of the Jews” and decrying “true nature of the Jewish people.” “Victory is simply not enough for the Zionists, they desire to conquer the entire Middle East and eventually the globe,” he wrote. “Through deception, thievery, and usury when they are numerically weak they can corrupt a nation from the inside and engineer the politics of a government. As a people becomes weakened through greed

and sinfulness, Jewish power steadily grows. Corneliu Codreanu famously said ‘A country has the Jews it deserves. Just as mosquitoes can thrive and settle only in swamps, likewise the former can only thrive in the swamps of our sins.’”

Despite their prominence in white nationalist circles, Heimbach and his compatriots remain marginal figures in the Orthodox community. Metropolitan Savas Zembillas, chairman of the Committee for Church and Society of the Assembly of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of North and Central America, says that they just don’t understand Orthodoxy. According to Savas, it’s not unusual to encounter “converts to Orthodoxy who came in carrying baggage from other jurisdictions, just barely Orthodox, still wet from their chrismations [the ceremony through which one becomes a member of the Orthodox Church]. But they came to Orthodoxy because they

imagined it reinforced their deepest held convictions, which were on the spectrum that would lead to Nazism, although not yet there.”

This perception of the Church as a natural home for far-right ideology is still powerful enough that Heimbach is continuing to promote Orthodox fundamentalism and position himself, along with Parrott and Buhls, as a leader of this movement despite being Orthodox for less than a month before being excommunicated. This suggests that the Church has a problem that goes deeper than a handful of recently converted white supremacists. Fascism, racism and nationalism may be the products of a “fallen mindset, totally alien to the core of Orthodoxy,” but the Church will not be able to rid itself of them until it confronts its own role in their spread. ▲

WAR DREAMS

After years of escalating rhetoric, the neo-Confederate League of the South moves to form secret paramilitary unit

BY RYAN LENZ

Change was in the air. At the League of the South's (LOS) annual conference in Abbeville, S.C., three years ago, Michael Hill, the towering and gray patriarch of the neo-Confederate movement, addressed the gathering as if war loomed large and the battle lines were forming.

It was an odd moment for Hill, a former Stillman College professor who founded the LOS in 1994 with other, relatively genteel academics who were interested in Civil War history. But even before he started the group that now seeks a second Southern secession, Hill seemed to fancy himself a wartime general, often wearing a Confederate battle flag pin to his classes.

At that moment in South Carolina, he had become one.

"The mantra [that] violence, or the serious threat thereof, never settles anything is patently false," Hill said in a speech there later posted on the group's website. "History shows that it indeed does settle many things. Please don't forget this — your enemy hasn't."

The moment was a kind of milestone for Hill, who since founding the LOS had grown increasingly radical in his activism on behalf of Southern cultural and geographic independence. In retrospect, what seemed to be happening at the time, as the LOS welcomed younger, more radical members to its ranks, was a sea change the scope of which only recently has become clear.

This September, the Southern Poverty Law Center revealed on its Hatewatch blog that, under Hill's leadership, the LOS had quietly begun building what LOS insiders described as a paramilitary unit called "The Indomitables," which appears to include white supremacists, former Klan members and neo-Nazis. In a leaked Facebook message, Hill said

reasons for the unit were clear. "We desire that our women and children be warm and snug while the world outside rages. And as our due for that we must face the world."

According to sources who requested confidentiality because they were not authorized to speak about the LOS and feared retribution, the unit was conceptualized at an LOS meeting in early 2014.

Floyd Eric Meadows, 43, of Rome, Ga., who also goes by "Eric Thorvaldsson" online, is in charge of "training." In that role, Meadows represents the pugnacious essence of what the LOS now appears to seek in its leaders.

A veteran of both the U.S. Army and Navy, with 12 years of service, Meadows has been an active LOS member for years. His personal Facebook account is filled with neo-pagan iconography and photos of his weapons. He posts often about "earning" his red bootlaces — typically awarded in racist skinhead culture for drawing blood on behalf of "the movement" — and his ongoing desire to throw "boot parties" for enemies of the LOS. Meadows also has posted pictures of himself standing with assault rifles in front of a Confederate battle flag, and has frequently quoted Robert Barnwell Rhett, a South Carolina statesman who was dubbed the "Father of Secession" for his efforts leading up to the Civil War.

While definitely a surprise to outsiders, the formation of The Indomitables may have been only the obvious next step for the LOS, which has seen a dramatic escalation of violent rhetoric from its members, as well as an embrace of more ideologically extreme white nationalists. This pattern seems to date back to 2007, when the LOS' national conference theme was "Southern Secession: Antidote to Empire and Tyranny."

But there have been hints of true hardliners in the LOS for longer than that.

The best example may be Michael Tubbs, who joined the LOS around 2004 and has been close to Hill ever since. The former Green Beret demolitions expert pleaded guilty to theft and conspiracy in the 1990s for amassing a cache of weapons — machine guns, 25 pounds of TNT, land mines, an anti-aircraft gun, grenades, 45 pounds of C-4 plastic explosive and more — in connection with an alleged plot to target black and Jewish people. According to prosecutors, Tubbs and a partner robbed two soldiers of some of those weapons at gunpoint, yelling, "This is for the KKK!"

Tubbs is not some fringe member of the LOS. Leaked Facebook correspondence shows that he was recently promoted to Hill's chief of staff, and his influence on the direction of the group seems clear. Meanwhile, the blogger "Spelunker" recently identified Abe Monroe, described as "a good, wholesome, normal LOSer," as the man who had just posted pictures of himself with the words "White Power" tattooed on his back. A swastika was embedded in the "O"

The LOS denies Monroe is a member.

Regardless, it seems clear that the LOS is on an increasingly radical trajectory. In 2011, Hill told his followers "we are already at war" and urged them to buy AK-47s, hollow-point bullets and "tools to derail trains." Members today, unlike the academically minded types who inhabited the LOS in its early days, are now focused on survivalism, assault weapons, hunting, tracking and other skills related more to war and fighting than any esoteric pursuit of independence.

The *Report* left telephone messages for Hill and the LOS, hoping to learn more about the new paramilitary unit.



Floyd Meadows (above and near right) and Michael Tubbs (top, far right) represent the increasingly hard-line attitude of the League of the South, which is led by Michael Hill (lower right).



They were not returned. But within a day, Hill posted what seemed to be a dismissive, sarcastic response to the query.

"I'll let you in on a little secret," Hill wrote. "We Alpha Males in The League like to talk military stuff; we like to shoot and hunt; and we like to make you Beta Males nervous by exercising our God-given right to self-protection." He added: "In closing, I'll say this. Even if we are — and you really have no idea on earth if we are or not — setting up a Southern militia or some other form of paramilitary organization, we are doing nothing that free men have not done for centuries. Deal with it and stop your whining."

At press time, it was unclear if the LOS was still moving ahead with its militia. But Hill was clearly scrambling to control the fallout as criticism mounted.

Speaking with *The Anniston (Ala.) Star* after the SPLC published its report, Hill refused to acknowledge the existence of the unit. And he insisted that an article entitled "A Bazooka in Every Pot," published on the LOS blog months earlier and pontificating about future war, was only speculative. The article focused on the Second Amendment and ended with an ominous warning.

"So, both we 'gun nuts' and you bed-wetting, anti-gun leftists can rest easy about those bazookas in everyman's

closet," Hill wrote in the piece. "You don't want us to have them and we really don't need them. We'll manage just fine with what we have now. But if we need more, as an old friend is wont to say: 'We'll be able to literally pick them up in used condition — dropped only once.'"

Hill sought to clarify the article in September. Speaking to the *Anniston* newspaper, Hill said: "I'm talking to you here as a military historian, in theory." However, he added that he wanted "the group's followers to begin thinking about how they'd fight if federal intrusion became intolerable," the newspaper reported.

Such mixed messaging almost immediately led to backpressure from inside and outside the group. One commenter to the LOS blog warned that the group's leaders "should strictly avoid publishing paramilitary revolutionary fantasies, gun fantasy stuff, speculating on future guerrilla war secession scenarios."

Others said that the LOS was having

trouble hiding its true self now. Frederick Clarkson, an expert on the far right writing for the liberal analytical group Political Research Associates, put it like this in September: "Try as he might to divert our attention by debating definitions and name calling — Hill has been caught with his hand in the proverbial cookie jar. He called for the formation of guerrilla paramilitary units while simultaneously claiming he and the League were not."

Clarkson noted that in July, Hill had called on the "citizen-soldier" of the South to prepare for war and added: "No sane man wants war if there are other viable and honorable alternatives. But wise men prepare for all eventualities."

Whether the LOS is simply thinking about possible future eventualities or actively building a kind of military force, one thing seems patently clear: Today's League of the South is not the relatively benign LOS of 1994. ▲



Standing amid a sea of flags during the week of Independence Day, nativists in Murrieta, Calif., succeeded in turning back some 140 undocumented women and children arriving for processing at a Border Patrol facility.

BACK TO THE BORDER

A movement was born this summer during the crisis over migrant children at the border. Are the vigilante extremists back for good?

BY MARK POTOK

Columbia University expert Donald Green argues that hate crimes tend to spike when rapid in-migration of minority groups occurs in formerly white neighborhoods. Perhaps that helps explain the sheer ugliness of the events in Murrieta, Calif., this July — events that came during the week of Independence Day, when Americans gather to celebrate our country and its democratic values.

Three buses carrying 140 undocumented women and children to a temporary shelter in the city of

107,000 — part of a wave of some 60,000 unaccompanied minor immigrants fleeing staggering violence and poverty in their Central American countries or seeking a long-lost parent in the United States — were met by a howling mob of nativists who physically blocked the vehicles. Ultimately, the government was forced to take the frightened children to another Border Patrol facility, and in the week that followed more angry nativist protesters rallied in Murrieta.

The fury of the crowd protesting three buses containing undocumented immigrants — many of them children traumatized by rape and other serious abuse — was shocking to many, including the California Assembly Speaker, who described the events in Murrieta as “shameful.”

At last count, in 2013, Murrieta’s population was less than 56 percent non-Hispanic white, a drop of 16 percentage points since the 2000 census. During the same period, the town’s population more than doubled, with that dizzying growth being driven overwhelmingly by an influx of minorities, most of them Latino. According to Green, that’s just the kind of situation that often makes whites react “defensively” to what is perceived as an outside threat. It’s also a situation that is cropping up more and more often as the United States undergoes a major demographic transformation that is expected to see whites lose their majority over the next 30 years.

Whatever accounted for the unbri-dled fury of the crowd, whose targets included young girls and boys who had been raped and otherwise severely abused during their harrowing trips through Mexico, there is no doubt that the events in Murrieta set off a kind of mini-movement, what looked like a possible resurgence of the vigilante extremist groups that swept the country between 2005 and 2011.

Similar demonstrations followed on the heels of Murrieta in Oracle, Ariz., and Vassar, Mich., where nativists carried AR-15s and handguns. A “National Day of Protesting Against Immigration Reform, Amnesty & Border Surge” was planned that organizers said would include mass protests in a staggering 260 American cities. Politicians and pundits chimed in, each one, it seemed, bent on describing in more frightening terms the diseases and criminality the new wave of immigrant children was supposedly bringing. And Jim Gilchrist, arguably the most important organizer of the Minuteman groups that President George W. Bush once labeled “vigilantes,” vowed to bring back the defunct movement with 3,500 new volunteers.

Gilchrist was not the only extremist seeking to capitalize on the events that began in Murrieta. Scores of antigovernment militia groups, many of them never heard from before, announced they were headed for the border with their weapons. Tea Party organizations, a radio broadcaster who has called for President Obama and the Bush family to be killed, old-line radical groups like the John Birch Society, and even a lone Klan leader calling for “corpses” on the border, all joined in. It was enough that many law enforcement officials, concerned about a growing presence of heavily armed civilian gunmen, began to warn Americans to stay away.

But this was not a movement that began on the radical right. On the contrary, it was “mainstream” leaders — the mayor in Murrieta and the local sheriff in Oracle, among others — who ignited and then fueled the conflagration. And while extremist opportunists rapidly added their voices to the rising chorus, it was in the mainstream that most of the movement’s baseless charges about dread diseases, deadly gangs, a “manufactured crisis” by Obama and more, were shaped and sharpened.

Stirrings on the Right

The first media stories about a new border crisis appeared in mid-May, when the Department of Homeland Security raised the alarm about a rapid increase in unaccompanied minors. In early June, the situation ratcheted up when the president declared a humanitarian crisis and ordered a federal takeover of relief efforts. The surge, officials said, was mainly the result of violence and worsening poverty in Central America, the desire of many children to find their parents in the United States, and unfounded rumors that children would no longer be deported.



Within two weeks, the shrill voices of the nativist right began to make themselves heard. Fox News guest host Jeanine Pirro was one of the first, saying she “wouldn’t be surprised if some of these kids are nothing more than fronts for drug dealers,” a comment echoed a few days later by Fox’s Steve Doocy, who claimed that the Border Patrol was “having to process members of known Mexican gangs” and “give them a pass.” On June 17, Texas Gov. Rick Perry, once known as sympathetic to immigrants, told Fox’s Sean Hannity that while he hated to sound “conspiratorial,” he thought the administration was either “incredibly inept” or “in on this somehow.” The likely 2016 presidential candidate went on to ask “how do you move that many people from Central America across Mexico and into the United States without there being a fairly coordinated effort?” He was apparently referring to the theory that Obama was trying to import Democratic voters.



Rush Limbaugh liked that idea, too, running a story on his website headlined "Obama Regime Planned the Influx of Illegal Alien Children at the Border." Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich wrote that the surge "appears to be a deliberate policy of maximizing the number of illegal immigrants." On Fox, host Lou Dobbs said the crisis had been "orchestrated" by the administration, which he said was "working in concert with the Central American governments." Three congressmen — Steve King (R-Iowa), Steve Stockman (R-Texas) and John Culberson (R-Texas) — made similar allegations of a deliberate Obama conspiracy to bring in foreigners.

On her radio show, Laura Ingraham complained of "sob stories" about the children and said America faced a "crisis of wild proportions" that would lead to "higher crime rates, higher gang activity" and huge expenses caring for the children. She did not mention that most of the children could not be immediately

deported under a federal law passed in 2008 and signed by President George W. Bush.

At around the same time, Shawn Moran, vice president of the National Border Patrol Council that represents some 17,000 Border Patrol agents, began a series of appearances on conservative media outlets complaining that the children ultimately were being released to relatives rather than held for deportation. Most remarkably, Moran went on "The Pete Santilli Show," hosted by a nativist extremist who had previously called for the killing of Obama, the Bush family and Hillary Clinton.

Then, on June 30, Murrieta Mayor Alan Long went public with the information that the government intended to move many undocumented children to a Border Patrol facility in that city. Long was not neutral. Saying the city had already stopped two earlier attempts to send migrants to the facility, Long announced that a convoy of buses was headed to Murrieta the following day,

harshly criticized the government, and urged residents to protest the arrival of the buses.

People listened. When the three buses arrived on July 1, almost 300 people crowded into the streets to block them. Carrying American flags and ugly signs — "Return to Sender," "Send Them Back With Birth Control" and the like — the shouting crowd succeeded despite the buses' attempts to find an alternative route. In the end, the children were taken to another facility in San Diego. But the protests, now countered by pro-migrant demonstrators, continued for several days more.

Long complained later that his town was being depicted as a hateful place over "two minutes of time on the news channel." California Assembly Speaker Toni Atkins saw it differently, saying what had happened in Murrieta was "shameful."

The Murrieta protests appeared to be mainly composed of local residents, although several well-known activists took part. According to the Anti-



SHERIFF PAUL BABEU

MICHELE BACHMANN

STEVE DOOCY

NEWT GINGRICH

said the children were being sent “compliments of President Obama.”

warned of “Ebola and other diseases like that.”

claimed that the Border Patrol was “having to process members of known Mexican gangs” and “give them a pass.”

wrote that the surge “appears to be a deliberate policy of maximizing the number of illegal immigrants.”

Defamation League, a Jewish human rights group, a key organizer was Patricia Lynes, who has a history of strident anti-immigrant activism and is a believer in various extreme-right conspiracy theories. Another participant was Robin Hvidsto, leader of We the People Rising and a former leader in Jim Gilchrist’s Minuteman Project.

Prairie Fire

From Murrieta, the conflagration spread.

Soon, a claim about disease joined those about gangsters and Obama plots. U.S. Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas) said that “our schools” and “our health care systems can’t withstand this influx” of children, according to *The Texas Observer*. Fox commentator Cal Thomas charged that the children were bringing preventable diseases like “mumps, measles, rubella, tetanus and diphtheria.” Fox contributor Dr. Elizabeth Lee Vliet claimed that diseases long since eradicated here were being “carried across the border by this tsunami of illegals.” But as the *Observer* pointed out, the refugee children were actually *better* vaccinated than American kids. “We fear them not because they are actually sick,” the article concluded, “but because of powerful anti-immigration narratives that link foreigners to disease.”

As the story spread through the right-wing media, the list of soon-to-arrive scary diseases expanded to include scabies, tuberculosis and even leprosy.

At the same time, protests like that in Murrieta were developing elsewhere. In Vassar, Mich., more than 50 people, many of them carrying handguns or AR-15 semi-automatic rifles, demonstrated against the possibility that some undocumented children could be sent there. The rally was led by Tamyra Murray, an organizer with Michiganders for Immigration Control and Enforcement who repeated the now well-worn claims about children acting as drug runners and bringing in tuberculosis.

And in Oracle, Ariz., Pinal County Sheriff Paul Babeu, known as a hardliner on immigration, publicly revealed the location of a facility that was to receive some of the children, saying they were being sent “compliments of President Obama” and that residents had “every right to be upset and to protest.” And people did take to the streets to protest buses they expected to arrive at any moment. One would-be Tea Party congressman, State Rep. Adam Kwasman, even led protesters to a school bus he thought was filled with immigrants but actually contained local students. The *Arizona Republic* editorial board later

excoriated “Sheriff Showboat” Babeu for “disgracing” his office with his “calculated and political” role in the ugly rally.

At this point, extremists really began to pick up the flag. A Texas truck driver named Chris Davis, who described himself as a member of the Bowles Volunteer Militia and another group called Winter Soldiers, set up a group to respond to the surge of migrants named Operation Secure Our Border-Laredo Sector and called on antigovernment militias to converge on the Laredo crossing “immediately.” Another group spokesman, Denice Freeman, claimed it had set up a “command center” near San Antonio. But a video Davis had posted earlier on YouTube soon came to light, showing him saying, “You see an illegal. You point your gun at him, right between his eyes, and you say, ‘Get back across the border or you will be shot.’”

When newspapers reported on Davis’ video, it was taken down and Davis quickly disappeared. Although a few others claimed to be joining Davis’ border project, it essentially fell flat, with only a few, if any, militiamen joining.

Meanwhile, another tall tale was developing in the right-wing media — the claim that many of the unaccompanied minor immigrants were going to be housed in a luxury hotel in Weslaco, Texas. In fact,

AP IMAGES/BRAND SPOLOFF (BABEU); AP IMAGES/MANUELA BALCE CENIZA (BACHMANN); INVISION/AP IMAGES/ANDY KROPA (DOOCY); AP IMAGES/JIM COLE (GINGRICH)



DAVID HOROWITZ

said that many of the children were “seasoned criminals and gangbangers.”

STEWART RHODES

called the refugee crisis “a planned invasion.”

RUSH LIMBAUGH

ran a story headlined “Obama Regime Planned the Influx of Illegal Alien Children at the Border.”

GOV. RICK PERRY

said that while he hated to sound “conspiratorial,” he thought the administration was either “incredibly inept” or “in on this somehow.”

JEANINE PIRRO

said she “wouldn’t be surprised if some of these kids are nothing more than fronts for drug dealers.”

the Palm Aire Hotel and Suites was about to be sold to a nonprofit that intended to convert it to a 600-bed dormitory to house immigrant minors being processed by authorities. But nativists used photos and descriptions of the hotel before the planned conversion to paint a picture of what the Gateway Pundit described as a “resort hotel for illegal alien children.” The right-wing site said the hotel had an indoor Olympic pool, an outdoor pool, tennis courts, Jacuzzis, a sauna, steam room, racquetball courts, and a “luxurious fitness center” fitted with 20 machines and free weights. Fox News’ Todd Starnes joined in, giving a similar description and calling it a “multimillion dollar hotel” with “poolside cabanas and concierge service.” The Drudge Report ran similar claims.

Of course, the hotel was to be converted to dormitories, not remain any kind of “luxury resort.” But the story had traveled so far that the nonprofit, in a statement dated the same day that the Gateway Pundit article ran, said that it was pulling out due to “negative backlash caused by information misreported to the public.”

A Protest Too Far

In this rank atmosphere, anti-immigrant activists announced plans for

two national days of protest under the unwieldy name of a National Day of Protesting Against Immigration Reform, Amnesty & Border Surge. The flyer for the event claimed that “illegal aliens with communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, scabies and head lice are entering our country unabated” and warned of a “very real security risk to Americans from drug cartels, gang members and terrorists.”

The protests, according to the Anti-Defamation League, were primarily organized by Paul Arnold, founder of the Make Them Listen group and a former organizer for the Black American Leadership Alliance (BALA). BALA is the latest front group created by the anti-immigrant Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and is populated with radicals like Jesse Lee Peterson, who once thanked God for slavery. The idea behind BALA and other front groups created by FAIR, whose racist founder has said America must retain a “European-American majority,” is to exaggerate the opposition to immigration among non-whites.

Extremists who promoted or joined in the protests on July 18-19 included members of Overpasses for America, a group led by James Neighbors; Americans for Legal Immigration PAC,

led by William Gheen; the Americans Have Had Enough Coalition, led by white supremacist Roan Garcia-Quintana; the European American Action Coalition, led by white supremacist Steve Smith; the American Freedom Party, led by white supremacist William D. Johnson; the Oath Keepers, led by antigovernment radical Stewart Rhodes; and a hefty number of others.

At the same time, the rhetorical din on the right kept rising. “Mass numbers of disease-infested illegals are hemorrhaging our southern borders,” wrote Steve Eichler, CEO of Tea Party Inc. Terry Gorman of Rhode Islanders for Immigration Law Enforcement said if children were lodged in his state it would result in “the destruction of the state of Rhode Island.” Stewart Rhodes called the refugee crisis “a planned invasion, being carried out by the executive branches of foreign nations ... the executive branch of this nation ... [and] cartel and gang smugglers.”

But despite it all, the “national protest” — there were supposed to be rallies in 260 cities — didn’t come to much. Forty people showed up in New York City, by far the largest number. Most of the protests didn’t materialize at all, and those that did typically had a mere handful of participants. Gheen later tried to explain

Rage on the right: The anger of nativists in Murrieta, Calif. (right), Vassar, Mich. (below) and Oracle, Ariz. (far right), caught many observers by surprise.

this turnout by charging that the “liberal media” had promoted minority violence against the activists. But the truth was that despite all the rhetoric, there just didn’t seem to be much appetite in mainstream America for this jihad against foreign children.

The Militias Arrive

Just a couple of days after the failed national protest, Texas Gov. Perry activated 1,000 National Guard troops and directed them to join the surge of state troopers he’d already sent to the border. Although many border sheriffs said they didn’t want the extra manpower, Perry sent them anyway, at a monthly cost, together with the troopers, of some \$17 million, according to *The Dallas Morning News*.

Reports from the border suggested that the Guard troops, who do not have law enforcement powers, were of little use in aiding the Border Patrol. But over the next two weeks, it became clear that at least some militiamen also were arriving.

Davis had not been the only one to call on antigovernment “Patriot” groups to head to the border. That call was also taken up by the Patriot Information Hotline, run by Barbie Rogers, the right-wing Free Republic website, and many other Patriot organizations. Now, finally, some militiamen were apparently responding.

The *San Antonio Express-News* published photos of what it said were several dozen armed, camouflage-clad militiamen patrolling the Texas border. Rogers told the paper there were 10 named militia groups already on the ground. A Beaumont TV station reported on another militia in Southeast Texas. Law enforcement officials reported spotting a few militiamen on the border during their regular patrols.

Meanwhile, the drumbeat of demonizing rhetoric continued. David Horowitz,



a key anti-Muslim ideologue, said many of the children were “seasoned criminals and gangbangers” and claimed the administration was “creating a passage-way for terrorists along with ‘children.’” U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.) warned of “Ebola and other diseases like that” and said that some of the children, as wards of the state, might be subjected to involuntary “medical experimentation.” Jerome Corsi, who wrote a book claiming Obama is not eligible to be president, said the crisis was “Obama’s masterstroke” and would simultaneously expand the ranks of Democratic voters and serve as practice for running “government detention camps to intern Tea Party loyalists and other American patriots” opposed to socialism.

Gilchrist, the Minuteman organizer, weighed in, too, saying he supported

the deployment of militia groups in light of “the approximately 30 million illegal aliens currently occupying U.S. territory,” and promising to recreate the Minuteman movement in 2015 with some 3,500 new volunteers. The name he used for his effort, clearly reflecting his view of the “dire” situation, was “Operation Normandy.”

Even the Klan got in on the hysteria, with Robert Jones, an official of the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, calling for blood. “If we can’t turn them back, I think if we pop a couple of them off and leave their corpses laying at the border maybe they’ll see we’re serious about stopping immigration,” he said. There was no evidence that Jones or any other Klansman actually went to the border.

And then there was Pete Santilli, the far-right radio host known for advocat-



ing the murder of the Bush family and Obama and, most infamously, saying he wanted to see Hillary Clinton shot in the vagina. Santilli, who also led a failed July attempt to shut down the San Diego border crossing, tried again in mid-August, leading a “Border Convoy” from Murrieta to Texas. There, his road show faded on a note of black comedy as his convoy members fled a Van Horn hotel before dawn after being told by members of a militia that they were about to be attacked by cartel gunmen.

The Horizon

All did not go smoothly for the militiamen on the border. On Aug. 23, a group of gun-toting, ATV-riding militiamen near Sonoita, Ariz., southeast of Tucson, confronted a group of three scientists studying bats in a local cave. The militiamen shouted at the scientists in Spanish, only later apologizing for their mistake.

Then, six days later, a Border Patrol agent pursuing a group of undocumented immigrants east of Brownsville, Texas, suddenly spotted a man holding a

weapon and fired on him, but without hitting him. It turned out he was a militia member.

Those and other incidents spurred local sheriffs and the Border Patrol to issue statements saying they did not want or need help from the civilian gunmen. “It can be dangerous,” Kevin Oaks, the Border Patrol chief nearest the Brownsville incident, told the *Coast Reporter*. “There are cartel members that carry assault weapons and camouflage, and then there’s others that may be under the aus-

pices of whatever group, may look very similar, and we have no idea who those people are. My fear is that these things clash and eventually there will be a very bad outcome.”

By mid-September, the Patriot Information Hotline was claiming that there were 22 groups of “armed Patriots” on the border, mostly in Texas. In that state’s Montgomery County, law enforcement officials told KPRC-TV in Houston that deputies had been warned to look out for militiamen who were apparently planning to patrol around power plants that could be targeted by terrorists. Dubois County Sheriff Donny Lampert said he had learned of several armed locals who had joined “rogue” militias to confront the drug cartels, and warned others not to follow.

To many extremists, the apparent surge of armed radicals on the border heralded a rebirth of the nativist vigilante movement that reached its vitriolic peak in 2010, when there were more than 300 Minuteman and other groups engaging in armed border patrols or confronting suspected undocumented

immigrants. After that, the numbers declined rapidly, to just over 30 groups in 2013, due to a host of factors: movement infighting, the adoption of many of the movement’s goals by right-wing state legislatures like those in Arizona and Alabama, and criminal scandals including the murder of a 9-year-old girl and her father by nativist leader Shawna Forde and two of her confederates. Now, the number of groups may be ticking back up.

Will the movement that began at Murrieta continue to grow?

At press time, that remained unclear. Obama, who earlier moved to speed up deportation of many of the unaccompanied minors, announced in September that he would delay pursuit of immigration reform or any executive action on immigration until after the November mid-term election. That seemed likely to tamp down the nativist flames, at least for the time being. There is also rising anger directed at the militiamen from some border law enforcement officials and residents.

But there are those who applaud the militiamen, both on the border and in the political and media classes. On the far right, the drumbeat about gangster children, scary diseases, luxury hotels for the undocumented and an Obama plot to create new Democratic voters, continues unabated and unmoved by the real facts.

Of one thing we can be sure: As long as conditions in Central America do not improve and Congress fails to address comprehensive immigration reform, the situation on the border will continue to be a flash point for nativist extremists and political opportunists. While their rhetoric boils, people will die — including many children who will perish in their journeys across Mexico or in the deserts and rivers while trying to come to America. And that is a genuine tragedy. ▲

Music & Money & Hate.

White power music was in trouble. But then racist bands discovered iTunes, and now they're back in business

BY KEEGAN HANKES

The racist music industry, a once lucrative source of funding for the white power movement, is a shadow of its former self. Over the past decade, it has become increasingly fragmented and disorganized in the wake of the collapse of several major labels and distributors. Concerts have become scarce and those that remain have been driven even further underground. However, the ever-resilient white power music scene has found new hope and new profit amidst the wreckage of a once multimillion-dollar industry from an unlikely source: the world's largest music vendor, iTunes.

The digital media marketplace, owned by Apple Inc., boasts the sale of more than 21 million songs every week, from

a catalog of more than 26 million songs that, as of September 2014, included at least 54 racist bands.

The catalogs of bands from across the spectrum of hate music, ranging from established acts like Skrewdriver, the Bully Boys and Max Resist to little-known, DIY groups, can be purchased as MP3s or streamed with iTunes' radio service with ease. Providers of MP3s receive a wholesale payout of 70 cents per song and \$7 per album sold, as well as an additional fee per play through the iTunes Radio interface and a proportionate share of monthly advertising revenue.

The iTunes legal department did not respond to multiple requests for comment.

Where does this money go? Directly

into the war chests of the individuals and organizations promoting racism and violence against minority groups both in the United States and abroad.

According to the terms and conditions of Apple's iTunes marketplace, the usage of their service certainly appears to be off limits to racist bands.

"You agree that any use by you of such features, including any materials submitted by you, shall be your sole responsibility, shall not infringe or violate the rights of any other party or violate any laws, contribute to or encourage infringing or otherwise unlawful conduct, or otherwise be obscene, objectionable, or in poor taste," reads a section titled "Submissions to the iTunes service."



However, regardless of the rules, music that is undeniably “objectionable” and “in poor taste” is openly available to anyone age 13 or older with access to an iTunes account. Take for instance, the song “Fire Up the Ovens” by the Bully Boys, which features the verses like these: “Leave no stone unturned / We’re going to burn until the last Jew burns / Fire up the ovens, fire up the ovens / Fire up the ovens — let’s do it again!”

Other tracks make even less of an effort to hide their themes and motives. Another Bully Boys song titled “Jigrun” openly advocates violent hate crimes: “We’re going on the town tonight / Hit and run / Let’s have some fun / We’ve got jigaboos on the run / And they fear the setting sun.”

An Industry in Disarray

The United States, with its free speech protections, has become a bastion for racist music since the European scene was driven underground with laws making the music and its distribution illegal.

Even in the United States, though, distribution in recent years became disorganized and limited. Major labels such as Resistance and Panzerfaust Records collapsed, leaving only a rotating cast of small distributors, often using mail-order systems, that advertise through racist Web forums like Stormfront and the Vanguard News Network Forum to attract a client base.

As recently as September 2014, Micetrap Records, a distributor with one of the largest remaining catalogs, ceased operations and took its store offline. However, with the emergence of music marketplaces like iTunes, distribution has become more effective and profitable.

In the 1990s, the racist music business grew into a multimillion-dollar industry. Labels like Resistance Records, which was bought in 1999 by the National



Apple has a reputation as a hip, progressive company, but that hasn’t stopped its iTunes operation from selling the music of violently racist bands like The Bully Boys, Max Resist and Skrewdriver.

Alliance, formerly the most prominent neo-Nazi organization in the United States, were reportedly selling upwards of 70,000 CDs annually by the early 2000s.

While the production and distribution of hate music has stalled since then in terms of physical sales, iTunes is providing a new and unprecedented tool to effectively distribute hate music, and with it the ideology required to recruit new supporters.

“Fire up the ovens, fire up the ovens, Fire up the ovens — let’s do it again!”

William Pierce, the Alliance’s late leader, once said of racist music: “All too often we turn [our anger] against ourselves. We need to give a proper direction to that anger. ... [Resistance Records will distribute] music of defiance and rage against the enemies of our people. ... It will be music of the great, cleansing revolution which is coming.”

Historically, racist music has been one of the most effective tools for skinheads and other racist extremists to raise money and recruit new, particularly young, members.

In the film “Hearts of Hate: The Battle for Young Minds,” George Burdi, former

front man for the racist band RAHOWA (after a racist slogan that is short for “Racial Holy War”), extolled the importance of racist music in the recruitment of young racists.

“We hear the slogan, ‘White people awake, save our great race,’ twice per chorus, eight times in total through an entire song and, if they play that tape five times a week and just listen to that one song, they’re listening to ‘White people awake, save our great race’ 40 times in that one week, which means 160 times a month and you do the math beyond that.”

“The way that that movement has sold music has always been ahead of

the curve in some ways,” says Aaron Flanagan, director of research for the Center for New Community, an anti-racist group based in Chicago. “The Burdis and the Pierces saw the Internet as a place where recruitment was possible, and they’ve long known that music was a main avenue for their message as it related to connecting people to a community that could solidify them within that movement.”

‘Creating a Marketplace’

iTunes, which boasts the largest customer base of any music vendor, provides unrivaled exposure to not only adults, but minors age 13 and up — a troubling feature given the recruitment potential of such songs.

“The scary thing about iTunes,” says Flanagan, “is that it places [racist music] in this forum, that companies like Apple are brilliant at, creating a marketplace that pushes these cultural products closer to the consumer and facilitates the purchasing of them in ways that are so intuitive.”

Built-in features such as iTunes’ “Listeners Also Bought” section help promote similar artists to those a shopper already listens to. For instance, a query for Skrewdriver in iTunes leads to suggestions that a shopper also purchase albums by Brutal Attack, Final War, Bully Boys and other hate bands. What’s more, a shopper may be recommended a hate band after browsing the catalog of a non-racist hardcore or metal band, a type of exposure that has never before been so openly available for an insular music scene that has depended on word of mouth to gain popularity.

While it is unknown exactly how much revenue hate music is generating through iTunes sales, it is clear that what was formerly one of the most important arms of the white power movement is now making full use of the iTunes platform. What remains to be seen is whether iTunes will take action. Until then, hate music and its message will continue to prosper with the help of one of the world’s largest companies. ▲

The Bands: Hate on iTunes

The *Intelligence Report* has identified 54 racist bands whose music is sold to online buyers by iTunes, the largest vendor of music in the world. Music from the following bands was available on iTunes as of September 2014.

96 Brigade	Gammadion	Razors Edge
AD Hominem	Geimhre	Seges Findere
Arghoslent	Grand Belials Key	Selbstmord
Bakers Dozen	Granulosum	Severe Storm
Barbarous Pomerania	H8 Machine	Skinfull
Battlecry	Hassgesang	Skrewdriver
Blood Red Eagle	Ian Stuart	Skullhead
Broadsword	Kamaedzitca	Spear of Longinus
Brutal Attack	Ken McLellan	Standarte
Bully Boys	Kill Baby, Kill!	Stigger
Capricornus	Kolovrat	Sturmwehr
Chauves Pourris	Legion of St. George	Tattooed Mother Fuckers
Chingford Attack	Legittima Offesa	Thunderbolt
Condemned 84	Max Resist	Ultima Thule
Dark Fury	Moloth	White American Youth
Der Stürmer	No Remorse	White Knuckle Driver
Final War	Prussian Blue	Wotanorden
Freikorps	Ravens Wing	Youth Defense League



WHITE IDENTITY WORLDWIDE

A polished young American racist is knitting together a global network of white nationalists. And that has Europeans worried **BY HEIDI BEIRICH**

One of the most polished American racists of recent years is Richard Bertrand Spencer, a 36-year-old Ph.D. program dropout who, in his khakis and oxfords, looks more like some ambitious young Capitol Hill staffer than a white supremacist. Indeed, with a master's degree from the University of Chicago and a bachelor's from the University of Virginia, Spencer's résumé reads a lot like that of a well-heeled, up-and-coming politico.

But several years ago, when he was in his early 30s, Spencer left mainstream

conservatism for what he calls "a life of thought crime." Since then, he has established racist websites and ascended to the top spot at the National Policy Institute (NPI), a white nationalist nonprofit he runs from his home in Whitefish, Mont., along with two affiliated publishing outfits (see story, p. 42). After holding a series of highbrow-racist conferences on such topics as the future of white people, Spencer has now set his sights on bigger things — building bridges to the organized European racist right.

Though past NPI conferences have featured leading European racists, Spencer is moving beyond one-off presentations from these folks in order to connect with two newly important radical-right strains on the continent: the Movement Identitaire, a pro-white, anti-Muslim and anti-globalist movement that started in France in the early 2000s and has been growing rapidly since, and Jobbik, the anti-Semitic and racist organization that became Hungary's third-largest political party

this spring, when it polled more than 1 million votes.

“We hope that our budding society will act as a forum for a number of different traditionalist groups in Europe, including Identitarians,” Spencer told the *Intelligence Report*. “We are eager to involve Europeans who seek to connect with community and tradition, and thus preserve true diversity against the flattening of globalism.” His interest, Spencer added, is to reach “any European who seeks to develop racial identity and consciousness.”

A key moment in this effort was planned for this fall at a conference NPI organized in Budapest, Hungary. Co-hosted by Jobbik, the Oct. 3-5 Inaugural Identitarian Congress was slated to feature prominent European nationalists of various types and several leading American racist ideologues.

Little is known in the U.S. about Spencer’s new allies, but across the Atlantic they are seen as serious threats to European democracy. Members of the European Union, the European Jewish Congress and other prominent human rights defenders have warned of the dangers posed by Jobbik, which has been widely described as fascist, is patently anti-Semitic, and yet has grown rapidly. Similarly, the Movement Identitaire, which started small but made a name for itself with the 2012 invasion of a French mosque, is deeply worrying to European officials.

Fascists in Suits

Jobbik sits at the heart of a network of far-right groups that have emerged and strengthened since the financial crisis hit Europe and the United States in 2008. By winning nearly 21% of the vote in Hungary’s April parliamentary elections, the party became Eastern Europe’s largest far-right group in terms of political representation.



Jobbik dislikes the European Union, “global capitalism,” immigrants, Jews, the Roma and the LGBT community. It drew international attention and condemnation in 2012, when party official Marton Gyongyosi — one of the scheduled speakers at Spencer’s Budapest event — told the Hungarian parliament that Jews were a threat to national security and should be registered. When the obvious comparisons to the Nazi registration of Jews were drawn, Gyongyosi duly apologized, claiming he had been misunderstood.

But the list of anti-Semitic statements from Jobbik members is long.

Jobbik EU candidate Judit Szima, for instance, edited a newsletter that said,

“Given our current situation, anti-Semitism is not just our right, but it is the duty of every Hungarian homeland lover, and we must prepare for armed battle against the Jews.” In 2012, Jobbik member of parliament Zsolt Baráth sparked outrage with his commemoration of a notorious 1882 incident, the Tiszaeszlár blood libel. Jews at the time were accused falsely of killing a young Christian girl and the blame foisted on them by Hungarian political leaders led to an outbreak of anti-Semitic violence. Jobbik also has Holocaust deniers in its ranks. In 2014, a county-level party official, Tibor Ágoston, referred to the Holocaust as the “holoscam.”

Now, the Jobbik cancer is spreading through Eastern Europe. According to Reuters, there are currently ties between the party and half a dozen other hardline nationalist groups in Europe’s former Communist bloc.

But what Jobbik wants from NPI may be different, according to Gabor Gyori, a senior analyst at Policy Solutions, a Hungarian think tank. It is apparently trying to present a more intellectual and less threatening look.

“An international conference hosted and attended by a more sophisticated group of extremists is very alluring to Jobbik, especially if for the general pub-

Editor’s Note:

The October conference in Budapest whose key participants are described in this story essentially fell apart after news about its content became public and Hungarian authorities moved against it. In the end, after the venue for the conference canceled its contract and participants were forced to find a local café to meet in instead, only three of the meeting’s scheduled speakers — Jared Taylor, Tomislav Sunić, and chief organizer Richard Spencer — were able to gather in a highly abbreviated version of the planned meeting. The gathering was broken up by Hungarian police after a couple of speeches and Spencer was deported on Oct. 7. He also was banned for three years from entering Hungary and 25 other European nations.



The growth of Jobbik, an anti-Semitic Hungarian party that this year became Eastern Europe's largest far-right group in terms of political representation, has European officials deeply worried.

lic the image of the conference will be that of genteel, educated, international gentlemen, not the standard far-right rabble-rousers,” Gyori told the *Report* before the gathering. “This is the image Jobbik wants to cultivate now, though critical viewers may well realize that those assembled at the NPI conference are nothing more than better-clad, well-coiffed and rhetorically skilled skinheads.”

Ghosts in the Streets

In addition to principals of Jobbik, Spencer's conference was to feature three prominent leaders of the Movement Identitaire, a movement that has now spread from France to many other parts of Western Europe.

The movement was born when the Bloc Identitaire burst on the scene in 2003, founded by former members of the French anti-Zionist party Unité Radicale. (Maxime Brunerie, a Unité Radicale member who had ties to the American neo-Nazi group National Alliance, tried to assassinate French president Jacques Chirac on Bastille Day in 2002.)

The group says it opposes “imperialism, whether it be American or Islamic,” that last a reference to what's seen as an invasion of Europe by Muslims. In its pamphlet, “We Are Generation

Identity” — propaganda published by Arktos Media (see related story, p. 42), another co-sponsor of the NPI conference — it describes its mission as “reconquest.” That's an unmistakable reference to the Spanish “Reconquista” of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors in 1492, the culmination of a long, Christian struggle to take Europe back from non-white Muslims.

The Bloc Identitaire is led by Fabrice Robert, one of those scheduled to speak at NPI's Budapest conference. Robert has a long track record of racism and anti-Semitism. For example, after finishing high school in 1992, Robert was sentenced to a one-month suspended prison sentence and fined 10,000 francs for distributing stickers lauding French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson. He has been fined for similar offenses twice since.

Fabrice Robert declined an interview request.

The Bloc Identitaire is best known for its publicity-drawing stunts, including spooky videos posted on YouTube that show masked and white-robed supporters who gather suddenly in flash-mob style, bearing torches and marching silently through the streets of European cities, sometimes bearing cryptic signs. The videos are typically

set to haunting classical music. Other Identitaire videos depict still photographs of its supporters, interspersed with a few words indicating that Europeans should fight back, also silent and set to music.

The group's most notorious action took place in 2012, when its youth wing invaded and occupied the Poitiers mosque, the site where Charles Martel defeated invading Muslim armies in 732. It also has distributed soups in Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods that contain pork, which is forbidden to observant members of both faiths. Distribution of these so-called “identity soups” was banned by the European Parliament in 2006 for being “discriminatory and xenophobic.”

European experts say that despite the movement's heavy reliance on the Internet, it is far more important than a simple media phenomenon.

“The Movement Identitaire today is mostly visible on the Internet and in flash mob-style actions on the streets, predominantly in France and Germany,” Thomas Grumke, a professor who specializes in the extreme European right at the University of Applied Sciences and Public Administration in North Rhine-land-Westphalia, Germany, told the *Report*. “Their connections to mil-

itant, well-rooted racist groups like Jobbik show, however, that they have influence on an international scale, that their ideological clout must not be underestimated, and that they have moved far beyond being an Internet phenomenon.”

From Academia to Hate

Spencer is certainly not the first American professional racist to try to forge ties with his white brothers and sisters abroad. William Pierce, the late founder of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, once wooed the racist German National Democratic Party and Greece’s rabidly anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic

Golden Dawn group. Pierce even spoke at those organizations’ events in the late 1990s. Although there was much talk at the time of a “pan-Aryan” international white supremacist movement, cooperation beyond these ties was minimal.

But others, too, have traveled to overseas extremist events. Jared Taylor, who edits the white nationalist journal *American Renaissance*, once spoke to the French National Front (NF) and his annual conferences have featured prominent figures in the European radical right including Bruno Gollnisch, at one time the second-in-command of the NF, and Nick Griffin, leader of the racist British National Party. Gordon Baum, the leader

of the Missouri-based white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, also once spoke to the FN.

But none has managed to co-sponsor an event with a party that has won as many votes as Jobbik. How has a young Ph.D. dropout in a remote Montana town come to be the key American racist building a transnational alliance?

Spencer grew up a child of privilege, attending private school in Dallas and some of America’s finest universities. He seemed to be your typical nascent academic until 2007, when he dropped out of a doctoral program in history at Duke University. Since leaving Duke, Spencer has worked for a series of harder- and

THE LINEUP

Here is a rundown of extremist speakers, in addition to Spencer, who were scheduled to speak at the NPI’s October conference in Budapest:



ALEXANDER GELYEVICH DUGIN

is a Russian political scientist and fascist who supports a Eurasian empire made up of Russia and former Soviet republics such as the Ukraine and set against “North Atlantic interests.” Dugin has close ties to the Kremlin and serves as an adviser to Sergei Naryshkin, speaker of the Duma, the Russian parliament. He has set up nationalist political parties including the National Bolshevik Party, National Bolshevik Front and the Eurasia Party. During this year’s conflict in the Ukraine and Crimea, Dugin was in regular contact with pro-Russian separatist insurgents.



JOHN BLACK MORGAN

is the American editor-in-chief of Arkto Media, a co-sponsor of the NPI event. Morgan, a big fan of the Jobbik party, says the publishing outfit is named to

evoke “ancient European tradition” and “northernness.” Arkto publishes books by prominent fascists, including Dugin and others who were to attend the NPI conference, as well as handbooks on the Movement Identitaire. Some of Arkto’s works are particularly radical. *Guillaume Faye and the Battle for Europe* is a compilation of postings from American neo-Nazi websites including Vanguard News Network and National Vanguard. Arkto recently moved to Budapest from the United Kingdom. Morgan also has been published on the American racist website Counter-Currents.



MANUEL OCHSENREITER

is editor-in-chief of the German monthly news magazine *ZUERST!* (meaning First), which is “committed to the life and survival interests of the German people and the precious heritage of our European culture.” The magazine describes other media as controlled by “foreign interests.” According to The Interpreter, an English-language site specializing in Russian news, *ZUERST!* burnishes “the image of the Third Reich in popular culture” and opposes “what it regards as the humili-

ating legacy of denazification.” Just after the magazine began publishing in 2010, workers for its distributor, Bauer Media, threatened to strike, calling it a pro-Nazi magazine. Bauer dropped the publication. Ochsenreiter also is an on-air correspondent for the conspiracy-minded television channel, Russia Today. And he published a book, *State Murder in Baghdad: Saddam Hussein and the Gallows*, which compares the prosecution of Saddam Hussein to the Nuremberg trials. Ochsenreiter is close to Alexander Dugin and supports Russian interests in the Ukraine.



TOMISLAV SUNIĆ was born in Croatia but has American citizenship and has taught at American universities since receiving a Ph.D.

from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is a former Croatian diplomat. A prolific writer, former radio host and regular fixture on the radical-right speaking circuit, Sunić has addressed Klansmen, neo-Nazis and Holocaust deniers. A rabid anti-communist, probably due to his father’s persecution by the Yugoslav regime, Sunić criticized non-European immigration at the

harder-line racist publications.

His move into the radical right started with a stint as an assistant editor at Pat Buchanan's *The American Conservative* magazine and, later, as editor of the far-right and sometimes racist *Taki's Magazine*. Beginning in 2008, he made a series of major speeches at the H.L. Mencken Club, which regularly features prominent white nationalists.

Spencer was increasingly fixated with the idea of white identity — a concern shared with the Movement Identitaire and Jobbik. In a 2009 piece for *Taki's Magazine*, he put it like this: "In our increasingly globalized world (it's not just a cliché), race hasn't been

obscured or overcome, as many had hoped, but heightened and magnified — and contemporary white consciousness, if we're to use this term, is so complicated and bizarre ... that no serious cultural publication should refrain from discussing it."

By 2010, under the financial umbrella of the rabidly anti-immigrant VDARE Foundation, Spencer was running his own racist webzine, *Alternative Right*, and getting published by leading white nationalist journals including *American Renaissance*, *Occidental Observer* and *Right Now!*

In 2011, Spencer took over NPI and Washington Summit Publishers, after

their founder, longtime white nationalist Louis Andrews, took ill. And, the next year, he founded *Radix Journal*, a co-sponsor of the Budapest conference that has published work by the American anti-Semite Kevin MacDonald, Russian ultranationalist Alexander Dugin, and similar ideologues.

Speaking at a 2013 *American Renaissance* conference, Spencer made his aims clear, urging nationalists to reject immigration and focus on the long-term goal of establishing a "white ethno-state in the North American continent." It appears that now he is trying to make friends with those who would very much like to do the same thing in Europe. ▲

2003 Eurofest event, sponsored by the Sacramento, Calif., chapter of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. In August 2003, he gave a lecture in German alongside the lawyer Horst Mahler, who is currently serving a prison sentence in Germany for Holocaust denial, at a conference sponsored by Germany's nationalist far-right party, the National Democratic Party. Sunić is close to prominent anti-Semite and former California State University psychology professor Kevin MacDonald, who wrote an introduction to Sunić's book *Homo Americanus: Child of the Postmodern Age*. It says Sunić "addresses the modern world of hyper-liberalism, globalist capitalism and the crisis of our inherited Indo-European civilization."



JARED TAYLOR is the founder of the Virginia-based New Century Foundation and editor of its *American Renaissance* journal, which, despite its pseudo-academic polish, regularly publishes proponents of eugenics and blatant anti-black and anti-Latino racists. (It is now an online publication.) Taylor hosts annual conferences where racist intellectuals rub shoulders with Klansmen, neo-Nazis and other white supremacists. In 2005 Taylor

wrote: "Blacks and whites are different. When blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears." In addition to speaking to the NF in France, Taylor has prominently featured European racists at his conferences. In 2011, Taylor spoke at a NPI event dedicated to raising "the consciousness of whites" and ensuring "our biological and cultural continuity."



PHILIPPE VARDON established the very active Generation Identity chapter in Nice in 2002. Vardon, who also was a founder of the original Bloc Identitaire, has tried to run for office unsuccessfully more than once. His chapter is known for catchy slogans like "Neither veiled — or raped," which reflect his training in communications. Vardon penned the forward to the movement manifesto written by Markus Willinger, *Generation Identity: A Declaration of War Against the '68ers*. In it, Vardon writes of the evils of "unchecked mass immigration" and "triumphant multiculturalism." Vardon attempted to join the NF in 2013, but when the party

became aware that it had issued him a membership card, it was pulled. More recently, his group has been railing against immigrants that it blames for spreading the Ebola virus. He now also leads Les Identitaires, the think tank of the French Identitarian movement.



MARKUS WILLINGER was the youngest of the Identitaires scheduled to appear at the NPI conference. Born in Austria in 1992, Willinger

has been active in extremist politics since his teens and is now a student at the University of Stuttgart. He is best known for his 2013 manifesto (see above), which *Arktos* translated into English from German. The book denounces multiculturalism, immigration, equality between the sexes, and other liberal ideas championed by the leftist movement that peaked in 1968. The book affirms "European identity, culture, and tradition, our will to keep Europe alive, and our resolve to not be the last European generation" and ends with this statement: "Our patience has reached its end. Don't think of this book as a manifesto. It's a declaration of war. Our war against you."

The Publishers: White Nationalist Propaganda

By Evelyn Schlatter

The gathering of racist activists that was scheduled for October 2014 in Budapest, Hungary, and hosted by the American white nationalist National Policy Institute (NPI) has drawn fresh attention to the world of racist publishing houses and the propaganda they produce. Such white nationalist publishers typically claim that they are merely fostering serious thinking about issues generally ignored in the political mainstream, but in fact, despite their efforts to make themselves appear respectable, what they publish amounts to guttural racism with an academic sheen. What follows are brief sketches of five racist publishers in Europe and the United States.

Arktos Media

Arktos (Greek for “bear”) Media has its roots in a 2006 white nationalist venture called Integral Tradition Publishing (ITP), which, along with Sweden-based NFSE-Media AB (the group behind Metapedia, a racist version of Wikipedia that praises Hitler and denies the Holocaust), was merged into Arktos toward the end of 2009, according to *Searchlight Magazine*, which tracks the racist right in Europe. John Black Morgan, an American who helped launch ITP, is now the editor-in-chief of Arktos and the most visible member of its staff. Arktos is officially registered in the United Kingdom, although for a period it operated out of India, where Morgan was living at the time. Currently, the publishing house is based in Budapest, Hungary.

Arktos describes itself as the principal English-language publisher of the European “New Right” or, as it is known in France, “Nouvelle Droite” — a group of white nationalist intellectuals whose most prominent member is Alain de Benoist, a founder and leading thinker of the ethno-nationalist think tank GRECE. Other principals include Guillaume Faye, who has attended several conferences of the white nationalist *American Renaissance* journal; and Alexander Dugin, a Russian ultranationalist who has served as an adviser to Russian President Vladimir Putin. Dugin, the founder of the “International Eurasian Movement” and a proponent of a new Russian-led empire, has called for killing Ukrainians and annexing parts of the Ukrainian state in order to help create a fascist “Eurasian Union.”

Arktos is probably best known for its issuance of several editions of Markus Willinger’s *Generation Identity: A Declaration of War Against the ’68ers*, a seminal text of the neo-fascist Movement Identitaire (see related story, p. 37).

Counter-Currents Publishing

Founded in 2010, Counter-Currents (CC) is a webzine and publishing house that bills itself as the North American wing of the European New Right, which it terms the North American New Right. The editor-in-chief is Greg Johnson, a former editor at the U.S.-based white nationalist journal *Occidental Quarterly*.

Counter-Currents publishes authors from a variety of countries such as Jonathan Bowden, who was active prior to his death in 2012 in far-right and nationalist circles, including the white nationalist British National Party, and Kerry Bolton, a hard-right nationalist who was involved for some years with the New Zealand National Front, a small white nationalist political party. It also distributes the works of such authors as Francis Parker Yockey, who died in 1960 and whose writings have influenced generations of white nationalists; Alexander Dugin; and Julius Evola, an Italian philosopher who died in 1974 and whose work influenced hard-right and reactionary conservative thought in Europe and the U.S.

Formerly based in San Francisco, Johnson stated in May 2014 that he planned to outsource and “virtualize” CC operations and move, due to economic factors and a campaign by local antifascist groups against him. The CC website currently

lists a San Diego, Calif., address in the State Street Offices, a service that offers “virtual” offices for those who want to mostly work out of their homes or elsewhere but still appear to have a real brick-and-mortar office with a prestigious address.

Social Contract Press

The Social Contract Press (SCP), which publishes occasional books and a regular journal called *The Social Contract*, was founded in 1990 by John Tanton, the white nationalist architect of the modern anti-immigration movement. Tanton, who earlier founded the anti-immigrant hate group Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and an array of similar groups, had been thinking about a journal to synthesize his ideas and those of his fellow nativist activists since the 1980s.

Some of Tanton’s fellow activists have been particularly unsavory. He has corresponded with an array of white nationalist thinkers, a racist lawyer who long represented Klan groups, a Holocaust denier and even principals of the Pioneer Fund, a racist eugenicist foundation that helped fund FAIR. At one point, he wrote a major funder encouraging her to read the work of a leading academic anti-Semite, saying it would give her “a new understanding of the Jewish outlook on life.”

Tanton served as SCP’s editor until 1998, when longtime white nationalist Wayne Lutton took over. Lutton has held leadership or advisory positions in six other racist hate groups, including the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, the American Immigration Control Foundation, the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review, and the white nationalist groups New Century Foundation, National Policy Institute and *The Occidental Quarterly*.

Tanton remained involved in SCP’s operations until 2010, when he stepped aside for acolyte K.C. McAlpin, who promptly published an issue of its journal that was so anti-Muslim that even some of its longtime readers reacted with distaste.

Two of SCP’s more noteworthy books are an English translation of the openly racist French book *Camp of the Saints*, which describes a takeover of France by “swarthy hordes” of Indians from Calcutta, and *The Immigration Invasion*, written by Lutton and Tanton and banned as hate literature by Canadian border officials.

Washington Summit Publishers

Founded in 2006, Washington Summit Publishers (WSP) is the publishing arm of the National Policy Institute (NPI), a white nationalist think tank established in 2005 in Washington D.C.

by far-right publisher William Regnery and late white nationalist luminaries Samuel Francis and Louis Andrews. Andrews ran WSP until 2011, when his failing health led to him to relinquish control of both WSP and NPI to Richard Spencer, who moved operations to his home in Whitefish, Mont.

WSP claims to publish on “human biodiversity, culture, and critical theory,” but in reality its list of authors is made up of key intellectual leaders of the white nationalist movement, including the late Samuel Francis, Croatian white nationalist Tomislav Sunic, a former professor, and British race scientist Richard Lynn, some of whose research has been supported by the eugenicist Pioneer Fund.

Spencer has been busy since taking over WSP. In 2012, he launched the journal *Radix*, which is owned by NPI and WSP. And NPI planned an October 2014 Inaugural Identitarian Congress in Budapest, Hungary. Conference co-sponsors included Arktos Media and MOTPOL.nu, an Identitaire think tank with writers like Daniel Friberg (a Swedish businessman), John Morgan, Markus Willinger and American paleoconservative Paul Gottfried, the current president of the white nationalist H.L. Mencken Club.

Wermod and Wermod Publishing Group

Based in London, the Wermod and Wermod Publishing Group includes two imprints, Iron Sky Publishing and The Paligenesis Project. Its founder and editor-in-chief is Alex Kurtagic, an author, artist and musician who is an emerging voice of the New Right and has spoken at white nationalist gatherings in the U.S. like the 2012 conference of the racist *American Renaissance* journal, where he received a standing ovation. He also attended a 2011 conference hosted by the white nationalist National Policy Institute, which later wrote that his speech “quickly became legendary.”

Wermod and Wermod publishes thinkers on the New Right, including Jonathan Bowden and Tomislav Sunic. It also reprints works by long-dead white nationalist thinkers like Francis Parker Yockey; Madison Grant, who wrote *The Passing of the Great Race* in 1916; and the 19th- and early 20th-century British explorer Hesketh Hesketh-Pritchard, best known among white nationalists for his 1899 book on Haiti, a classic example of 19th-century racism which concludes that black people are incapable of governing. ▲



Redeemed

A woman who worked in religious-right ‘ex-gay’ ministries for years renounces the movement. She’s only the latest

Yvette Cantu Schneider came out as a lesbian as a young woman, then converted to Christianity in the 1990s and spent more than a decade working with rabidly anti-LGBT groups like the Family Research Council (FRC) and Focus on the Family. She also was active in the Proposition 8 campaign in California, which resulted in the outlawing of same-sex marriage in that state in 2008. (The ban has since been overturned by the Supreme Court.)

Schneider, who eventually married a man, was for years one of the key voices anti-LGBT activists cited as “proof” that people can change their sexual orientation. But in 2009, she began to question her beliefs and, in July 2014, she joined eight other founders, leaders and promoters of the “ex-gay” movement — a largely religious movement that claims therapy can “cure” people of their homosexuality — in joining the National Center for

Lesbian Rights’ call for a campaign to end so-called “conversion” or “reparative” therapy within five years. Schneider is also donating some of the proceeds from her latest book, *Never Not Broken: A Journey of Unbridled Transformation*, to GLAAD, an LGBT rights group.

The first ex-gay ministry, Love in Action, opened in 1973, followed by several others, including the large umbrella group,

JEFF DOW



Exodus International, started in 1976. Religion fused with pseudo-science in the National Association for the Research and Treatment of Homosexuality, which opened in 1992 and is made up of academics and therapists who tout falsehoods such as the claim that people become gay because of childhood sexual abuse or because they didn't "bond" properly with a same-sex parent. A variety of practitioners have used techniques ranging from the bizarre (banging on pillows with tennis rackets) to the cruel (physical, sexual and emotional abuse) to basic talk therapy.

All of the nation's leading professional medical and mental health associations have rejected conversion therapy as harmful and unnecessary. In spite of that, it is currently legally available for adults in every state. Two — California and New Jersey — have banned it for minors, although the New Jersey ban is being challenged in court.

Anti-LGBT groups have used the ex-gay movement as ammunition for decades in their war against LGBT equality,

holding it up as "proof" that people can be "cured" of homosexuality. But over the years, numerous people—including prominent spokespeople and leaders—have left the movement and renounced it, admitting that ex-gay therapy doesn't work. Others have been revealed to be engaging in same-sex affairs or relationships. Just last year, Exodus International closed its doors and its president, Alan Chambers, issued a formal apology for the pain many people had experienced through ex-gay therapy.

Yvette, you identified as a lesbian early on. What caused your radical change in direction?

When I was growing up, I had a long string of crushes on girls and young women. I never expressed my feelings to any of them. Then, when I was studying at the University of Delhi in India as part of an education abroad program, I had my first lesbian relationship. I remember thinking that if I had any doubts about the morality of this relationship, it was because of what I had learned from my oppressive, controlling Judeo-Christian culture. In that moment, I felt the first spark of activism. A few months later, when I came out to my mom, she told me I needed "extensive psychological help." This time, the spark felt more like a burn. In response to what I saw as disrespect, I came out to everyone I knew, knowing instinctively that to be seen was the first step to acceptance.

After a three-year relationship, I had a string of disappointing experiences dating women. I was stuck in a dead-end job that I didn't enjoy. And another project I was working on fell apart. As this was happening, I worked with a Christian who shared Scripture with me about how God had a plan and purpose for my life. Even though I found him irritating, the Scriptures piqued my interest because they provided hope for a meaningful life.

When I went to church with him for the first time, I met dozens of young adults with the same desire. To be told week after week that our lives could be significant was like a drug. But, as with all drugs, there was a price. That price was to leave your individuality at the door and conform to what church leadership expected of you, to do as you were told, all in the name of serving the omniscient, omnipotent God.

I spent 20 years in the Christian world and I have never seen anyone's sexual orientation change.

When I converted to Christianity in 1992, I had been through a series of stressful circumstances and was looking for some stability in my life, and a sense of purpose. The church movement I joined preached that not only were we a family of believers who would be together in this world and for eternity, we were “called” by God for a purpose. That purpose was to establish God’s kingdom on earth.

How did you get involved in anti-LGBT groups?

I spent my early years as a Christian working in college campus ministry in California. There wasn’t much reason to mention my lesbian past, except on rare occasions when talking to students on campus who took issue with our interpretations of biblical passages condemning homosexual sex.

A church friend of mine who was politically active mentioned me to a friend who produced a cable TV show. He invited me to participate in a panel to talk about homosexuality and changing from gay to straight. I did, and the producer recommended me to a Christian group as a speaker for one of their events. After hearing me speak, I was asked by a large donor to pro-family groups to make a video of my speech for Gary Bauer [former director of the Family Research Council], and for Focus on the Family. I was invited to D.C. for an interview with FRC after Gary Bauer saw this video. While at FRC, I wrote policy papers, spoke at conferences and other events, participated in state and national congressional briefings, lobbied swing voters and did TV, radio and print interviews.

And how did your views come to change?

From time to time, I was plagued with prickly feelings of unease. I remember speaking at Dartmouth College in 2000, I think it was, and feeling that I didn’t want to be there. A student group had invited me to speak, which outraged other members of the student body. I understood their indignation. I understood that when I said I used to be gay and wasn’t anymore, I was insulting LGBT students by implying that they could change, too. And even though I cried in my hotel room that night, this life of an evangelical Christian, “pro-family” activist was my identity. It’s where I fit.

A few years later, I had occasional bouts of free-floating anxiety, seemingly unrelated to anything in my daily life. It was as if something was “off,” but I couldn’t identify what it was, or I refused to identify it, a sort of willful denial. Then my husband and I discovered that the church movement we were a part of was terribly corrupt. We had seen the manipulation and control that were a staple of how the leaders kept the follow-

ers in line, but we didn’t realize that the financial corruption ran deep, as well. We blew the whistle on this organization, but churches aren’t subject to much financial accountability, so nothing happened. After that, it was impossible for me to trust another church leader.

Then, in the spring of 2009, my 5-year-old daughter was diagnosed with leukemia. After she spent a month in the hospital before returning home for 28 months of treatment, I went to a psychologist for help with the overwhelming anxiety I felt. She told me that anxiety can also arise when you are living incongruously from your true self, and living according to someone else’s expectations of you. At that point, I started on a personal journey to figure out who I really was.

Have you had conversion therapy?

I never sought therapy from a licensed professional in an attempt to change my orientation. Professionals were considered unnecessary by the church movement I was a part of.

When I first became a Christian, I was assigned a “discipler,” or a mentor who held me accountable for reading the Bible and praying, attending church and Bible studies, and for appropriate behavior. Several months later, I was assigned a new discipler who told me she saw a “spirit of homosexuality” in me.

She and my previous discipler confronted me and accused me of deceiving them by not admitting the depth and extent to which I had been involved in sinful homosexual behavior. Together they laid hands on me and cast out the spirit of homosexuality, replacing it with a spirit of purity. I was then told that I was under “quarantine,” that I couldn’t leave the house where I lived with other young women from the church. I was only allowed to go to work, read my Bible, and pray until they decided I wasn’t a threat to any of the other young women.

In your experience, is ex-gay therapy effective?

I spent 20 years in the Christian world and I have never seen anyone’s sexual orientation change. I’ve seen men and women with same-sex attractions marry people of the opposite sex, and even have children. But no one I knew personally ever lost their attractions to the same sex.

Why, in your experience, is ex-gay therapy so important to the religious right?

You’re not going to convince people that LGBT rights should be denied based on someone else’s religious beliefs; evangelical Christian activists know this. So it became convenient

to come up with arguments based on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was meant to prohibit discrimination by establishing protected classes based on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion or sect, and gender.

What gives these classes the right to protection, according to analysts, is a history of discrimination, economic disadvantages, and immutable characteristics. (That last can't, of course, be said for religion. But freedom of religion is already guaranteed under the First Amendment.)

If some people could change from gay to straight, then same-sex attractions can't be considered immutable, which means that gay men and lesbians don't fit into the civil rights category of unchangeable characteristics. Their romantic and sexual behaviors can be considered a choice, not an inevitability. If religious-right activists can show that it's not only possible to change from gay to straight, but that many people have done it and are living happy, healthy heterosexual lives, or even lives that aren't gay, then they've made their point that rights are not necessary for sexual minorities.

What's your take on ex-gay therapy now?

Ex-gay therapy is a political tool of the so-called pro-family organizations to deny LGBT rights, and it's also a way to convince the Christian faithful, those who fill the pews every Sunday, that while denying LGBT rights seems unfair, it's actually the best thing for what they consider to be "sexual deviants."

What makes ex-gay therapy so devastating is that people are taught to believe that there is something wrong with them that needs healing. The message that resounds like a relentless drumbeat is that you aren't good enough, and you need to change. It isn't hard to imagine the effect this has on LGBT people, which is why all the major mental and medical health organizations have deemed sexual orientation change therapy efforts not only ineffective, but damaging.

Has anyone from the organizations with which you worked spoken with you since your most recent public statements?

Some people have been supportive, while others have lashed out against me. It's something I knew would happen, so I was prepared for every type of reaction. The difficult part has been losing friends and losing a way of life I had known for 20 years.

The prevailing response, however, has been one of sadness and regret for what they perceive to be my recalcitrant views. One woman sent me an E-mail imploring me to re-think. Then she invoked my daughter's cancer, saying, "The God of the universe has rescued your child. He has mercy on us all, and that



is our constant hope." I'm not sure what she meant by that, but I found it subtly manipulative, as if implying that God could easily take my daughter's life if I chose not to comply with evangelical fundamentalist dogma.

To suggest that God might decide to kill my daughter if I don't march in lockstep with patriarchal, misogynistic and homophobic interpretations of the Bible is not only spiritually insulting, it is morally outrageous.

What do you feel is the future of the ex-gay movement?

I think the ex-gay movement will be dead within the next 10 years. As churches become more gay-affirming, parents and church leaders won't seek parachurch ministries to "fix" in gay Christians what isn't broken. The fact that the ex-gay movement has been a monumental failure with no real, lasting change in those who have sought to negate same-sex attractions and become heterosexual will become more and more apparent to the average lay Christian. This is especially true in the age of social media, when information spreads like wildfire and can't easily be suppressed. I'm sure there will be pockets of people here and there who will still try to change someone's orientation. But the movement as a relevant entity in the push for LGBT rights will be defunct. ▲

For the Record

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

SPLCENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

ALABAMA

Ozark • July 10, 2014

Steven Joshua Dinkle, 28, former Exalted Cyclops of the Ozark chapter of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was sentenced to 24 months in prison for his role in a 2009 cross burning.

ARIZONA

Mesa • Aug. 16, 2014

Joseph David Burgoyne, 28, was charged with aggravated assault with a deadly weapon, participating in a criminal street gang, threatening or intimidation and disorderly conduct after he allegedly shouted racial slurs at a man and then attacked him with a bottle. Burgoyne has the slogan "CWB" (Crazy White Boy), a reference to a white supremacist street gang, tattooed on his neck.

CALIFORNIA

Orange • July 13, 2014

Fliers were distributed by the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Taft • Sept. 12, 2014

Jack Alfred Dennis, 34, was charged with committing a religious hate crime and possession of an unregistered assault rifle in connection with vandalism of church signs.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • July 30, 2014

Reginald Anthony Klaiber, 24, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly stabbing a 15-year-old transgender female.

FLORIDA

Daytona Beach • July 15, 2014

Ronald White, 51, was charged with two counts of child abuse after he allegedly yelled racial slurs and threatened two young black boys.

Miami Beach • July 28, 2014

A swastika and the word "Hamas"

were spray-painted at the entrance of a synagogue. Two days earlier a local family found anti-Semitic graffiti on their car.

GEORGIA

Atlanta • July 13, 2014

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left on cars.

Ellabell • Aug. 17, 2014

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement were left in driveways.

Savannah • Sept. 18, 2014

Fliers from the National Socialist Movement were left in a neighborhood.

IDAHO

Kootenai County • July 12, 2014

A historical marker on the Coeur d'Alene Tribe's reservation was defaced with the racist messages "White power" and "Die (expletive) Indians."

Pocatello • Sept. 30, 2014

Nathan Jessop, a member of the hate group Fundamentalist Church of Latter-day Saints (FLDS), was sentenced to 90 days in jail on child injury charges for the mistreatment of teenage boys placed in his home as discipline by the sect.

ILLINOIS

Chicago • July 14, 2014

David C. Nicosia, 55, was charged with four counts of aggravated battery and a hate crime after he allegedly slapped an elderly black judge in the face, spit on her and called her "Rosa Parks."

Manhattan • July 6, 2014

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

KENTUCKY

Lexington • July 8, 2014

Fliers from the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed in a neighborhood.

MICHIGAN

Holland • Sept. 15, 2014

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

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • Sept. 25, 2014

Wayne Steven Odegard, 43, was arrested for allegedly harassing customers at a gay bar and yelling gay slurs, and then using a BB gun to shoot a man in the leg.

MONTANA

Havre • Aug. 16, 2014

Fliers from the United Klans of America were left on doorsteps.

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City • Sept. 27, 2014

The car of the spiritual leader of a local synagogue was set afire. The fire damaged the parking lot and outer walls of the synagogue.

East Hampton • July 10, 2014

Asli Dincer, 44, and her ex-husband, Melih Dincer, 31, were charged with making a terrorist threat, falsely reporting an incident, menacing and conspiracy after allegedly sending E-mail threats to a synagogue.

West Orange • July 18, 2014

Ali Muhammed Brown, 29, was arrested for allegedly killing two gay men, Ahmed Said, 27, and Dwone Anderson-Young, 23, on June 1.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn • Aug. 30, 2014

Two Jewish men, Samuel Brendler, 21, and Ahrone Koskase, 22, were charged with assault as a hate crime, harassment and menacing for allegedly attacking a black man who was walking his dog and throwing garbage cans at him while using racial slurs.

Hampton Bays • Aug. 30, 2014

Fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were

left on the driveway of residents in a local neighborhood.

New York • July 26, 2014

Anti-Muslim fliers were distributed in a Bensonhurst apartment complex.

West Babylon • Sept. 7, 2014

Fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in two neighborhoods.

NORTH CAROLINA

Pineview • July 13, 2014

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

PENNSYLVANIA

Bloomsburg • Aug. 4, 2014

Walter Corey Reibsome faces charges of ethnic intimidation, harassment and disorderly conduct for allegedly yelling a racial slur at a black Bloomsburg University student.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Abbeville • July 26, 2014

The Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

Seneca • July 13, 2014

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

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga • Sept. 21, 2014

Four individuals assaulted a man and yelled anti-gay slurs at him.

Clarksville • July 22, 2014

A cross was burned in a church parking lot.

Minor Hill • July 9, 2014

Timothy Flanagan, 33, was charged with federal offenses for his part in a 2012 cross-burning in front of an interracial family's home.

TEXAS

Katy • July 3, 2014

Fliers from the Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were distributed in a neighborhood. ▲

Militiaman Down

An interview planned with the head of a Florida militia ends at the county jail

BY RYAN LENZ

The New World Order already had him.

Jordan Jereb, the head of the Republic of Florida (ROF), a would-be militia made up of kids barely old enough to buy guns, was missing. He was a no-show for an interview we had scheduled with him in August. He wasn't answering his phone. He hadn't told us he was going to be late. At best, he was standing us up. At worst, he had played us for fools and very soon would post secretly recorded video of "SPLC goons."

It wasn't out of the realm of possibility.

Jereb had been posting an onslaught of videos for months. Filming with a handful of high school friends, Jereb and company had warned of a tyrannical global power running the world, instructed viewers on knife fighting and emergency "bug out" bags — and more than a few videos showed Jereb rolling down hills in what was supposed to be a demonstration of paramilitary tactics and training. It all looked pretty silly, like the kids who hang out at the Army surplus store after school and play army while their friends are out chasing girls.

But it was just enough to bring us to Tallahassee, Fla., last August. Heidi Beirich, director of the Intelligence Project, and I had hoped Jereb might take us on patrol, that we could ask him about his antics with ROF and, most importantly, tell us just what he hoped to achieve by embracing just about every right-wing ideology there is — from neo-Confederate calls for secession, to survivalism and prepping, even the occasional Nazi salute in front of a webcam.

Jereb was a weird character even in the extremist underworld to which he so badly wanted to belong. While almost every neo-Nazi, militiaman, nativist and racist despises the *Intelligence Report*,



Jordan Jereb, head of The Republic of Florida militia group, wanted to be famous. But when opportunity finally knocked, the man who liked to roll down hills as he played Army was nowhere to be found. It turned out his outlaw fantasies had finally caught up with him.

Jereb wanted desperately to be mentioned in these pages. He flooded us with pleas for attention. In one E-mail, he even included a manual titled *Jackass Warfare: How punk kids could destroy an oppressive government*, filled with ways to blow things up and descriptions of how "legally being an asshole" can change the world.

In another E-mail, Jereb welcomed the chance to explain his ideas. "We embrace SPLC because your organization helps us with out [sic] outlaw image. ... The spirit of rebellion is not stopped by SPLC but rather fueled [sic] for the flames," Jereb wrote.

But when the day came for our interview, Jereb was nowhere to be found.

We sipped on our sodas, debated getting some lunch, counted the minutes and felt very much that we'd been had. His voicemail message warned of the New World Order, but neither it nor Jereb was answering. The attendant at his extended-stay hotel hadn't seen him in days.

What followed was a quick and dirty tour of Tallahassee to figure out just what had happened to Jereb. His last E-mail said he had a court appointment for eight-month-old burglary charges the day of the interview, but he didn't expect that to take too long. We checked a mailing address for the ROF, an empty home, spoke with a few confused neighbors and finally landed at the steps of the Leon County Jail.

Turns out Jereb's outlaw fantasies weren't fantasies at all.

The day before our interview, Jereb, along with his second-in-command, C.J. Taylor, was picked up by law enforcement, which had grown increasingly worried of the threatening rhetoric coming from Jereb and his friends. They were charged with trespassing after allegedly entering their old high school. And while Taylor was later released, Jereb remained jailed without bond at press time.

It's hard to say just what Jereb had hoped to achieve chasing after these pages, or what his foray into the radical right was all about. Maybe he read all the wrong books, if he read them at all, and found in the underbelly of American hate and extremism a subculture he could call his own. Maybe this is only a beginning.

But as a final message to Mr. Jereb, in case this falls into his lap in jail, while this may not be the profile you desperately wanted, it's all we had to work with. Just know that we'll be waiting when you get out to go on patrol with you through those quiet neighborhoods of Tallahassee.

But you may want to rethink your job. Tallahassee seems to be doing just fine without you. ▲