

SPECIAL ISSUE

Intelligence

Report

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SPRING 2010 | ISSUE 137

RAGE

ON THE

RIGHT

THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM



They Say They Want a Revolution

BY MARK POTOK

EGGED ON BY CHEERS AND INTERRUPTED by standing ovations, one-time GOP vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin told the first National Tea Party Convention in Nashville this February that President Obama's spending was "immoral" and amounted to "theft." She said America needed politicians "to proclaim their alliance to our Creator." She opined that the Democrats were "running out of time."



And then she got to the punch line: "America is ready for another revolution."

Presumably, Palin was speaking in metaphors, as she apparently did when she accused the president of trying to set up "death panels" to decide which Americans will live and which will die. But it's hard to say. More than a few tea partiers and attendees of town halls on health care have paraphrased Thomas Jefferson, saying the "tree of liberty" again needs "watering" with "the blood of tyrants."

Palin's provocative comments came as a new Rasmussen Reports poll showed that 75% of likely American voters were "angry" or "very angry" at the policies of the federal government, up from 66% in September. The poll also found that 88% of "mainstream voters" were angry, but 84% of the "political

class" was not — another indication of how leaders are widely seen as completely out of touch.

The numbers are harrowing, and hearken back to the period around the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, when the antigovernment "Patriot" movement was at its hottest. A few days after that attack left 168 men, women and children dead, a *USA Today* poll found that fully 39% of Americans agreed with the proposition that the federal government was "so large and powerful that it poses an immediate threat to the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens."

In many ways, the mass murder in Oklahoma was the culmination of political anger against the government that had been building for years over issues such as gun control, environmental regulation, and the purported crushing of dissent. Today, a very similar anger is building again, this time over bailouts of banks and the auto industry, health insurance, the economy, and government spending in general.

And that anger has fueled a pervasive rage on the right — a rage reflected, as we report in this issue, in the dramatic growth of radical groups. Hate groups last year remained at record levels despite the collapse of a major neo-Nazi group. Angry anti-immigrant vigilante groups soared by nearly 80%. And, most dramatically, militias and the larger Patriot movement came roaring back, with 363 new militias and related groups appearing in 2009 for a dizzying 244% increase.

These three strands of the radical right — the hatemongers, the nativist extremist groups, and the Patriot organizations — are the most volatile elements on the American political landscape. Taken together, their numbers increased by more than 40%, rising from 1,248

groups in 2008 to 1,753 last year.

Although the tea parties and similar nascent groups are not fairly described as extremist, they are laced with extreme-right ideas, conspiracy theories and racism, in part thanks to certain ostensibly mainstream commentators and politicians. One example: U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.), who was to speak at the Nashville tea party convention but withdrew after a House ethics committee raised questions about how profits from the event would be used. Bachmann has proposed that the Congress be investigated for anti-Americanism, suggested that Obama is trying to create mandatory political reeducation camps for youths, and accused her enemies of harboring a "socialist, globalist worldview."

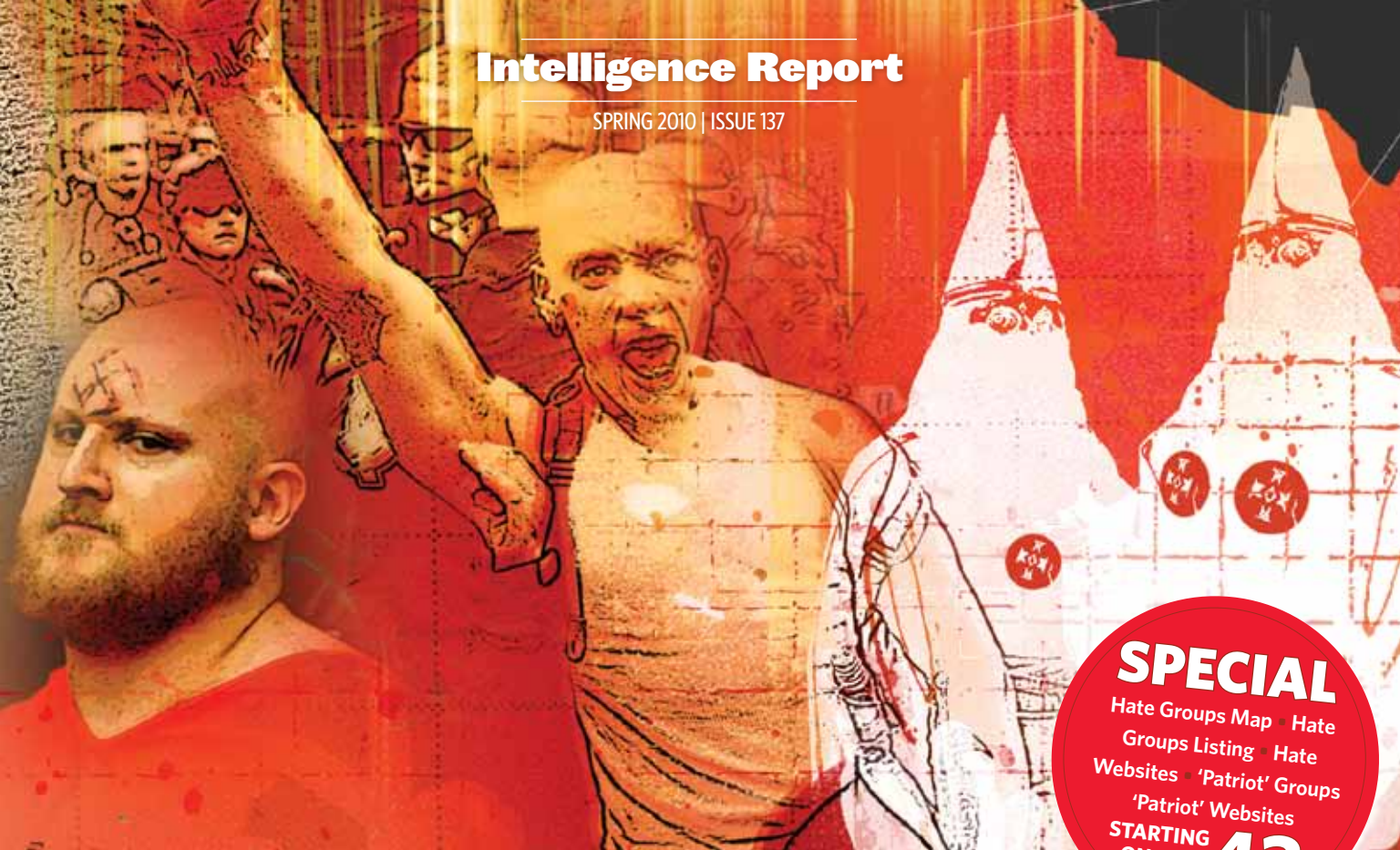
One politician who was invited to the convention and did speak — his talk was the gathering's first — left little doubt about his own racism. Tom Tancredo, a former Republican congressman from Colorado and possibly the most rabid anti-immigrant politician in America, told the convention: "People who could not spell the word 'vote' or say it in English put a committed socialist ideology in the White House — [his] name is Barack Hussein Obama."

The problem, Tancredo explained, is that "we do not have a civics, literacy test before people can vote."

Literacy tests were long used to prevent African Americans from voting but were finally outlawed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As an editorial in the *Baltimore Sun* pointed out, Tancredo referenced literacy tests in the context of attacking a black president. "That's not some slip of the tongue or a moment of political correctness," the paper said. "That's the stuff of Klan rallies." ▲

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The radical right caught fire last year, fueled by populist anger over demographic, political and economic changes in America. Hate groups remained at record levels despite the collapse of a major neo-Nazi group, while anti-immigrant vigilante groups soared by some 80%. But what was most remarkable was the explosive growth of militias and the "Patriot" movement, which jumped 244%.



12 Fear of FEMA

For some three decades, tall tales of secret concentration camps run by the Federal Emergency Management Agency have circulated on the American radical right. But in the last year, these ideas, which seemed to die off with the militia movement of the 1990s, have come roaring back, aided by the likes of FOX News' Glenn Beck.



18 Threats and Punishment

Two recent trials of aggressive neo-Nazi propagandists have thrown some light on the complicated legal struggle to define what constitutes a criminal "true threat." Bill White, who now faces a lengthy prison term, and Hal Turner, who is to be retried this spring after a mistrial, both had lengthy histories of threatening their enemies.



30 Midwifing the Militias

The explosion of militias and the larger antigovernment "Patriot" movement last year wasn't an entirely spontaneous reaction to events. A little-noticed meeting in Jekyll Island, Ga., last spring, followed by a "continental congress" in Illinois in November, played critical roles in expanding and pulling the radical right together.

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PUBLISHED BY
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INTELLIGENCE PROJECT



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The *Intelligence Report* is published quarterly by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. © 2010 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved.



22 The Year in Nativism

The number of hard-line anti-immigration groups (see list, p. 24) rose nearly 80% last year, a period that also saw one nativist leader charged with murder.



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Police have seriously damaged the European Kindred, a group that in recent years grew into the most feared racist skinhead gang in the Pacific Northwest.

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In a country with a long history of anti-gay legislation, a proposed "kill the gays" bill has aroused international condemnation.



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The late J.B. Stoner was so vicious that even fellow racists thought he was a plant.

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

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





Unrepentant killer: Scott Roeder tried to claim that he was saving babies when he shot a physician in church, but a jury had little trouble calling him a murderer.

ANTI-ABORTION VIOLENCE

Doctor Killer Convicted in Closely Watched Case

In a trial followed intently by activists on both sides of the abortion debate, Scott Roeder was convicted of first-degree murder by a Wichita, Kan., jury on Jan. 29 for shooting Dr. George Tiller in the head at point-blank range. Roeder, 51, who also was convicted of two counts of aggravated assault for pointing a gun at two of Tiller's fellow churchgoers, was to be sentenced March 9 and faced a possible life sentence in prison.

The assassination of Tiller, who was one of the few doctors in the nation who perform late-term abortions and who had been shot in both arms in 1993 by another "pro-life" activist, was the eighth murder carried out by anti-abortion zealots since 1993, according to NARAL Pro-Choice America. In that period, more than 40 abortion facilities were bombed and 175 subjected to arson attacks.

There was no dispute over the fact that Roeder approached Tiller, 67, shortly before services began in the doctor's church last May 31, pressed a gun to his forehead and fired. "I did what I thought was needed to be done to protect the children," Roeder testified. "I shot him." He said he had no regrets.

In chilling detail, Roeder calmly described how he had contemplated shooting Tiller at his home (difficult since he lived in a gated community) or from a rooftop near his clinic, or even slicing off the doctor's hands with a sword. He rejected the last option because, he said, even with no hands Tiller could instruct other physicians how to perform abortions. Roeder also recalled going to Tiller's church with a gun one year before the shooting and again just a week earlier.

Defense attorneys tried in vain to persuade Judge Warren Wilbert to let the jury consider a lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter, arguing that Roeder believed that by killing Tiller he would save unborn children. Kansas state law allows the lesser charge for people with "an unreasonable but honest belief that circumstances existed that justified deadly force." But such a defense can only be used if the accused thought a person was in "imminent" danger of death, and Kansas case law makes it clear that imminence actually requires that the supposed victim be present. "There is no imminence of danger on a Sunday morning in the back of a church, let alone any unlawful conduct, given what Tiller did at his clinic Monday through Friday is lawful in Kansas," Judge Wilbert said in refusing to allow the jury to consider the lesser charge.

Although many pro-choice activists had worried about the judge in the case — he paid to have his name added to an anti-abortion ad along with

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“Obama tags? We’d buy some of those.”

— Independent Idaho conservative **REX RAMMELL** at an **Aug. 25** GOP fundraiser, as quoted by the *Twin Falls Times-News*, during a discussion about wolf hunting licenses, or “tags”

“America is an outgrowth of Christianity and English civilization. ... [U]ncontrolled immigration with multiculturalism is a recipe for ... the fracturing of America along racial and ethnic lines.”

— **JEFFREY T. KUHNER**, writing in a **Sept. 20** book review in *The Washington Times* in which he also claims Latino “radicals” are seeking to annex the American Southwest to Mexico

“[W]e need to realize he is an enemy of humanity.”

— U.S. Rep. **TRENT FRANKS** (R-Ariz.) at the **Sept. 26** conservative “How to Take America Back” conference, making comments about Barack Obama that he said later referred only to the president’s position on abortion

“Military intervention is what Obama’s exponentially accelerating agenda for ‘fundamental change’ toward a Marxist state is inviting.”

— Conservative commentator **JOHN L. PERRY**, in a **Sept. 29** column on the right-wing Newsmax website that was removed after protests

“Opossum, the other dark meat. A little greasy, but hey.”

— Kansas State Rep. **BILL OTTO** (R), in comments that immediately followed his criticism of President Obama, on a video removed from YouTube on **Oct. 15**. Otto’s remarks were widely denounced as racist, but he said they referred only to “redneck” stereotypes

“America was once their country. They sense they are losing it. And they are right.”

— MSNBC commentator **PAT BUCHANAN**, referring to the white people he termed “traditional Americans” in an **Oct. 20** column published on the WorldNetDaily online news site

“Islam is ... a violent political system bent on ... world domination. ... [W]e should treat it ... as we would members of the Communist Party.”

— Christian Coalition founder **PAT ROBERTSON**, in **Nov. 9** remarks on the Christian Broadcasting Network’s “The 700 Club,” which he co-hosts

“Speaking of gays, happy birthday, Ray Buckley. Yeah, you faggot. ... You are a disgrace to yourself, to humanity, to mankind and to your party.”

— **DOUG LAMBERT**, co-host of Gilford, N.H.-based WEMJ-AM’s “Meet the New Press,” attacking the state’s Democratic Party chairman in **Nov. 14** remarks that resulted in Lambert’s firing and widespread condemnation from officials of both parties

“Your son was a homo, really?”

— Mecklenburg, N.C., County Commissioner **BILL JAMES** (R), questioning a fellow commissioner on **Dec. 15** who invoked the memory of her son, who died of AIDS, in voting with a majority to extend benefits to same-sex partners of gay county employees

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other politicians in 2008 — the case ended without controversy. As prosecutor Ann Swegle said in her closing argument, the murder was simply “a planned assassination.”

It took the jury only 37 minutes to agree.

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Neo-Nazi Murderer Dies Before Trial

The long and bitter life of Holocaust Museum murderer James von Brunn came to an uneventful end in January, when he died in a federal prison while awaiting trial for the slaying of security guard Stephen T. Johns. Von Brunn, who was being treated for chronic medical problems, was 89.

In June of last year, the violently anti-Semitic, anti-black von Brunn double-parked his Hyundai in front of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., approached the crowded facility and shot Johns as he opened the door for him, authorities said. Two other guards returned fire, and von Brunn was wounded in one ear and immediately arrested.

Von Brunn’s neo-Nazi and antigovernment views dated back decades. He was arrested in the nation’s capital in December 1981 after carrying a sawed-off shotgun, a pistol and a hunting knife into the Federal Reserve, where he hoped to make a citizen’s arrest of the Board of Governors, whom he called “treasonous liars.” (Many on the radical right see the Fed as an evil entity; see related story, p. 30.) He blamed a “Negro jury” and a “Jew judge” for his conviction in that case. He was released in 1989 after serving six years in prison.

At the time of his arrest at the Holocaust Museum, von Brunn ran the website Holywesternempire.org, which was listed in 2008 as a hate site by the Southern Poverty Law Center. He also had a long history of associations with prominent neo-Nazis and Holocaust deniers. At one point, von Brunn worked briefly at Noontide Press, a part of the



James von Brunn attended a pre-trial hearing, but never made it to a full trial. In a past case, von Brunn denounced the “Jew judge” and “Negro jury” who sent him to prison in the 1980s.

Holocaust-denying
Institute of
Historical
Review then
run by Willis

Carto, one of America’s most prominent anti-Semites. More recently, he self-published an anti-Semitic book, *Kill the Best Gentiles!*

In the end, though, von Brunn was not a terribly influential figure in the white supremacist world. When he died, some people who posted on Stormfront.org, the leading white supremacist Web forum, hailed him as a hero. But others ridiculed his shooting of the black security guard, saying it hurt their cause.

“We have to find things for our old men to do that do not involve military invasions of museums!” one of them wrote. “Wow. Really pathetic, folks.”

ILLEGAL EXPLOSIVES

Rash of Bomb Cases Tied to Radical-Right Views

Illegal bombs, bullets and guns were seized from men young and old in recent months. In each of the cases, which together represented an unusual burst of such activity, there was evidence that those charged held antigovernment, survivalist or racist views. The accused ranged from their late teens to their 60s.

Mark Campano of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, pleaded not guilty in federal court in January to possession of destructive devices not registered with the federal government. They included about three dozen pipe bombs and bomb components, 17 rifles and pistols, including a revolver equipped with a homemade silencer, and hundreds of rounds of ammunition. Authorities

learned of the arsenal after Campano accidentally detonated one of the pipe bombs in his apartment, causing him to lose parts of two fingers.

Campano’s 77-year-old mother said her son was simply indulging in a hobby. But a one-time neighbor said the former anesthesiologist continually tried to get her and another neighbor to watch and listen to antigovernment video and audiotapes. In denying Campano’s request for bail, a federal judge said she could not “imagine legal, non-dangerous uses for such an arsenal.”

A Missouri jury needed only nine minutes in January to convict **Robert Joos Jr.** of two felony weapons and explosives charges. Federal agents found 15 firearms, more than 19,000 ammunition rounds and bomb-making parts such as fuses and blasting caps at Joos’ rural home. The agents acted after white supremacist twins Dennis and Daniel Mahon (who separately face trial for allegedly injuring an Arizona official with a mail bomb) reportedly told undercover informants that Joos’ 200-acre property was used as a training facility for racist radicals.

Missouri police in January seized more than 100 guns and 300,000 rounds of ammunition from a man who

they said considered himself to be an “extreme survivalist” and charged him with making a terrorist threat. **Lowell Aughenbaugh** was accused of threatening to blow up the city of Rolla’s police department and everybody in it. Police said Aughenbaugh also had books on how to successfully kill somebody and materials that could be used to make explosive devices.

Also in Missouri in January, federal agents arrested a man accused of making “improvised explosive devices.” **Richard Cobley** of Trenton is alleged to have shown an undercover ATF agent a hidden room in his basement where he displayed an anti-personnel bomb with BBs attached to a PVC pipe casing with electrical tape. Cobley encouraged the agent to “try it out and see if you like it” and said he had made booby traps to place in

his home to stop the government coming after him, according to an affidavit.

A Lake Elsinore, Calif., man blew several fingers off on one hand while handling explosives in October, then was charged along with his mother and brother with several crimes. After **Benjamin Kuzelka** went to a hospital for treatment

of his injuries, authorities visited the home where he lived with his brother and mother, who ran a licensed day care facility there. Police said they found ingredients for making explosives and a marijuana-growing operation in a three-car garage. A swastika was drawn on a wall inside the house, and a copy of *The Anarchist Cookbook* was discovered. The book includes instructions for making explosives.

Two 19-year-old West Virginia high school seniors were arrested in September and charged with plotting to



Mark Campano



Benjamin Kuzelka

bomb their school. They were arrested after other Weir High School students notified authorities of threatening text messages that reportedly were traced to one of the defendants, **Mark Mentzer**. A search of Mentzer's home turned up weapons, racist writings, a map of the school and bomb-making materials.

Also in September, a father and son in Antioch, Ill., were charged with various weapons and explosives offenses. Among the items taken from their home were two anti-tank rocket launchers, two submachine guns, an assault rifle, baseball bats with spikes, knives, machetes, land mines, sticks of dynamite and bomb-making manuals.

In the bedroom of the father, **Burl Thomas**, police said they found a drawing of Adolf Hitler and a vest with several patches, including a swastika. Thomas told authorities he had once ridden with the Outlaws motorcycle gang. His son, **John Thomas**, has a criminal history that includes hate crimes and aggravated assault.

A reputed militia member who pleaded guilty to illegally selling explosives to undercover cops was sentenced in September to the 15 months he had already served in jail in Pennsylvania. Federal authorities said that **Perry Landis'** rural cabin was a meeting place for militia members and that he was in the Brookville Tigers Militia. Landis' attorney blamed his client's drinking of one to two cases of beer a day for his actions.

"I'm not against the government, and never was," Landis said at his sentencing. "I love the United States."

Ronald Struve of Kirkland, Wash., was sentenced to four years in prison in August after pleading guilty to several counts of possession of illegal firearms and plastic explosives. Federal agents found grenades and grenade launchers, machine guns, plastic explosives and

blasting caps in storage lockers he rented in Bellevue and Spokane. Struve, who was 67 when he was sentenced, told the judge that he started collecting weapons on the black market in the 1960s, when he said he became an anticomunist. Agents said that when they arrested Struve, he told them he might use his arsenal "some day" against "the enemy."

NATIVIST PROPAGANDISTS

Dobbs' Departure Hailed by Critics — and Some Former Friends

The departure from CNN of resident immigrant-basher Lou Dobbs last November had echoes all over the political spectrum — including from a number of one-time cheerleaders who angrily denounced him for betraying their cause.



After accepting a reported \$8 million buyout of his CNN contract, former host Lou Dobbs went on Bill O'Reilly's FOX News show, where he shocked former nativist allies by saying relatively moderate things about immigrants.

The hubbub dates to Dobbs' resignation from his job as anchor of "Lou Dobbs Tonight" following months of pressure from groups, including the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), on the cable network to dump him. That pressure picked up last summer, when Dobbs seemed to endorse racist "birther" theories about Barack Obama's non-eligibility to serve as

president. It was then that SPLC officials called on CNN to drop Dobbs, and many others followed.

Roberto Lovato, a member of Presente.org, one of the groups formed late last year to coordinate the campaign to oust Dobbs, was delighted. "We are thrilled that Dobbs no longer has this legitimate platform from which to incite fear and hate," he said. And Eric Burns, president of the watchdog group Media Matters for America, declared it "a happy day for all those who care about this nation of immigrants and believe in the power of media to elevate the political discourse."

Then came an even more surprising development.

Nine days after his resignation, Dobbs granted an interview to an American Spanish-language television network, Telemundo. Shocking allies on the far right who saw him

as a hero in their battle against "illegal aliens," Dobbs told his interviewer that "we need the ability to legalize illegal immigrants under certain conditions." On his own show, Dobbs had never sounded so moderate.

William Gheen, president of the nativist extremist group Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (see related story, p. 22), reacted like a cuckolded husband. "I am hurt, dismayed, angry, sad, exasperated, red faced, embarrassed and more after seeing this video," he said.

Gheen's North Carolina-based organization had already received pledges of more than \$672,165 from Dobbs fans for a contemplated 2012 presidential run. On his group's website, Gheen urged his members to view the Telemundo interview and respond to an online survey about Dobbs' comments. More than two-thirds of the 1,987 respondents said they were "disappointed," "upset" or

“very upset” with their former hero. As a result, Gheen withdrew his group’s support from Dobbs.

Then, in early January, Dobbs made it worse, appearing on FOX News’ “The O’Reilly Factor” and again saying things that nativist hard-liners took as a double-cross. Glenn Spencer of the anti-immigrant hate group American Border Patrol said that Dobbs had “sold his country down the river” and, along with show host Bill O’Reilly, was “a sellout.” In fact, Spencer seemed to equate the gravity of Dobbs’ offense with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The date of Dobbs’ appearance on O’Reilly’s show, Spencer wrote, is “a date that will live in infamy.”

HATE CRIMES

Despite Myths, Whites, Too, Are Often Hate Crime Victims

A little-noticed Department of Justice study found that rates of hate crime victimization vary little among racial groups. The 2005 study, based on data from the National Crime Victimization Survey and widely thought to be more accurate than other analyses, found that whites and Latinos were each victimized at the rate of 0.9 per 1,000 persons, while African Americans were slightly less victimized at a rate of 0.7 per 1,000.

The study did not directly examine the perpetrator rates of various racial groups, but the victimization data made clear that hate crimes are carried out by individuals of all races.

In November, following a four-month investigation, police in Denver arrested 35 black men and teens and charged them with 26 racially motivated beatings and robberies in the city’s downtown area. Their alleged victims were all white or Latino males. Most of the suspects told police they

were associated with the Rollin’ 60s Crips or the Black Disciples gang. The Rollin’ 60s Crips is the largest black criminal street gang in Los Angeles, police say. The Black Disciples was formed almost 40 years ago on the South Side of Chicago and is “one of the most violent of four African-American gangs” there, according to the FBI. Both also operate in Denver.

Another white-hating group called the National Black Foot Soldier Network recently heaped praise on Maurice Clemmons, the black man accused of murdering four white Lakewood, Wash., police officers as they sat in a coffee shop in November. The network — which says on its website that “all white people are terrorists” — called the killings a “protest against the racist regime of Lakewood police terrorists.” It also praised Lovelle Mixon, a black man who killed four police officers, three white and one Asian-American, in Oakland, Calif., last year.

Not all targets of black hate are white. Last November, a bombastic black Harlem preacher said he was visited by federal agents after he spoke in a YouTube video about the desirability



Maurice Clemmons



Lovelle Mixon

of President Obama dying. James David Manning — a felon who holds a doctoral degree from his very own unaccredited theological seminary — is one of the shrillest voices contending that Obama wasn’t born in the United States and demanded in his video that Obama be tried for treason. “Put him in jail for the rest of his life,” Manning told his listeners, “or hang him.”

ACADEMIC ANTI-SEMITISM

Psych Prof Has New Job Running Racist Political Party

Cal State Long Beach psychology professor Kevin MacDonald has made the leap from academia to activism, signing on recently as director of the American



Kevin MacDonald

Third Position (ATP), a new white supremacist political party established “to represent the unique political interests of White Americans.”

ATP was the brainchild of Freedom 14, an Orange County racist skin-head group. Freedom 14 reached out to MacDonald after its own Golden State Party reportedly collapsed when its leader was exposed as a two-time felon.

The chairman of ATP is hard-line racist William D. Johnson, a Los

Angeles-based lawyer and white supremacist who has advocated deporting non-whites from the U.S. for at least a quarter century. In 1985, Johnson penned an infamous book, using the pseudonym James O. Pace, called *Amendment to the Constitution*. It proposed the repeal of the 14th and 15th Amendments — the 14th made freed slaves U.S. citizens and guaranteed equal protection under the law, and the 15th prohibited denial of

the right to vote based on race — and the substitution of the blatantly racist “Pace Amendment.” Johnson’s amendment would only have allowed whites “in whom there is no ascertainable trace of Negro blood” to be American citizens.

Johnson told the *Intelligence Report* he was drafted into the ATP at a meeting he’d been invited to last October. He claimed to have met MacDonald, who is

listed as ATP's director, for the first time at the same meeting. Johnson said the party plans to qualify ATP for the ballot in as many states as possible and run "high level people," meaning prominent white nationalists, for office.

Until ATP was established, MacDonald was better known for his anti-Semitic "research" purporting to prove that Jews are driven by a genetically programmed group evolutionary strategy to undermine Western civilization. (The idea is that they do so in order to weaken "host societies" that might otherwise oppress or act out against the Jews.) In his academic works, MacDonald has suggested taxing Jews or restricting their access to university as ways of protecting white society.

But in the past few months, MacDonald has begun dropping his academic veneer, granting interviews to the

proprietors of crudely hateful websites. Late last year, MacDonald gave a series of interviews to "Brother Nathanael Kapner" (a self-described former Jew turned "orthodox Christian") of Real Zionist News, which battles "The Zionist War for Domination." Sounding a lot like a newly minted neo-Nazi activist, MacDonald called on whites to "stand up to American Jewry, fight for their own interests, and confront Jewish hypocrisy."

Also last year, MacDonald started up his very own online magazine, *The Occidental Observer*, to "present original content touching on the themes of white identity, white interests, and the culture of the West." There, MacDonald celebrates the crudely pro-Klan film "The Birth of A Nation," defends the anti-Semitism of automaker Henry Ford, and sympathizes with white victims of black criminals.

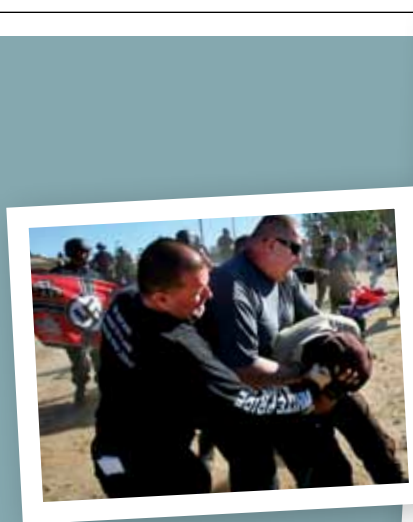
TRUTH IN POLITICS

Mississippi Politician's Obits Skirt Unpleasant Truths

When Charles Wilson Capps Jr. died on Christmas Day, obituaries lauded the former Mississippi legislator — the longest-serving member in that state's House of Representatives — for his leadership and likeability. One state legislator recalled a man with "a big heart" and said "his legacy is one for the ages."

Capps' son even told a story about how his father, while serving as sheriff of Bolivar County in 1964, told a Klansman that if he caused any trouble, he was putting him in jail.

Left out of the rose-colored accounts of Charlie Capps' life was his less than stellar record on race. During the height of the civil rights movement in the early



OCT. 24, 2009 • RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

Fistfights broke out at an anti-immigration rally staged by the National Socialist Movement (NSM) after members of the Brown Berets, a left-wing Chicano activist group, broke through police barricades and attacked the neo-Nazi demonstrators. The confrontation took place near a Home Depot where Latino day laborers gather to look for work and was quickly broken up by police, who also arrested Brown Beret Rudy Hansbro for crossing police lines. During the three-hour demonstration, more than 600 anti-racists faced off with about 20 neo-Nazis, but the violence involved only about 20 counter-protesters. The NSM has specialized for years in rallies and other actions designed specifically to provoke their enemies, a talent they showed to best effect in a September 2005 rally in a black neighborhood of Toledo, Ohio, when violence resulted in injuries to 12 police officers and the arrests of 114 anti-Nazi demonstrators. After the Riverside rally, NSM's website heaped praise on the group's street fighters: "You have raised the bar and set an example today."



Updates on Extremism and The Law

AUG. 26 A federal grand jury in **Denver** indicted Donald Hertz, an alleged **anti-abortion extremist** and a resident of **Spokane, Wash.**, after he allegedly made a telephone death threat against Dr. Warren Hern and his family, who live in **Boulder, Colo.** The threat followed by three weeks the May assassination of Dr. George Tiller, another late-term abortion provider, in **Kansas**.

SEPT. 24 The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a \$5 million lower court judgment against members of the **Westboro Baptist Church** in **Topeka, Kan.**, in favor of the father of a Marine killed in Iraq. The father had accused them of conspiracy and inflicting emotional distress by picketing his son's funeral, part of a pattern of picketing the funerals of those they say God killed because he is angry at America for tolerating gays. The court said their "repugnant" message was protected free speech.

SEPT. 25 Raymond Michael Williams, identified as the leader of the racist **Inland Empire Skinheads** in **southern California**, was found hanging in the jail cell where he was awaiting trial for conspiracy, an apparent suicide. Williams was arrested last April 20 at a hospital where his wife was inducing birth in order to have her child on Hitler's birthday. Williams was on the national Terrorist Watch List.

OCT. 20 Daniel Lee Jones, the **Portland, Ore.**-based regional director of the **American National Socialist Workers Party**, pleaded not guilty in a **Toledo, Ohio**, federal court to mailing a hangman's noose to a **Lima, Ohio**, NAACP official. Jones was allegedly angered by the official's criticism of his neo-Nazi organization.

OCT. 26 Erin Sharma, a corrections officer at a federal prison in **Sumter County, Fla.**, was sentenced to life in prison for violating a prisoner's rights. Sharma, angered over a scuffle with inmate Richard Delano that left her with a bruised arm, had him put into a cell with a notoriously violent inmate, reputed **Aryan Brotherhood** member John McCullah, who allegedly killed Delano because he was a prison "snitch."

NOV. 6 Shawn Adolf, one of three **racist skinheads** arrested in **Denver** after allegedly threatening to assassinate then-candidate Barack Obama, pleaded guilty to federal weapons charges and faced up to 10 years in prison. Court documents said Adolf and one of the other skins admitted they came to Denver, where Obama was to win the Democratic nomination, to assassinate him. But officials did not prosecute the men for the threats, saying they were merely the addled rants of "meth-heads."

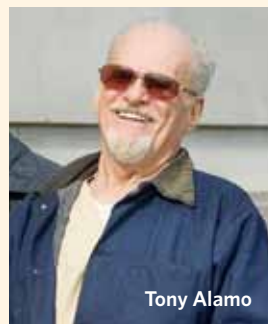
NOV. 13 Tony Alamo, the 75-year-old leader of the **anti-Catholic and anti-gay Tony Alamo Christian Ministries** cult based in **Fouke, Ark.**, was sentenced to 175 years in federal prison for molesting child "brides" as young as 8 years old. Five of the victims were later each awarded \$500,000 from his multimillion-dollar ministry.

NOV. 13 Amber Cummings of **Belfast, Maine**, pleaded guilty to killing her husband after years of abuse as he slept in late 2009. At the time, James Cummings had filled out an applica-

tion to the neo-Nazi **National Socialist Movement** and was attempting to build a "dirty" bomb to set off at the inauguration of Barack Obama, whose election had enraged him. His wife's eight-year sentence was later suspended.

NOV. 17 After seven months of court-ordered tutoring, Shane Foster, a member of **Sons of Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**, was declared competent to stand trial on Feb. 22 for the 2008 murder of an **Oklahoma** woman who tried to back out of a Klan initiation ceremony in **Sun, La.** Foster's father, Imperial Wizard Raymond "Chuck" Foster, was to be tried on identical second-degree murder charges on Feb. 1.

NOV. 23 An **Orange County, Calif.**, judge sentenced Billy Joe Johnson to death for the 2002 murder of a fellow member of the racist skinhead gang **Public Enemy Number One** who had revealed gang secrets in a television interview. Johnson, a "shot caller" in the gang, admitted without hesitation in court that he killed Scott Miller, as well as a fellow prisoner and three other men, and he asked for the death penalty.



Tony Alamo

DEC. 11 A **New Port Richey, Fla.**, jury deadlocked 10-2 in favor of acquitting **neo-Nazi** John Ditullio of stabbing a

neighbor in 2006 and murdering her 17-year-old visitor. The judge in the case had allowed Ditullio to cover his racist tattoos during the trial. Ditullio's DNA was found on a gas mask worn by the killer but he denied the accusations from the stand. He was to be retried on capital murder charges on March 2.



The death of Charlie Capps brought dewy-eyed remembrances of the veteran Mississippi politician. Left unmentioned was his long career as a white supremacist activist and lawman.

1960s, Capps was president of one of the segregationist groups known as “White Citizens Councils” that future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall famously described as “the uptown Klan.” Capps also had numerous dealings with the State Sovereignty Commission, created by the Mississippi Legislature in 1956 to thwart integration and black voting rights by spying, often illegally, on citizens. The commission — which was abolished in 1977 — investigated thousands of people suspected of supporting civil rights and even provided critical information on three civil rights workers to police officers who were later implicated in their murder.

In 1959, according to the commission’s own now-unsealed records, Capps asked what the agency knew about two African Americans of interest to him. He was told that one of the men headed a “front organization” for the NAACP. Three years later, Capps, at the time a farmer and insurance man, attended a meeting with a commission investigator and others “to determine the activities of ... outside agitators,” the records show.

After he was elected sheriff of Bolivar County in 1964, Capps expressed support for Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence Rainey after Rainey’s

arrest in connection with the murder of the three civil rights workers. Also while sheriff, he asked the Sovereignty Commission at least twice to provide him with an informant. The first time was because Capps said that “people in the area were very much disturbed by the agitation of outsiders,” according to commission records. The following year, he again asked for, and received, an undercover agent’s help. His reasons for making the request are not clear from the documents.

Much more recently, while a powerful state legislator in 1994, Capps wrote to the prosecutor in the Byron de la Beckwith case, saying that “the indictment and proposed trial of Mr. Beckwith has done great and irreparable harm to our state.” De la Beckwith is the white supremacist who was finally convicted in 1994 of the murder 31 years earlier of civil rights leader Medgar Evers.

It also was in 1994 that Capps, then chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said he was opposed to spending state money to unseal the records of the Sovereignty Commission. He said that opening the files “will achieve no purpose but [to] open old wounds that are 40 years old or over and have been forgotten.”

They were wounds that Charlie Capps himself helped inflict.

ANTI-LATINO VIOLENCE

Major Police Cover-Up Alleged in Hate Murder of Immigrant

When the verdict came in last May in Shenandoah, Penn., immigrant rights groups around the country were outraged. There had seemed to be abundant evidence that the two white teenagers on trial had murdered a Latino man while yelling “Fuckin’ spic” and “Go back to Mexico,” but the



ROGELIO SOLIS/AP IMAGES (CAPPS); JACQUELINE DOMMER/REPUBLICAN-HERALD/AP IMAGES (PIKARSKY AND DONCHAKO)

jury acquitted the pair of all the most serious charges, including murder and ethnic intimidation.

Many felt that the case, decided by an all-white jury that seemed highly sympathetic to the young men on trial, was a case of jury nullification — an instance, like those seen repeatedly during the civil rights movement in the Deep South, where jurors simply ignored the evidence and refused to convict. The Shenandoah teens were convicted only of misdemeanor assault.

As it turns out, there were far more apparent similarities to the civil rights cases of the 1950s and 1960s than anyone had imagined.

In December, a federal grand jury indicted three Shenandoah police officers, including the chief, and charged them with orchestrating a complicated cover-up and obstructing justice to protect the boys, one of whom was the son of a woman who one of the officers was dating. The grand jury also indicted the two acquitted teens for a federal hate crime that carries a potential life sentence. Similar kinds of alleged police criminal complicity were common in the South of the 1960s.

After the May verdict, Pennsylvania Gov. Ed Rendell had asked U.S. Attorney

General Eric Holder to pursue civil rights charges against the teens and it was known that a probe was under way. But almost no one expected the far more shocking allegations of extensive and criminal police misconduct in the case.

According to the December indictment, the mother of Brandon Piekarsky was told hours after the assault by her boyfriend, officer Jason Hayes, that the victim might die. The woman allegedly told the teens that they needed “to get their stories straight” and to make no mention of attacking the victim, Luis Ramirez, because of his ethnicity. The other officers — Chief Matthew Nestor and Lt. William Moyer — allegedly joined in the conspiracy and, like Hayes, falsified police reports.

At press time, all the officers had resigned from the police department and were confined to home by court order. Also confined to their homes pending an as yet unscheduled trial were Piekarsky, 18, and Derrick Donchak, 19.

There were developments in several other unrelated cases involving anti-Latino hate crime violence, which increased by 40% between 2003

and 2007 but dipped slightly in 2008, according to FBI statistics. They include:

In **Orange County, Calif.**, three racist skinheads pleaded guilty in December to the unprovoked beating and stabbing of a Latino man in Huntington Beach. The three received prison sentences ranging from five to almost 12 years in prison. The man accused of the actual stabbing, Bret MacDonald Hicks, also has a 2005 hate crime conviction. In the months before the stabbing, Hicks had railed against blacks, Mexicans, and Jews on a program he hosted on a white-power Internet radio station, making statements like, “I think it is time to actually go out and kill,” according to a report in the *OC Weekly*.

A **Munger, Mich.**, man was scheduled to be tried early this year on charges that include ethnic intimidation as a result of his allegedly running down a Latino man with his car in July while shouting “white power.”

In **San Bernardino County, Calif.**, Christopher “Danny” Fulmer was convicted in September of manslaughter as a hate crime and sentenced to 21 years in prison for the fatal shooting of a Hispanic man. Fulmer was a member of a racist skinhead gang who sported several white supremacist tattoos. ▲



Conspiracy of silence? According to two federal indictments, Brandon Piekarsky (from left) and Derrick Donchak literally got away with the murder of a Mexican immigrant, aided by police officers Jason Hayes, Matthew Nestor and William Moyer.

Fear of FEMA

Around the country, a conspiracy theory about the government constructing secret concentration camps is taking on new life

BY LARRY KELLER PHOTOGRAPHY BY DAVE MARTIN

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, Ala. — It looks like nothing more than a 2,500-acre military complex, but sinister plans are afoot. One day soon — if it hasn't happened already — law-abiding U.S. citizens will be rounded up and imprisoned here by their oppressive federal government. It's perfectly obvious to anyone with eyes to see the traffic signs that direct FEMA trucks this way and that: This is one of the 800 or more detention camps being built by a government gone mad.

At least that's what more and more Americans believe. A fear that the federal government will concoct a pretense for declaring martial law and confine patriotic dissidents to concentration camps — a conspiracy theory that goes back decades and was especially prevalent during the militia movement of the 1990s — is spreading as the country experiences a surge in groups on the radical right (see story, p. 40).

In the last year, FOX News personality Glenn Beck devoted airtime on three shows to the theory, saying he “wanted to debunk it” but could not. (He eventually did, but only after much criticism.) Oath Keepers, a conspiracy-minded police and military organization formed last spring, listed the 10 “Orders We Will Not Obey,” including any command to enforce martial law or herd Americans into concentration camps. And in September, Restore the Republic, an antigovernment “Patriot” group with militia-like beliefs, released “Camp FEMA: American Lockdown,” a video that alleges the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency is behind the camps.

The 90-minute film opens with news-

reel footage of Japanese Americans being forced into internment camps on the West Coast during World War II and a narrator declaring that after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the government “again went into open roundup mode.” He adds, “Is it possible history will repeat itself?” For the next 90 minutes, a Who's Who of conspiracy diehards suggests that it is.

Many of the purported detention camps are supposedly on military bases



around the country, including some that are closed. The radical-right conspiracy theorists say that nearby railroad tracks and aircraft runways near many of these sites are proof there are FEMA camps in the vicinity, because this is how prisoners will be easily moved. They also claim that razor wire atop tall fences around some of these facilities provides a key clue to their real purpose. The razor edges are directed inward, not outward, they say, because they aren't meant to keep out trespassers. They're there to hold prisoners.

One long-time Patriot conspiracy theorist, retired Phoenix police officer Jack

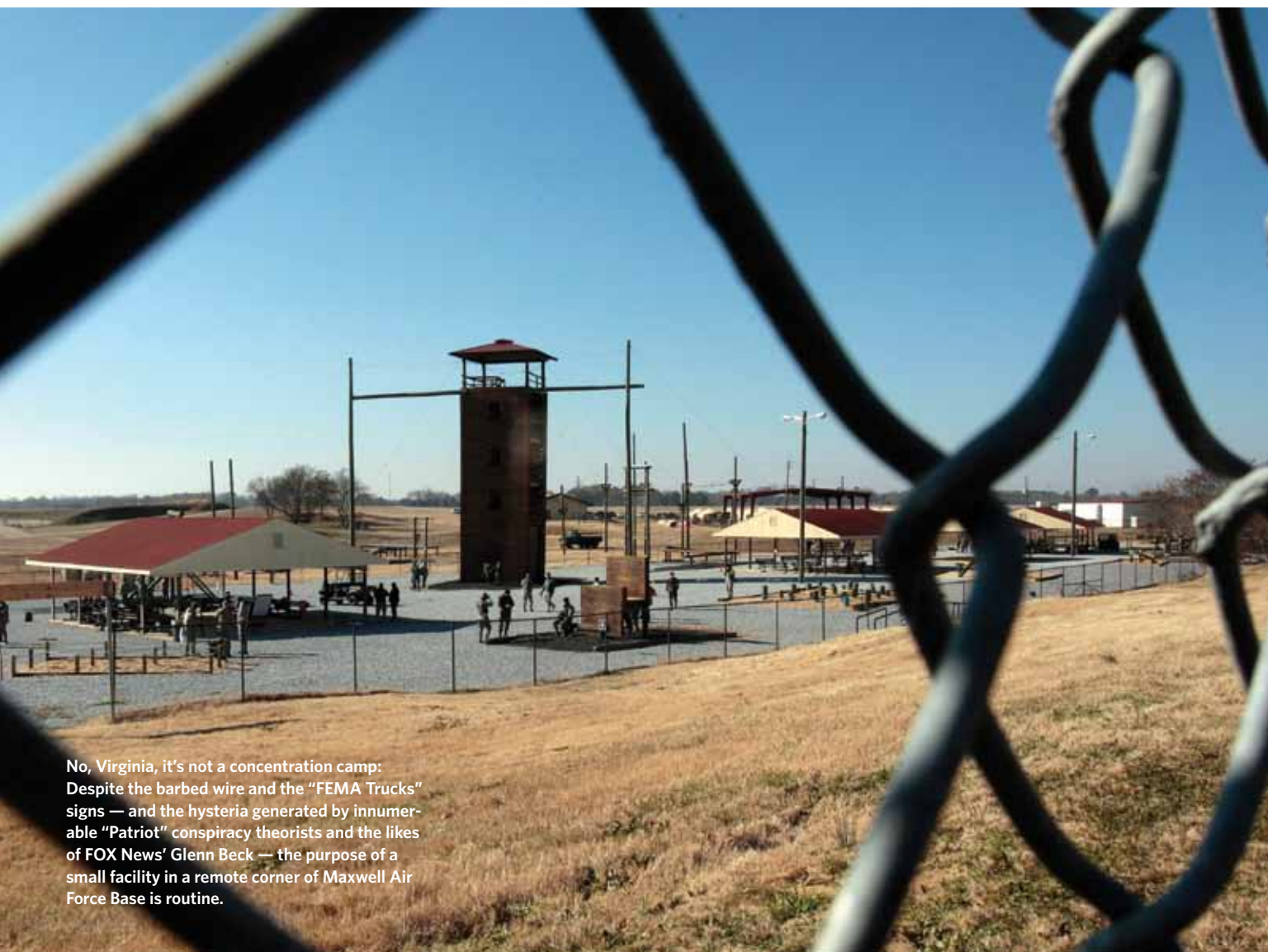
McLamb, has gone so far as to claim that the government has placed unobtrusive colored dots on people's mailboxes so that when martial law is declared, foreign troops serving the “New World Order” will know what's to be done with the people at each address. A blue dot your mailbox: You're taken to a FEMA camp. Pink: You'll be used for slave labor. Red: You are shot in the head immediately.

Myth at Maxwell

On a long list of murky origins that regularly circulates on the Internet, Maxwell Air Force Base is identified as already operating a civilian prison camp with a small support staff and inmate population. That's true, but it's a minimum-security federal prison camp with about 900 inmates, not a FEMA facility. And it's hardly a secret facility — the prison is regularly mentioned in the newspapers and has been operating for years.

Conspiracy theorists don't say exactly where the supposed FEMA detention camp might be at Maxwell. But one of them shot a nine-minute video that appeared last year on YouTube and had been viewed by 1,491 people at press time. In it, the unnamed videographer locates what he thinks must be the spot. He points out orange road signs that say “FEMA Trucks” with arrows pointing to the routes they should follow. He eventually videotapes what he describes as a watchtower, dozens of large tents, an old ambulance, and what he says are picnic tables and games on the other side of a six-foot chain-link fence topped with razor wire. The fact that a low-slung building inside the wire has a loud-speaker on it is “awfully odd,” he asserts.

In a silent, isolated corner of Maxwell is indeed the supposedly ominous tower,



No, Virginia, it's not a concentration camp: Despite the barbed wire and the "FEMA Trucks" signs — and the hysteria generated by innumerable "Patriot" conspiracy theorists and the likes of FOX News' Glenn Beck — the purpose of a small facility in a remote corner of Maxwell Air Force Base is routine.

perhaps three dozen tents and other structures shown in the video. Some days, the only sign of life here is an occasional jogger. The place looks about as sinister as a deserted summer camp. There is razor wire atop the six-foot tall chain-link fence, but it is facing *outward*. The Air Force is trying to keep people *out*, not *in*.

That's because this is an officer-training site, not a secret FEMA concentration camp. Officers — even ROTC cadets — come here to train, sleeping in tents that are part of a simulated "deployed environment." They are taught military skills including the basics of defending their base, land navigation and field medicine, Lt. Col. Mark Ramsey said during a recent tour of the site.

On a 35-degree morning this January, 354 Air Force personnel were going through drills. There was no evidence

of a detention camp — but there were innocent explanations for everything the anonymous videomaker discovered. The watchtower? It's used for rappelling on one side, rocking climbing on another. The tent city? It's meant to replicate austere battlefield conditions and has been there since 1999, says Phil Berube, a spokesman for the base. The ambulance? A prop "used by the officer trainees who will become military doctors and nurses to give a semblance of battlefield conditions," he explains. It's not even operable.

The picnic tables and games? There are benches in open-air shelters, but no picnic tables. The shelters provide shade from Alabama's searing summer heat and double as informal outdoor classrooms, Ramsey says. The "games" are a physically demanding obstacle course. That "awfully odd" speaker, the one mounted on that low-

slung building? It's affixed to a warehouse containing cots and sleeping bags, and is a means to alert those in training of urgent news, such as a violent storm approaching. And the tell-tale "FEMA Trucks" signs? They direct workers to staging areas on the base where they can coordinate efforts, collect supplies and respond to crises in the region, such as providing relief after a hurricane or tornado.

A Conspiracy Theory Takes Off

FEMA camp stories have been around a long time. Almost three decades ago, back in 1982, a newsletter of the extreme-right and anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus warned that "hardcore Patriots" would be imprisoned in FEMA detention camps. Some versions during the militia heyday of the 1990s had urban street gangs like the Bloods and the Crips, rather

than domestic or foreign troops, rounding up antigovernment patriots.

Conspiracy theorists often point to a front-page story in *The Miami Herald* back in 1987 as proof that, in the words of one of them, “FEMA is the executive arm of the coming police state and thus will head up all operations.” The story reported that between 1982 and 1984, Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North had helped draft a secret contingency plan to suspend the Constitution in the event of a national crisis, such as nuclear war, violent and widespread domestic dissent, or national opposition to a U.S. military invasion abroad. North would later become infamous for his part in the Iran-Contra affair, in which weapons were sold to intermediaries in Iran with the proceeds used to fund antigovernment “contra” rebels in Nicaragua.

The plan was written for President Ronald Reagan in case he ever wanted to take such action. The newspaper also obtained a copy of a FEMA official’s 1982 memo that it reported was similar to a paper then-FEMA director Louis Guiffrida had written 12 years earlier. In the 1970 document, Guiffrida reportedly advocated martial law in case of a national uprising by black militants and the transferring of at least 21 million “American Negroes” to “assembly centers or relocations camps.”

During the Iran-Contra hearings in 1987, Texas congressman Jack Brooks asked North about the newspaper’s findings. But Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, who chaired the Senate Select Committee on Iran-Contra, rapidly silenced him, telling the Democratic congressman he was getting into a “highly sensitive and classified area.” That was further proof of their claims, conspiracy buffs contend.

But FEMA and its alleged plans for freedom-loving Americans are not the only government conspiracies that so-called Patriots and their fellow travelers love to hate. In a related vein, they also point to numerous presidential executive orders that they claim will allow the suspension of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Executive Order Angst

Executive orders are nothing new. Presidents have issued them for more



In the minds of conspiracy theorists, perfectly normal military hardware — tents, ambulances, a rappelling tower and an “awfully odd” loud-speaker — takes on ominous meaning.

than 200 years, usually to direct federal agencies and officials in carrying out established laws or policies. Some have been momentous: Truman signed one that integrated the armed forces. Reagan issued one barring the use of federal money for advocating abortion. FEMA camp aficionados point to another executive order: One signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt that led to Japanese Americans on the West Coast being sent to internment camps for the remainder of World War II. Congress can overturn an executive order, although it requires a supermajority vote to do so. A president can sign an executive order rescinding an executive order of his predecessor. And the courts can overturn an executive order, although they have done so only twice.

“It’s fair to say that more executive orders haven’t been struck down by the



Supreme Court because most aren’t far reaching and ambitious ... or they concern murky issues about separation of powers,” said Gregory Magarian, a law professor at George Washington University in St. Louis and a constitutional law expert. The courts tend to be especially deferential to the government in wartime, he added.

Like the conspiracy theorists, Magarian sees disturbing trends in how the government deals with political protests, including the creation of “free speech zones” and the collecting of infor-



mation about protesters. But he finds it hard to imagine a scenario whereby a president could declare martial law and imprison innocent citizens. Historically, martial law has been declared only where there is widespread violence, and the response has been localized, Magarian says. He cites school integration as an example. The National Guard was called

out in some cases, but only in communities where there was widespread racial strife.

But websites like that run by a conspiracy-mongering group called Friends of Liberty are thick with worries about executive orders. That site lists 15 “Executive Orders associated with FEMA that would suspend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights” and that “could be enacted by the stroke of a Presidential pen.” The orders generally allow the government to take control of various industries in a state of emer-

gency. Only one of the alleged orders actually mentions FEMA.

Another, related conspiracy is supposedly the brainchild of U.S. Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-Fla.). When Hastings reintroduced a bill in January last year that would create six National Emergency Centers, Jerome Corsi, writing on the far-right WorldNetDaily website, said the measure “appears designed to create the type of detention center that those concerned about use of the military in domestic affairs fear could be used as con-

For Some Public Officials, Conspiracy Theories Never End

SPOKESMEN FOR PUBLIC AGENCIES ARE ACCUSTOMED TO DIFFICULT PEOPLE, BUT A conspiracy theory zealot pushed Steve Snyder's patience to the limit when he was a spokesman at Denver International Airport (DIA). Perhaps Snyder was weary of responding to rumors that DIA's six runways form a swastika, or that there was an underground chamber built to hold a concentration camp, when he received an

E-mail in 2003 from Greg Ericson of the "Free Press International" website.

Ericson asked Snyder if there were any underground facilities at DIA. He wanted to know why there was a picture of a military man killing a white dove there. He asked about a freemason symbol at DIA and the words "New World" on the capstone. He demanded translations of writings on the floors of the airport.

Snyder's reply was curt and to the point. "These questions have been asked



Is there a secret concentration camp underneath Denver International Airport? One DIA spokesman got tired of saying no.

ad nauseum by groups like yours throughout the nine-year history of this airport," he wrote. "[Y]ou can select whatever explanation you choose to believe."

Then he tried, one more time, to explain. The "New World" designation was simply an outgrowth of the New World Airport Commission, a group of leaders who held several pre-opening events at the new airport. "The airport was to usher in a new era making Denver a world-class city, thus the New World name." And the airport's underground facilities were simply baggage tunnels used daily by hundreds of airline workers to take luggage to and from the terminal, Snyder said.

"There were cameras and reporters here documenting every single inch of dirt ever moved," Snyder told his interrogator. "If something strange was going on out here, hundreds of media outlets would have been all over it by now. I'm surprised it took you nine years to send this email."

Ericson still wasn't satisfied. What about the freemason symbol? What about cryptic writings on the floors of the airport? "What does 'DZIT DIT GAI' mean?"

Snyder: "Forgive me for assuming you grasped the obvious. The Free Mason symbol is on the capstone because they constructed the capstone. And interestingly enough 'DZIT DIT GAI' translated means: 'Free Press International — bringing you the real world news.' Who knew!"

"The public has a right to know what these writings mean," Ericson retorted. "We also need the names of the people on the New World Order Commission."

When Snyder stopped responding, Ericson wrote on his website that Snyder's actions showed airport officials were hiding something. And the reaction of his readers was predictable. One called for a march on Washington to "demand the truth before we are all enslaved." Another thanked Ericson for his courage. And a guy in England added: "It is also abundantly obvious ... that the media scrutinizing the building of the airport and not reporting something 'strange,' as the fool puts it, is clearly not indicative of nothing going on. Guess what buddy, they work for the ['New World Order'] too!"

— Larry Keller

centration camps for political dissidents, such as occurred in Nazi Germany."

That's the same Corsi who launched the Swift boat attacks on Sen. John Kerry after he became the Democratic Party nominee for president in 2004. Corsi has also insisted without proof that President Obama posted a fake birth certificate on his website in order to address groundless claims that he is not an American citizen. The "Camp FEMA" movie has a similar take as Corsi on the Hastings bill.

Hastings' vision: The centers would provide temporary housing, medical and other assistance for people displaced due to an emergency, as well as sites that would serve as centralized locations for training and coordination of first responders in the event of an emergency. The congressman's state was clobbered by a series of hurricanes in 2004 and 2005. (Conspiracists claim FEMA's response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 was so poor because its primary mission had been changed from humanitarian efforts to being the government's tool for imposing martial law.)

Curious and Curiouser

For all their talk about civilian detention camps, the conspiracy theorists are woefully vague on specifics. Their list of detention sites often gives the name of a military base or other facility and nothing more. When there is more information, it can be wildly speculative. In Pensacola, Fla., it "is believed that a facility may be carved out of the wilds." One conspiracy theorist even claims "the largest of these facilities," a "massive mental health facility" near Fairbanks, Alaska, "can hold approximately 2 million people." (Alaska's 2008 population was 686,000.)

Another reputed current or future detention camp is at Fort Chaffee, Ark. The former Army base was transferred to the Arkansas Army National Guard in 1997 and is now a training facility. In recent years, chunks of the base's land have been forfeited for redevelopment. Even so, the conspiracy theorists believe Fort Chaffee has a new runway and a new camp facility that can hold 40,000 prisoners.

"It's kind of a laugh," said Capt. Chris Heathscott, state public affairs officer for the Arkansas National Guard. A maximum of 7,000 soldiers can train at Fort



Chafee, which couldn't possibly accommodate 40,000 people, Heathscott said. There is no new camp, although some of the base's old barracks were remodeled for use by soldiers and by Hurricane Katrina evacuees temporarily housed there.

A federal prison camp at Allenwood, Pa. is supposed to be another potential concentration camp site. The FEMA camp list says it has only 300 inmates, but has the capacity to hold more than 15,000 people on 400 acres. There are, however, low-, medium- and high-security facilities on 640 acres, not 400. The total inmate population of the three prisons combined was 3,954 as of Dec. 17, a Bureau of Prisons spokeswoman said. "There is no way they can house 15,000 people out there," spokeswoman Carla Wilson said.

Popular Mechanics magazine debunked some of the FEMA camp lore last year. An aerial photo, for example, of what supposedly was a detention camp in Wyoming was shown by the magazine to be a North Korean prison camp. And the 500,000 plastic, air-tight coffins supposedly stored in Atlanta, perhaps to bury plague or biological warfare victims? That was about 50,000 polypropylene burial vaults manufactured by a company for routine use in preventing the collapse of burial plots. But facts like these have not slowed the conspiracy theorists.

Ultimately, belief in FEMA detention camps requires one to conclude that nobody has ever escaped from one and told their story. It means believing that not one camp worker has breathed



Soldiers train at a facility at Maxwell AFB meant to simulate battlefield conditions. "Patriot" ideologues are certain that they're up to no good.

a word about his or her job. It requires assuming that not one of America's 100 senators or 435 congressmen knows of the camps or, if they do, none is alarmed enough to call for hearings. It means believing that not a single ambitious journalist connected to a national media outlet has delved into this dastardly plan. And it requires one to assume that such innocuous things as the "FEMA Trucks" signs at the Maxwell AFB — in plain view of thousands of motorists — actually betray a terrible secret.

But the Patriots and other conspiracy theorists who circulate these theories — and they have moved in recent times from that fringe into the so-called "tea

parties" and other populist and nativist groups — believe all of that, and believe it with a passion. When Glenn Beck finally conceded there was no evidence of FEMA camps, Texas radio conspiracist Alex Jones angrily responded by calling the FOX host, among other things, "an operative," a "sick bastard" and "a piece of crap."

The narrator of the video taken outside Maxwell Air Force Base purporting to show a FEMA camp may have inadvertently summed up detention camp conspiracy theories best. As he neared the end of his faux exposé, he said, "You can come up with whatever story you want to come up with." ▲

Threats and Punishment

Two recent prosecutions of neo-Nazis reflect a complex legal struggle to define what amounts to an illegal ‘true threat’

BY SONIA SCHERR

On March 22, 2007, Jennifer Petsche arrived home from her job at Citibank around 4:30 p.m. and began cooking dinner. When the phone rang, she let the answering machine pick up. As she listened to the message, her ordinary day turned into something very different.

“I was astonished,” she later recalled. “In my 14 years at Citibank, I had never had a card member call me at home.”

The man on the line calmly informed her that he was Bill White, that he wanted to talk to her, and that he had sent her an E-mail. Earlier that day, the same man had left her a message on her voicemail at work insisting that he speak with her, even though she was not involved in a credit card dispute between White and Citibank. After receiving the second message at home, Petsche was sufficiently alarmed that she called her husband and notified a night supervisor at Citibank. She slept poorly that night, wondering about the contents of the E-mail.

When she got to work at Citibank’s Kansas City, Mo., office around 7:30 the next morning, the E-mail was in her inbox. It contained her current and prior addresses, including the location of her parents’ home. White compared Petsche to Chicago judge Joan Lefkow and provided a Web link to information about the 2005 murder of Lefkow’s mother and husband in their home after a neo-Nazi posted Lefkow’s home address on the Web. “I must admit I have run out of patience with you and your smug attitude,” he wrote. “I

hope the fact that I’ve obviously paid someone to find you conveys the seriousness with which I take your current attitude.”

What White failed to anticipate is that authorities would take *him* seriously. He was found guilty by a federal jury in Roanoke, Va., last December of threatening several people, including Petsche. His convictions followed the mistrial in Brooklyn, N.Y., 11 days earlier of Hal Turner, a blogger and Internet radio host from New Jersey, who’d been charged with threatening over the Internet to assault and murder three federal judges in Chicago. The arrests of Turner and White shut down their blogs, forced Turner off the air, and obliterated White’s neo-Nazi organization, the American National Socialist Workers Party, which in 2008 had 35 chapters in 28 states (see also story, p. 40). Writing from jail shortly before his trial began, White lamented that “the federal government has launched a massive effort to ‘decapitate’ white organizations.”

But the implications of these high-profile cases go beyond the crippling effect on the defendants’ hate activities. White supremacists increasingly have been using the Internet to broadcast their views and to reach potential followers. For years, White and Turner have been among the loudest voices of bigotry in cyberspace, regularly posting people’s personal information and suggesting they should be harmed. Their trials show that while the border separating ugly but legal hate speech from criminal threats isn’t well defined, there



Little big man: American National Socialist Workers Party Commander Bill White explored the far reaches of the First Amendment. He may soon be experiencing the rigors of a federal prison cell.

are limits to what can be said even in the still new and largely unregulated realm of the Internet.

“We live in a world where rhetoric is increasingly tilting toward violence, where extremists are becoming adept at going up to the line but not crossing it,” said Brian Levin, a lawyer who directs the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino. “The law is struggling to untangle protected hate speech from unprotected violence and threats, which often come in the same package. These trials put hate-mongers on notice: If they target their venom too narrowly, too violently and too explicitly, they run the risk of crossing from political discourse to prison.”

Testing the Limits

Long before they faced charges in connection with their words, Bill White, 32, and Hal Turner, 47, regularly tested the bounds of free speech. In 1996, while a student at the University of Maryland, White became one of the first people to use the Internet to harass his enemies when he posted the phone number of a woman he believed was abusing her teenage daughter. “You should be able



"I must admit I have run out of patience with you and your smug attitude. I hope the fact that I've obviously paid someone to find you conveys the seriousness with which I take your current attitude."

to write what you want on the Internet, whether it's true or not," he told *The Washington Post* at the time.

Though he was then a fan of Malcolm X, White's unusual political trajectory eventually took him from left-wing anarchist to neo-Nazi. He founded and led the American National Socialist Workers Party and, until his arrest in October 2008, ran Overthrow.com, one of the best-read websites on the neo-Nazi scene. In September 2007, he used his website to broadcast the home addresses and phone numbers of five of the six black teenagers who faced harsh criminal penalties after a schoolyard fight in Jena, La. "Lynch the Jena 6!" he proclaimed in a headline on the website, adding the suggestion that his readers "get in touch and let them know justice is coming." As a result, the governor provided the teens' families with police protection.

In 2004, White began his self-described "ghetto beautification project," buying distressed properties in a poor neighborhood of Roanoke, Va. He frequently maligned his tenants, writing about their alleged drug use, criminal records and prostitution. Among the names he used for African Americans

were "niggers," "nig-rats" and "vermin." One lawyer who represented four of White's renters in court battles told the *Intelligence Report* that White published falsehoods about his tenants in order to intimidate them.

Turner also has a lengthy history of slandering his enemies and even suggesting they should be killed. In 2007, he railed against then President George W. Bush, saying that "a well-placed bullet can solve a lot of problems." He has written that "we need to start SHOOTING AND KILLING Mexicans as they cross the border." In a case that's still pending, he was charged last June with inciting violence after he posted a blog entry that encouraged followers to take up arms against two Connecticut lawmakers. He was upset about a bill that would have given more power to the laity in the Roman Catholic Church.

Unlike White, however, Turner was a paid FBI informant for several years, beginning in June 2003. This magazine's blog publicized Turner's informant status in January 2008, shortly after unidentified hackers posted E-mail correspondence between Turner and an FBI agent in the forum of Turner's website

for his radio program, "The Hal Turner Show." The article quoted several experts in police procedure who sharply criticized the FBI's use of an informant who regularly encouraged his followers to commit violence.

New details that emerged during the trial revealed the extent of Turner's FBI involvement. Despite repeatedly targeting public figures on his website, he received thousands of dollars from the FBI for intelligence on white supremacist organizations such as the Aryan Nations and National Alliance. According to an April 2006 report from U.S. Capitol Police in Turner's court file, Special Agent Stephen Haug, Turner's FBI handler, told his colleagues "that Turner quotes the constitution better than most lawyers and knows where the line is and knows not to cross it." The report continued: "S/A Haug is continuously monitoring Turner and said that Turner is all talk and no action. Turner is an ego maniac and loves it when police officials contact him."

The FBI even paid for his plane ticket when he flew to Brazil to court a potential National Alliance donor. According to court documents, the trip allowed Turner to identify 12 people of interest to the FBI, including an Arab who talked about doing business with Turner in order to provide supplies to Iraqi insurgents.

Known by his FBI code name of

Valhalla, Turner was considered a reliable informant who gave potentially life-saving information. An FBI memo dated Nov. 12, 2007, requested permission to again use Turner as an informant, three months after the FBI had severed its relationship with him because of “serious control problems.” The memo, filed in federal court, stated that Turner had provided information that prevented more than 10 acts of violence and led to multiple arrests. “Writer considers the re-opening of the above referenced CHS [confidential human source] as a critical step to the prevention of domestic terrorism and lone wolf actions inside the United States,” the memo stated. (Trial testimony suggested that Turner did not resume work as an informant; the FBI wouldn’t comment, citing its policy of not releasing information about informants.)

According to the November 2007 memo, the agency had dropped Turner because he was ignoring his handlers’ instructions to cease making indirect violent threats and to stop organizing large-scale public rallies. “These rallies drew national media attention and required significant local resources in terms of event security,” the memo said. Indeed, as Turner’s trial got under way, the mayor of Kingston, N.Y., demanded that the FBI reimburse his city \$80,000 to cover the cost of police overtime and other expenses associated with Turner’s November 2005 rally there.

‘True Threats’ and the Law

What finally landed Turner in U.S. District Court in Brooklyn were his blog entries blasting a June 2, 2009, decision by the 7th U.S. Circuit of Appeals in Chicago that essentially upheld local handgun bans. He wrote that Chief Judge Frank Easterbrook and Judges Richard Posner and William Bauer “deserve to be killed” and posted their photographs, work locations, and a photograph of their courthouse that was modified to show the locations of “anti-truck bomb barriers.” According to statements one juror made to the press, government prosecutors failed to persuade most jurors, who voted 9-3 for Turner’s acquittal. With the jury deadlocked, Judge Donald Walter declared a mistrial on Dec. 7 and scheduled a new trial for March 1.

Like Turner, White posted on his blog personal information about his perceived enemies, including home phone numbers and addresses, along with threatening language. On Dec. 18, a federal jury in Roanoke convicted him of threatening Petsche, as well as a university administrator and a human rights lawyer, and of intimidating tenants in Virginia Beach who had filed a lawsuit against their landlord. In February, U.S. District Judge James Turk dismissed the charge of threatening the human rights lawyer, but upheld the other portion of the jury’s verdict. White was acquitted of threatening Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist Leonard Pitts and a former New Jersey mayor, and of threatening Petsche with the intent to extort. White’s sentencing has been set for April 14.

The key question in both the White and Turner proceedings was whether the defendants’ statements amounted to criminal threats or only to fiery rhetoric, which is constitutionally protected.

“That’s the line that courts struggle with in these cases,” said Larry Rosenthal, a professor at Chapman University School of Law School in Orange, Calif.

(Lawyers for both sides in the White case declined to comment, while lawyers in Turner’s federal case are under a gag order while Turner is awaiting retrial.)

The Supreme Court has addressed the nature of “true threats” in a number of cases. In *Watts v. the United States*, for instance, the Court reversed Robert Watts’ felony conviction for threatening the president at a Vietnam War protest in Washington D.C. After implying that he intended to dodge the draft, Watts allegedly said, “If they ever make me carry a rifle, the first man I want to get in my sights is L.B.J. They are not going to make me kill my black brothers.” The Court stated that his words were hyperbole, aimed at making a political point, rather than a true threat to assassinate the president. In *Virginia v. Black*, on the other hand, the Court upheld a Virginia

The one that got away: Like Bill White, neo-Nazi Hal Turner reveled in saying certain people should be killed and posting their addresses on the Internet. Unlike him, Turner did not contact his targets directly — a fact that may have led to his mistrial. Turner was scheduled to be retried in March.



JESSICA HILL/IMAGES

state law that prohibited cross burning with the intent to intimidate. The Court stated that intimidation constitutes a type of true threat, which it defined as “a speaker direct[ing] a threat to a person or group of persons with the intent of placing the victim in fear of bodily harm or death.”

Despite these Supreme Court opinions, there is still ambiguity in true threat case law, said Robert O’Neil, director of The Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Speech. Some lower courts require that the speaker *intend* to threaten the victim (though not necessarily intend to carry out the threat); others look at whether a “reasonable person” would find a statement threatening regardless of whether the speaker intended it that way.

Ultimately, “it comes down to the content of the words and the context in which they were said,” explained Christina Wells, a professor at the University of Missouri School of Law.

For instance, a statement might be viewed as more of a threat when it’s made in person rather than during a long-distance phone call or over the Internet, or when it’s addressed to a specific person rather than to a general audience. In fact, those kinds of considerations — along with Turner’s past history as an FBI informant, which allowed the defense to argue that Turner had been betrayed by the government that encouraged his heated rhetoric — may explain the different outcomes in the Turner and White cases. Turner’s rants against the judges were confined to his website, whereas White also vilified and harassed his targets directly through personal E-mails, phone calls and mailings. “Once someone gets contacted, you’ve really invaded someone’s personal space, and all of these people were reasonably frightened for their safety,” Wells said. “The more specific and the more personal statements are, the easier it is for a judge or jury to say, ‘You don’t get to do that.’ White really went after these people individually, and that’s where I think the difference is. I can’t see this getting overturned on appeal, quite frankly.”

On the other hand, Wells said, the newness of the Internet affects how people may perceive threats. Though anonymous threats aren’t unique to the Web, she said, “The medium really seems to scare people. It may be because the anonymity seems so mysterious and untraceable — and it can be. It may also be that you have so little sense of whether the threat is real; is the person nearby or across the world? It can be very disorienting.”

In addition, the Internet is unique in the way it allows users to propagate information, Wells said. For instance, personal data that’s posted online is capable of reaching a larger audience and therefore may feel more threatening to the victim, who doesn’t know if a reader will decide to take action. “It’s the lack of control and the wide dissemination of the information that changes the perception of the threatening nature,” she said. “It seems somehow more threatening to people than a person simply holding a sign on a street corner with personal information. I’m not sure that the fact that the Internet is involved will actually

change threat analysis in any given case, but it does explain why people argue that the Internet might be a game changer with threat analysis.”

Some free speech experts say that the fact that White and Turner made many of their statements online may not matter to the court one way or the other. “Internet speech is really no different than any other kind of speech,” Rosenthal said. “The courts have tried to adopt an approach that is medium-neutral. The First Amendment rules don’t change based on the medium that is used to engage in the communication, so your First Amendment rights shouldn’t change.”

Among the first cases to address Internet speech was *Planned Parenthood of Columbia/Willamette Inc. v. American Coalition of Life Activists*, a civil lawsuit brought by Planned Parenthood and several abortion doctors against some of the nation’s most hard-line anti-abortion activists and groups. A central issue in the suit was the legality of the “Nuremburg Files,” an online listing of abortion providers and other supporters of abortion rights, with lines through the names of those who’d been murdered and the names of those who’d been wounded in gray. There were no explicit calls to violence on the website, but a federal jury decided in 1999 that the list constituted a true threat and awarded \$107 million to the plaintiffs. The verdict was overturned by a panel of the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, but later affirmed by the full court. “The decision held that a reasonable jury could find Internet speech to be threatening — and thus unprotected by the First Amendment — based on the events and facts surrounding the defendant’s speech together with its express language,” said Helen Norton, a professor at the University of Colorado Law School.

Like the Nuremburg Files, the Turner and White cases also could have an indelible impact on true-threat jurisprudence, said David Hudson, a scholar at Vanderbilt University’s First Amendment Center. “True threat law is very muddled and lower courts don’t apply the same legal tests to determine what exactly is a true threat,” he wrote in an E-mail. “I think these cases — if they go up in the court system — have the potential to be precedent setting.” ▲



The Year In Nativism

A look back at the anti-immigration movement in 2009, a year in which the number of hard-line groups nearly doubled

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

The relentless demonization of immigrants by hard-line nativist groups was punctuated by murder last year, when the leader of Minuteman American Defense (MAD) and two followers were accused of shooting a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter to death in Arizona. The crime set off a firestorm of mutual recriminations among nativist leaders — but it did nothing to slow the movement's growth.

The double murder took place near the town of Arivaca last May, when MAD leader Shawna Forde and two of her confederates allegedly stormed into the man's house before being driven away by shots fired by his wounded wife, who reportedly later identified Forde as one of her attackers. Officials say that Forde wanted money to finance her group and believed her victims were cash-rich drug dealers.

These horrific murders represent the most egregious behavior by nativist extremists in 2009, a year in which the groups' in-your-face tactics were repeatedly used against immigrant communities. On the California border, Minutemen armed with rifles, night-vision goggles, thermal-vision scopes and body armor held regular sun-down-to-sunup reconnaissance patrols. Minutemen from across the country joined hands with antigovernment "Patriot" extremists in "Operation Spike," a September border watch event held in Cochise County, Ariz. Day laborers continued to be targeted, as the largest hard-line nativist group, the Federal

Immigration Reform and Enforcement (FIRE) Coalition, held regular protests against day laborers, often sending videographers to day laborer centers to intimidate contractors and workers alike. The videos were then posted on anti-immigrant websites.

The double murder in Arizona — the horror of which was emphasized by a widely circulated photograph of the smiling 9-year-old victim in a white christening dress — did nothing to dampen a dramatic rise in what the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) lists as "nativist extremist" groups. (These groups do not limit themselves to pushing for more border patrols or tougher enforcement of laws against hiring undocumented workers. Instead, they target individual immigrants with "civilian border patrols" and harassment at day labor hiring centers and the like.) According to the SPLC's latest count, nativist extremist groups skyrocketed nearly 80% in 2009, rising to 309 from 173 in 2008 and 144 in 2007.

Nativists and Patriots Unite

The dramatic spike in the numbers over the last year is almost entirely accounted for by the rapid growth of the FIRE Coalition, which had only 13 chapters in 2008 and but had expanded by the end of 2009 to 135 chapters in 34 states. Dedicated to ending "the invasion of illegal aliens," FIRE Coalition activists held aggressive protests across the country, frequently in front of Mexican consulates, and staged other provoca-

Border operations: Large numbers of nativists continued their "civilian border patrols" last year, despite the public relations disaster their movement suffered when a particularly virulent leader was arrested in a double murder.

tive actions targeting day laborers. Run by Jason Mrochek, who has appeared on several national news programs, FIRE took the lead last year in coordinating the activities of the often fractious nativist extremist movement.

Among other things, FIRE launched The Patriot Coalition, an antigovernment outfit battling "globalism," "socialism" and the "loss of National Identity and Culture." This was one of several examples last year of formerly single-issue immigration extremists adopting the ideas and conspiracy theories of the antigovernment Patriot movement. Another was seen in the case of Al Garza, who was vice president of the richest Minuteman outfit, Minutemen Civil Defense Corps (MCDC), until he quit the group in August. Garza went on to form the extremely similarly named but organizationally separate Patriots Coalition, another group that merges the ideas of the nativist movement and those of the Patriots.

According to Garza's website, "Our country has two enemies: Those who want to destroy us from the outside and those who attempt it from within." The site is also thick with materials supporting "birther" conspiracy theories about President Obama's citizenship. When it first went up, it featured a digitally altered photograph of a bullet-riddled Air Force One and the caption, "Obama's first low



pass over Texas.” (The image has since disappeared.) It also directed readers to both the angry protests seen earlier this year at so-called “town hall” meetings on health care and, a little later on, the “tea party” tax protests. In September, the Patriots Coalition held its first border-watch event, bringing a reported 45 people to Arizona.

Jeff Schwilk, the foul-mouthed founder of the San Diego Minutemen nativist extremist group, also moved into the Patriot world last spring with an E-mail announcing the formation of the SoCal [for Southern California] Patriot Coalition. Declaring “Revolution is Brewing!”, Schwilk went on to say, “It’s a new beginning, at least for our very strong movement in SoCal, the front lines of the invasion from Mexico and the socialist takeover. ... Let’s roll! Let’s take our country back now! Strength in numbers.” A later Schwilk press release said that “Patriotic and Constitutional American grassroots groups” had merged to “fight the growing threats to our region and to the taxpaying American citizens.”

According to Schwilk’s E-mail, the coalition consists of 23 member organizations including the San Diego Minutemen. It is a diverse coalition with tax-protest groups like Stop Taxing Us and the Taxpayer Revolution Committee; several gun rights organizations; eight rogue Minuteman factions, including the Mountain Minutemen, members of which produced a faked video that in approving tones purported to show the murder of a Mexican immigrant by a border vigilante sniper; and two nativist groups long listed as hate groups by the SPLC, Save Our State and the California Coalition for Immigration Reform.

This November, nativist activists moved into yet another precinct of the antigovernment right, trying to steal some of the thunder of the tea-party movement by calling for a series of protests labeled “Tea Parties Against Amnesty and Illegal Immigration.” The events took place around the country and were pushed mainly by Americans for Legal Immigration, MCDC and RightMarch.com. Each was chaired by prominent nativists like Rosanna Pulido of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and Dan

Smeriglio of Voice of the People.

Voice of the People has not distinguished itself for sensitivity. Six weeks after the 2008 killing of Mexican immigrant Luis Ramirez by a group of white teenagers in Shenandoah, Penn., the group held a protest there against illegal immigration. (The teens were acquitted of all serious charges by a local all-white jury. But in December, a federal grand jury indicted two of them on charges that could result in life in prison. Three Shenandoah police officers, including the chief, also were indicted on charges of conspiring to obstruct justice in the case; see story, p. 10.)

Murder and the Minutemen

The Minuteman Project (MMP), which was one of the first large nativist extremist groups when it was formed in 2005, saw its numbers rise from 17 chapters in 2008 to 35 chapters in 2009. This is truly remarkable given that Shawna Forde, who faces a possible death penalty if she is convicted in the double-murder trial now scheduled for early 2011, once served as an official of the group. A true product of the nativist extremist movement, Forde also spent time at the Arizona compound of American

Shawna Forde, founder of Minuteman American Defense, became the first nativist leader in recent memory to be charged with murder. The fact that one of her alleged victims was a 9-year-old girl sent shock waves through the anti-immigrant movement.



Border Patrol, a hate group headed by Glenn Spencer. In 2006, she took part in a televised forum on immigration in her hometown of Yakima, Wash., where she was identified as an official representative of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which is listed by the SPLC as a hate group. (FAIR denies it ever had any connection to Forde.)

The double murder capped long-standing warnings — at least one of them, ironically, from Forde’s former MMP boss — of growing violence and white supremacy in the nativist groups. In 2008, Jim Gilchrist, who created the original Minuteman Project with Chris Simcox and now runs MMP, said he was “very, very sad, very disappointed” at the many people with “sinister intentions” and “Saddam Hussein mentalities” in the various Minuteman splinter groups. “I have found, after four years [that]... I very well may have been fighting for people with less character and less integrity than the ‘open border fanatics’ I have been fighting against. And that is a phenomenal indictment of something I have created.”

Forde’s arrest ignited a new round of infighting on the nativist scene, which already was riven by turf battles, accusations of theft and dishonesty, and lawsuits. In July, William Gheen, leader of another relatively prominent nativist extremist group, Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC), issued a list of groups to avoid in the wake of the Arivaca double murder. Heading the list was Gilchrist’s MMP. In a note, Gheen explained: “Both Gilchrist and [Glenn] Spencer have been highly negligent in who they have associated themselves and their organizations with by supporting and assisting Shawna Forde long after it was clear to many others that she should be cast out of our movement.”

Spencer’s group fired back a few days later, with office manager Melissa Jaramillo writing an open letter to Gheen. “There must be something wrong with you,” she wrote, adding that Spencer had long shown “hatred” toward Forde.

In December, Gilchrist joined the fray, sending out an E-mail that attacked Gheen, San Diego Minutemen leader Jeff Schwilk, and former Save Our State leader Chelene Nightingale as “grifters



Calling out extremism: Minuteman Project co-founder Jim Gilchrist (above) criticized “grifters” and “incurable racists” in his own movement last year, while former partner Chris Simcox denounced those who went beyond nativist activism to embrace even more radical ideas.



posing as patriots,” “incurable racists who limit activist participation to only white persons, bigots” whose “short-sightedness limits their association only to those who will goose-step according to their whim.”

Gheen didn’t waste much time in replying to at least some of those attacking him for his initial criticism. “Is there anyone close enough to Jim Gilchrist to stick a needle full of Thorazine in his arm?” he wrote, among many other things.

As more and more evidence against Forde and her alleged co-conspirators has become public, most of her one-time supporters have fallen silent. But not all of them. Laine Lawless, who heads up a small hate group called Border Guardians and who urged the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement in a 2006 E-mail to launch a campaign of violence against the undocumented, put up a website devoted to building up support for Forde. Entitled “Justice for Shawna Forde,” Lawless’ site says that “Shawna’s legal team believes in her innocence, and so do we.”

Trouble in Mind

Meanwhile, the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, which was founded by Chris Simcox after he split with Gilchrist and left the Minuteman Project, lost three chapters in 2009, but still had a substantial 75. It may not do so well next year, as Simcox quit MCDC last May to run for the U.S. Senate from Arizona. At the same time, Simcox angered his

fellow Minutemen by moderating his anti-immigrant tone and denouncing other Minutemen leaders who had gone beyond immigration issues to radical ideas like tax resistance, Texas secession and even insurrection.

In late August, MCDC, which was also wracked with infighting over alleged financial improprieties, took another blow when it came to light that Simcox’s replacement as MCDC leader, Carmen Mercer, was being sued by Arizona Attorney General Terry Goddard. Mercer was named in court documents along with the CEO of a California company called Property Tax Review Board Inc. The firm allegedly mailed thousands of deceptively official-looking letters to Arizona homeowners soliciting \$189 in return for what it called a “property-tax-assessment-analysis.” Officials say the letters directed recipients to send their payments to a post office box controlled by Mercer.

Despite all of this, the number of nativist extremist groups has continued to grow at a rapid pace. What follows is a state-by-state list of the **309 groups** that the Southern Poverty Law Center lists as **nativist extremist groups**. In the case of three major formations — the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, the Minuteman Project, and the Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition — acronyms have been added to help identify affiliated chapters that use other names. ▲

ALABAMA (5) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Statewide Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) Arab Blountsville River Region Minutemen (MCDC) Millbrook Tennessee Valley Minutemen (MCDC) Rogersville	Defense Corps (MCDC) Cochise County Green Valley Lake Havasu City La Paz County Phoenix Prescott Tucson
ALASKA (1) Minuteman Civil Defense Corps of Alaska Homer	Mohave County Minutemen Mohave County
ARIZONA (21) American Freedom Riders Phoenix Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Green Valley North Phoenix Phoenix (2) Pinal County Tucson Maricopa Patriots 1st Division (MMP) Maricopa Minuteman Civil	Patriots Border Alliance Phoenix Patriots Coalition Huachuca City Riders Against Illegal Aliens Phoenix Warden Burns Mexican Flags Tucson Yuma Patriots Yuma
	ARKANSAS (1) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Northwest Arkansas
	CALIFORNIA (62) Antelope Valley Minutemen Antelope Valley Border Patrol Auxiliary San Diego

California State Minuteman Project (MMP)	Vista	(MMP)	Immigration Enforcement	Hawaii Minuteman Project (MMP)	Shelby County
Long Beach	West Sacramento	Bodfish	Palm Beach	Oahu	Taylor County Minutemen (MCDC)
Campo Minutemen	Friends of the Border Patrol	Tecate Border Volunteers	Legal Immigrants of Miami (MMP)	IDAHO (1)	Taylor County
Campo	Covina	Campo	The MinuteMan @ FSU (MMP)	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Woodbury County Minutemen (MCDC)
Carlsbad Citizens Brigade	Golden Gate Minutemen	Ventura County Minutemen (MMP)	Miami	Statewide	Woodbury County
Carlsbad	San Francisco	Thousand Oaks	Tallahassee Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)	ILLINOIS (6)	KANSAS (5)
Castro Valley Minutemen	Kern County Minutemen (MMP)	Vista Citizens Brigade	Haines City	Chicago Minuteman Project (MMP)	Burlington Minutemen (MCDC)
Castro Valley	Bakersfield	Vista	Miami	Lindenhurst	Burlington
Central Coast Minutemen	Los Angeles Minutemen (MCDC)	COLORADO (5)	Report Illegals	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Heart of America Minutemen (MCDC)
Salinas	Los Angeles	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Pompano Beach	Chicago	Kansas City
Crispus Attacks Brigade	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)	Loveland	Space Coast Minutemen (MCDC)	Lake County	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)
Los Angeles	Boulevard	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)	Melbourne	Statewide	Emporia
Desert Cities Minutemen (MCDC)	Minuteman Project (MMP)	Denver	GEORGIA (15)	Illinois Minutemen (MMP)	Topeka
Palm Desert	Ontario	Grand Valley	Cherokee Minutemen	Dix	Wichita
East Bay Minutemen (MCDC)	San Clemente	Minuteman Project (MMP)	Canton	Minutemen Midwest	KENTUCKY (2)
Walnut Creek	Jacumba	Byers	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Harvard	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)
Escondido Minutemen Brigade	No Invaders.Org	Patriots Border Alliance	Atlanta	INDIANA (6)	Meade County
Escondido	Running Springs	Colorado Springs	Central Savannah	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)
Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Northern California Minutemen (MCDC)	CONNECTICUT (2)	River Area	Elkhart County	Lexington
Antelope Valley	Napa	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Cobb County	Fort Wayne	LOUISIANA (3)
Coachella Valley	Oceanside Citizens Brigade	Danbury	Gwinnett County	Northern Indiana	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)
East San Francisco Bay	Operation Generation (MMP)	Prospect	Northern Georgia	Southeast Indiana	Northeast
El Cajon	Rancho Bernardo Citizens Brigade	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (1)	Statewide	Southern Indiana	Southeast
Lake Elsinore	Costa Mesa	Defend DC	Gainesville Minutemen	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)	MCDC of Louisiana (MCDC)
Long Beach	Rancho Bernardo Citizens Brigade	Washington, DC	Gainesville	Southern Indiana	Leesville
(Downtown)	Poway	FLORIDA (16)	Middle Georgia Minutemen (MCDC)	IOWA (11)	MAINE (1)
Marina del Rey	Sacramento Region Minutemen (MCDC)	Central Florida Minutemen (MCDC)	Macon	Cherokee County Minutemen (MCDC)	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)
Menifee Valley	Sacramento	Orlando	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)	Cherokee	Hanover
Moreno Valley	San Diego Citizen's Brigade	Central Florida Patriot Minuteman Project (MMP)	Athens	Des Moines Minutemen (MCDC)	MARYLAND (2)
North Edwards and Boron	San Diego	Central Florida	Atlanta	Des Moines	Help Save Maryland
Northern California	San Diego Minutemen	Dixie County Minutemen	Augusta	Harrison County Minutemen (MCDC)	Rockville
Oceanside	San Diego	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Minuteman Project (MMP)	Logan	Old Line State Minuteman (MMP)
Redlands	Sonoma County Minutemen (MCDC)	Central	Atlanta	Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)	Jefferson
Riverside	Sonoma	Lee and Collier County	Northwest Georgia Minutemen (MCDC)	Council Bluffs	MASSACHUSETTS (4)
Riverside County	Southern California Minuteman Project (MMP)	Pinellas County	Dalton	Denison	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)
San Diego	Southern California	Sarasota	Southwest Georgia Minutemen (MCDC)	Griswold	Lancaster
San Gabriel Valley	Southern California Patriot Coalition	South Palm Beach County	Albany	Iowa City	North Shores
San Juan Capistrano	Southern Sierra Minuteman Project	Treasure Coast	HAWAII (2)	Riders Against Illegal Aliens	Southeast
Santa Cruz County		Floridians for	Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE)	Ottumwa	Suffolk County
Silicon Valley			Waikiki	Shelby County Minutemen (MCDC)	MICHIGAN (3)
Sonoma County					
South Coastal Orange County					
South Lake Tahoe					
Statewide					
Ventura County (2)					

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Killer Kindred

An Oregon-based racist prison and street gang has produced an incredible amount of criminal violence. And the beat goes on

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

PORTLAND, Ore.—Pacing the stage at a Holiday Inn Conference Center, David Kennedy looked a bit intimidated for the founder of the most feared white supremacist gang in the Pacific Northwest.

“I’m sweating like a gangster at a cop convention right now,” Kennedy said.

The line got a laugh because Kennedy was, in fact, a gangster at a cop convention. It was the summer of 2007. Claiming to be a reformed criminal, Kennedy was addressing a gathering of Oregon gang cops and prison STG (security threat group) investigators, explaining how and why he formed European Kindred (EK) in 1998.

“I started European Kindred to serve and protect our own people in the joint,” Kennedy said. “It was ethnocentric. The ‘14 Words’ was at the heart of it all. If that’s racist, then I’m a racist.” (The “14 Words” are a white supremacist movement catchphrase: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.”)

Kennedy first organized the gang within the medium-security Snake River Correctional Institution, the largest prison in Oregon, where he was serving time for burglary. In less than two years, EK had spread to all four other medium-security prisons in the state. In 2001, as members were paroled, it began to establish a street gang presence in Portland. Over the next few years, EK became notorious as members committed hate crimes, murders, rapes and home-invasion robberies, along with manning identity-theft, methamphetamine-distribution and dog-fighting rings.

EK now has at least 300 confirmed

members in the Oregon prison system plus another 100-125 members on the streets of Portland, as well as in other cities and towns in the region. While the Portland-area street division of the gang



Authorities are seeing more of the “EK” shield as the European Kindred establishes a reputation as the most feared racist gang in the Pacific Northwest.

— by far its largest outside of prison — is somewhat in disarray after a series of recent arrests of leaders and high-ranking members, the gang overall is expanding beyond the state where it was born. Last year, EK chapters appeared within prisons in Arizona, California, Colorado and New Mexico, and a street crew sprang up and began recruiting skinheads in Orange County, Calif.

“EK has grown into a monster that’s

out of my control,” said Kennedy, who claimed to have abdicated leadership of EK in early 2007. “I feel a little built guilty about that.”

One of the law enforcement officers in the audience asked Kennedy about a rumored split between EK members along religious lines. Kennedy replied that as far as he knew, the rumors were false. “Most of the guys in EK are into Asatrú [a racist neo-pagan faith], but then we also have guys who are into Christian Identity [an anti-Semitic theology based on a bizarre reading of the Bible], so it varies,” Kennedy said. “Overall it’s about brotherhood. It’s about blood, not religion.”

The ex-gang leader paused for a moment before correcting himself. “Well, actually, the dope comes first. The meth. Then the brotherhood. That’s the reality.”

Meth and Murder

The first that many Oregon residents heard of European Kindred was in early 2002, when a member of the gang stabbed to death an African-American drug dealer in a downtown Portland housing project. The murder received heavier media coverage than usual because the accused killer was a 21-year-old racist skinhead fresh out of prison.

According to authorities, Joshua Robert Brown joined EK in 2000 while serving a four-year sentence for robbery. He earned his membership by “doing dirt,” meaning he followed orders from EK leaders to attack fellow inmates and, in one instance, a corrections officer. Brown killed the drug dealer just three weeks after being released.

Tattooed on his left calf was a symbol that law enforcement officers throughout Oregon would come to know all too

well: the letters EK within a red, black and white shield.

European Kindred has nothing against straight-up hate crime violence. In 2003, for example, a gang member beat and stomped to death a developmentally disabled black woman and then set her body on fire while believing she was still alive.

But the gang specializes in armed robberies of black and Latino drug dealers, often using improvised “flash bang” grenades as diversions in home invasions. These robberies, called “rips,” give a nod to white supremacist principles while feeding the gang’s hunger for money and drugs.

Inside prison, EK is disciplined, with strict codes of conduct and a required reading list that includes right-wing MSNBC commentator Patrick Buchanan and the ancient Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu. Outside, most EK members are heavy users of methamphetamine, less concerned with reading “The Art of War” than finding their next score.

“Over the years, EK has in many ways become two separate entities: street and prison, meth versus ideology,” Portland police Criminal Intelligence Unit Investigator Anthony Cavalli told the *Intelligence Report*. “In prison they’re very much about racial identity and white power. But they can’t quite carry that over to the street because they’re so dope-infected, the politics become a sideline.”

With meth comes paranoia. In June 2007, EK member James Paulk, 31, drove from Portland to Hood River, Ore., to pick up another EK member, Christopher Bailey, who was being released from Hood River County Corrections on a two-day pass for dental work. Bailey was doing a short jail stint for theft. He rode in the back seat.

Paulk, who’d been doing enough speed to jack up a rhinoceros, had convinced himself that his sworn blood brother was a police informant. While driving on a highway, he pulled a handgun, turned around, and shot Bailey three times in the chest, killing him.

Then he panicked. Taking back roads, Paulk spotted a fisherman. He pulled over, shot the fisherman and tried to steal his victim’s truck (the fisherman survived). Failing in that endeavor,



Paulk headed back to Portland. His mood shifted and, for a joke, he stuck a cigarette in the corpse’s mouth and drove around the city for a few hours before stuffing the body in the trunk. Three days later, Paulk headed to Washington and dumped the decomposed corpse in a ravine. He was caught a short time later and, after pleading guilty to first-degree murder, sentenced to life in prison.

‘A Hive of Criminal Activity’

EK leadership within the corrections system is structured around a “table” in each prison. The term refers to a literal table in the prison yard where four EK leaders hold meetings, sometimes under the guise of an Asatrú ritual. The four leaders in each prison have equal voting rights. The table at Snake River, where the gang was founded, calls the shots for the gang as a whole.

Outside of prison, EK is structured more like an Outlaw motorcycle gang. There’s still a table of four, but with a clear hierarchy: president, vice-presi-

dent, sergeant-at-arms and treasurer. When police raided a European Kindred clubhouse in 2006, they found the gang’s symbol inset into the bottom of a swimming pool. The EK Shield has since been covered over.

dent, sergeant-at-arms and treasurer.

The headquarters of EK activity on the street has been a series of clubhouses in private homes. “They’ve gone through four or five houses just since 2005,” Multnomah County Sheriff’s Office Gang Unit Deputy Ryan Burkeen told the *Intelligence Report*. “Their pattern is that once we burn up a house, they disperse for a while then converge on a new location.”

Working together for the past five years, Cavalli and Burkeen have made cases against more than a dozen hardcore EK members, including at least two street-level presidents. The resulting prosecutions crippled the gang in the Portland area and may be inspiring its migration to other locales where EK is lesser known.

One clubhouse in particular was a goldmine of arrests and prosecutions.

Being David Kennedy: The Making Of A Gang Boss

“IF YOU STAND IN SHIT, YOU START STINKING like it, and that’s what happened to me growing up,” European Kindred founder David Kennedy said in 2007.

Kennedy, 41, was raised to be a criminal. His father was a member of the Gypsy Jokers, an Outlaw motorcycle gang founded in 1956 and based in Oregon and Washington. When

Kennedy was still in elementary school, his older brother was killed in a gunfight, and Kennedy witnessed his mother’s murder.

“She was shot pointblank with a .30-06,” he said. “It blew her back all over the place. I saw a lot of stuff a kid shouldn’t see.”

Kennedy began his career in crime

The house, in southeast Portland, is still there. But the gigantic EK shield that once decorated the bottom of its backyard swimming pool has been painted over. For all of 2006, the house was EK street headquarters. “Any guy that came out of prison with a shield on his leg went straight to that house to check in,” said Cavalli. “It was a hive of criminal activity.”

Burkeen’s gang unit placed the house under near-constant surveillance. “It was a place where we could keep our thumb on EK,” he said. “We made multiple cases out of that house. We had foot chases, car chases, gun cases, dope cases, manufacturing explosives, you name it.”

One regular visitor, police say, was Kelly Hill, the former girlfriend of Kyle Brewster, one of three members of East Side White Pride, a Portland skinhead gang, who in 1988 bludgeoned to death Ethiopian immigrant Mulugeta Seraw. In 2006, Brewster was arrested for violating his parole by associating with members of the Portland-based neo-Nazi skinhead group Volksfront.

Hill “was trying to fully legitimize EK as a white supremacist group,” said Cavalli. “She attended meetings and was always trying to remind them of their European heritage and pushing the ideology, stressing the 14 words, all of that. But it backfired on her. In the end, she got caught up in the dope like the rest of them.”

Changing of the Guard

Cavalli and Burkeen were getting so many arrests out of the clubhouse with the swimming pool that, despite numerous chronic-nuisance complaints from its neighbors, the two investigators resisted

pressure from their superiors to shut it down. “We wanted to keep it open as long as possible, but eventually Portland P.D. insisted on a raid, because it was becoming a liability to the community,” Cavalli said.

The raid, in October 2006, netted firearms, bladed weapons, methamphetamine and a wide assortment of EK paraphernalia. Two gang members and three associates were arrested on drug-dealing and identity-theft charges, including the street division president, Danny Anderson, known as “Danny B” because he’s from Boston.

Not long after the raid, Kennedy was released from prison and held a secret meeting where he transferred street leadership of EK to ex-con and longtime gang member Josh Sparks. EK at the time ran a commercial kitchen-cleaning business that allowed gang members access to restaurants after hours. “They’d case the places for burglaries and copy down receipts from the credit card machines to use for identity theft,” said Cavalli.

In the summer of 2007, Cavalli and Burkeen received information that several EK officers were holed up in a Super 8 Motel near the Portland airport with the proceeds from burglarizing a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant. Cavalli went undercover in the hotel as a maintenance man, while a female officer posed as a maid. Once they’d figured out which room the EK members were occupying, they called in a SWAT team to take it down. “We found dope and guns in the room, but they’d already moved the money,” said Cavalli.

During the ensuing investigation, Burkeen’s unit placed Sparks under

24-hour surveillance, based on information that he was routinely packing a handgun, which is illegal for a convicted felon. While riding in a taxi, Sparks took off on foot after spotting a police car, leaving a .45-caliber pistol in the back seat. He was prosecuted for illegal possession of a firearm and sent to federal prison.

Since then, going after EK has been like repeatedly smashing a pool of mercury — the poisonous globules are scattered at first, but then creep back toward one another and congeal. “We keep hitting them as hard as we can,” said Burkeen. “Every time they try to form up on the streets, we hit them again. That’s the strategy.”

In one recent case, two EK members were arrested and charged with attempted murder and arson for allegedly firebombing the house of a robbery witness. In June of last year, Byron O’Neal “Crash” Willenberg was convicted of first-degree rape and sodomy for assaulting a female acquaintance on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day 2008. And in January of this year, two EK members broke into a woman’s house and beat her severely in front of her three small children after she repossessed a car from a gang member.

“The criminality is ongoing, despite our disrupting them,” said Cavalli. “The future of the EK is that it’s going to keep getting bigger and bigger inside the prisons. On the streets, right now you can go to small towns east of here [Portland] and find groups of EK committing crimes together. In Portland, it’s going to ebb and flow. All the leaders are incarcerated right now. But once a charismatic guy is back on the street, they’re going to start right back up again.” ▲

while still in his teens, becoming a debt collector for his father’s motorcycle gang. In 1993, he was convicted of robbery and burglary. In 1998, he was sentenced to prison for a second burglary conviction. That same year, he founded EK on April 20 — Adolf Hitler’s birthday. Kennedy went back to prison for a third time in 2004, again for burglary and robbery.

When he was released in early 2007, Kennedy claimed to have quit the gang. But he was still a white supremacist. He

started playing guitar for Felony Flatz, a hate-rock band named after the poverty- and crime-ridden district of Portland from which EK recruits members.

“God forbid, if I go back to prison tomorrow, I’m gonna do what I gotta do to survive, so I’ll go right back to it [gang life],” he said in 2007. “No choice.”

Last year, Kennedy did go back to prison after pleading guilty to selling a .357-magnum to a man he knew to be convicted felon. Rumor has it that he was

put on an EK hit list for speaking to law enforcement officers and renouncing gang life. His current role in the gang, if any, is unclear to law enforcement authorities.

“I’ve done a lot of bad things in my life,” Kennedy said about a year before he was indicted on the firearms charge. “Those are things I have to live with. I can’t take those things back. But if I could, I don’t know if I would. Because I had a lot of fun being a gangster.”

— David Holthouse



KEVIN FLEMING/CORBIS OUTLINE (ISLAND); MACDUFF EVERTON/CORBIS OUTLINE



The scene of the “crime”: Bankers and government officials set the course for building a central banking system at the luxurious Jekyll Island Club. A century later, disgruntled “Patriots” and others returned to rewrite history.



Midwifing The Militias

A little-noticed meeting
last year in Georgia helped
re-launch the antigovernment
‘Patriot’ movement.

That was only the beginning

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

In 1910, prominent bankers and government officials convened a secret meeting on a stunning South Georgia key known as Jekyll Island. Gathering at a place that was once a haven for French privateers and, later, a playground for the rich of the Gilded Age, the group devised the plans that would result, three years later, in the creation of the Federal Reserve System, America’s central bank.

Almost exactly a century later, in May 2009, some 30 “freedom keepers” — men who, like most members of the radical right, despise the Fed and see it as part of a plot to exploit American citizens — came together at the scene of the “crime” to wash away its sins. Meeting in the Federal Reserve Room of the luxurious Jekyll Island Club, they held an elaborate ceremony meant to symbolically “supplant the secretive deliberations” of 1910. Hoisted over the club as they met was the Gadsden Flag, with its coiled snake and cantankerous slogan, “Don’t Tread on Me.”

Convened by long-time radical tax protester Bob Schulz, who has been attacking the Fed and the Internal Revenue Service

for decades, this remarkable gathering appears to have played a key role in launching the current resurgence of militias and the larger antigovernment “Patriot” movement. Less than five months into the Obama Administration, the Jekyll Island conclave warned of “increasing national instability,” worried about a coming “New World Order,” denounced secret schemes to merge Canada, Mexico and the United States, and furiously attacked the new president’s “socialized” policies and failure to end illegal immigration.

“The Feds are out of control,” Jon Roland, one of the participants and a Texas militia leader of the 1990s, told the *Intelligence Report*. They “have actually been engaging in warlike activity against the American people. ... It kills people.”

One of the most remarkable things about the little-noticed Jekyll Island gathering, which in some ways resembled another meeting that helped launch the militia movement of the 1990s (see story, p. 34), is how it brought together disparate elements of the radical right. It included radical tax protesters, militiamen, nativist extremists, anti-Obama “birthers,” hard-line libertarians, conspiracy-minded Patriots with theories about secret government concentration camps, even a raging anti-Semite named Edgar Steele. Others, representing gun-rights

absolutists and the far-right “unregistered churches” movement, were invited but sent their regrets.

That’s not all. In addition to producing a whole series of “action plans to confront the violations” of the Obama Administration, the Jekyll Island meeting led to a number of other radical cooperative efforts. Most remarkably — and most recently — more than 100 delegates from 48 states traveled to St. Charles, Ill., in November to attend an 11-day “continental congress” planned at Jekyll Island and hosted by Schulz’s organization, We the People (WTP). Given that it took its name from the gathering that was the first step toward the American Revolution, it isn’t surprising that attendees felt, as one told a Pennsylvania newspaper just before the congress began, that it was “the final step before we have no other options.”



A May 2009 meeting at this South Georgia resort helped kick off the contemporary resurgence of antigovernment “Patriot” groups. Participants angrily repudiated the creation of the Fed by a group that gathered here a century earlier.



Building a Movement

Robert L. Schulz is no stranger to the radical right. For decades, he has battled the federal government over his right to sell products claiming that the income tax is illegal and Americans need not pay it. He has been behind more than 100 court actions and petitions claiming government malfeasance and seeking various forms of redress. He has run full-page ads in national newspapers calling attention to his groundless theories. In 2008, Schulz and his We the People Foundation were found in contempt of court for refusing to turn over lists of people who had bought his materials. Over the years, Schulz has made friends in low places; a wide variety of extremists, including Holocaust deniers, have attended his events.

Since 2008, Schulz also has become a vocal “birther,” one of those who, against all the evidence, claim President Obama is not a U.S. citizen. In two full-page ads in the *Chicago Tribune* that year, Schulz demanded that Obama either bring him proof that he is “a natural born citizen” or be called out as a “usurper” to whom the armed forces “would be under no obligation to remain obedient.”

But it was only last year that Schulz began to play a key role in building a larger movement, one with concerns that went far beyond challenging the legality of taxes and Obama’s holding the office of president. At Jekyll Island, there were long hours spent discussing a list of alleged ongoing constitutional violations that will soon “collapse the Republic.” The dark talk focused on fears of illegal surveillance, gun-control laws, “transportation choke points,” sustainable development, and “individual and state sovereignty.” And there was angry talk, of course, about taxes and “unconstitutional fiat currency,” meaning, in English, the U.S. dollar.

Dr. Edwin Vieira co-organized the Jekyll Island summit with Schulz, but did not attend. The reason, according to remarks made there by Schulz, was that Vieira was hard at work producing a massive tome on “well-regulated militias” — and his plans to establish militias in each of the 50 states. (In the 1990s, Vieira, a long-time associate of Schulz’s and a man who has written about militias for years, advertised



Blasting cap: Bob Schulz of We The People organized the Jekyll Island summit. A long-time tax protester, Schulz said the meeting helped awaken Americans "to the importance of the Constitution."

his conferences in *The Jubilee*, an anti-Semitic publication, among others.)

There were many other long-time enthusiasts of militias and related Patriot organizations there, too: John Stadtmiller, who once ran militia promoter Mark "Mark from Michigan" Koernke's radio show, and now heads the far-right Republic Broadcasting Network; Tom DeWeese, a co-founder in 1997 of United Truckers Defending the Constitution and an angry critic, like most on the radical right, of the United Nations; Ernest Hancock, a libertarian radio show host who in the 1990s ran the Patriot-friendly group Second Amendment is for Everyone and also the website Viper Reserves, which defended members of the Viper Militia arrested in 1996 and later imprisoned on serious federal conspiracy and weapons charges; Paul Venable, head of the Idaho chapter of the anti-immigrant and anti-abortion Constitution Party; and Roland, who founded the Texas Militia Correspondence Committee in 1995.

According to the Jekyll Island Project

website, there were many newer members of the radical right present as well. They included Robert Crooks, leader of the virulent California nativist group Mountain Minuteman, who in 2007 concocted a faked video enthusiastically depicting the killing by snipers of undocumented immigrants crossing the border. ("This video shows how to keep a Home Depot parking lot empty," Crooks wrote in a mass E-mail attached to the video.) Lt. Cmdr. Eric Cunningham was there from Oath Keepers, a Patriot group formed last year, composed of military and law enforcement officers, and given to antigovernment conspiracy theories. Also present was Edgar Steele, who represented the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations in a 2000 lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center and has since become an ardent anti-Semite himself. (In 2002, in an essay entitled "It's the Jews, Stupid!!!!", Steele wrote, "Jews are the problem. Jews have been the problem since before they saw to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.") And there was an official of Restore the Republic, the Patriot group that released

a film last fall alleging that the Federal Emergency Management Agency is constructing a network of concentration camps meant for patriotic Americans (see also story, p. 12).

Schulz responded to some E-mail questions from the *Intelligence Report* but he was careful in those questions he chose to answer. Asked if the Georgia meeting had reawakened the Patriot movement that produced so much havoc in the 1990s, he replied: "There appear to be more individuals and organizations waking up to the importance of the Constitution" and critically examining government actions.

G. Edward Griffin, who helped organize the Jekyll Island gathering, may have been more revealing. Griffin, who wrote a scathing 1994 attack on the Fed published by the anti-communist John Birch Society and also a sympathetic biography of the group's founder, was the first to speak at the meeting. He told conferees that merely putting "large numbers of people in the street" was not enough.

"We must," he said, "achieve power."

Spreading the Flames

In the aftermath of the Jekyll Island meeting, We the People activists helped to inject a radical note into “town hall” meetings held around the country by various politicians last summer to discuss a public health care option and other matters.

In August, William Kostric, identified as a member of WTP’s Arizona chapter, showed up at a health care reform meeting hosted in New Hampshire by President Obama. Kostric was wearing a gun strapped to his thigh and carrying a sign reading, “IT IS TIME TO WATER THE TREE OF LIBERTY” (a reference to Thomas Jefferson’s statement that the “tree of liberty” needs occasional refreshing with “the blood of patriots and tyrants”). According to press reports, Kostric, who did not respond to requests for comment, had a MySpace page filled with paeans to militia groups and Randy Weaver, a white supremacist hero of many militiamen.

That same month, Chris Broughton, also listed as a member of WTP’s Arizona chapter, brought an assault rifle to an Obama town hall meeting in Phoenix, provoking something of a media storm. While there, he was interviewed by Ernest Hancock, the militia sympathizer who also attended the Jekyll Island summit. A day earlier, Broughton had attended a fiery sermon by Tempe pastor Steven Anderson, who reportedly prayed for “Obama to melt like a snail tonight” because he was a “socialist devil, murderer, infanticide.” Anderson told reporters he regularly prayed for the president’s death and that Broughton was part of his congregation.

Schulz has also been reaching out to other antigovernment groups. In October, his WTP held a joint event with the Oath Keepers, which suggests on its website that government roundups and concentration camps are imminent dangers. The event in Chatham, N.Y., was dedicated to helping Americans become “aware of the threats to their individual freedoms and liberties, as well as to their nation’s sovereignty.”

‘Articles of Freedom’

By last November, the American radical right was growing increasingly agitated. Patriot groups, according to the Southern

Jekyll Island Gathering Recalls Another

THE GATHERING HELD ON JEKYLLE Island, GA., last year to bring together disparate elements of the radical right in response to alleged government tyranny was not the first of its kind. Eighteen years ago, at a YMCA high in the Colorado Rockies, 160 “Christian men” met to unite racists and other radicals against the government.

The “Rocky Mountain Rendezvous,” convened on Oct. 23, 1992, by a leading pastor of the anti-Semitic Christian Identity religion, was a direct response to the armed confrontation earlier that year between white supremacist Randy Weaver and federal law enforcement officials. During that 11-day standoff atop Ruby Ridge, Idaho, a U.S. marshal and Weaver’s son and wife were killed by gunfire.

The 1992 meeting, held in Estes Park, Colo., was attended by neo-Nazis, Klansmen, Identity believers and more “moderate” rightists such as Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America (who also was invited to the 2009 Jekyll Island gathering but sent his regrets). It also included men such as John Trochmann, who was little known at the time but became prominent as founder of the Montana Militia.

In a key speech, neo-Nazi Aryan Nations official and former Texas Klan leader Louis Beam described the Weavers as victims of “the tender mercies of a government gone mad,” and called upon his listeners to put aside doctrinal and even racial differences. And, indeed, the militias that exploded across the country in 1994 and afterward generally did de-emphasize racism in favor of anti-federalism.

The Estes Park meeting has been described as marking the birth of the modern militia movement, both in bringing the extreme right together and in helping to lay out militia ideology. But the deadly 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, was certainly far more important in terms of bringing large numbers of people into the movement. The first major militias appeared in early 1994.

It’s too soon to say what role the so-called Jekyll Island Project may play in coming years. But what seems undeniable is that the gathering, much like the Estes Park conclave before it, has helped draw together men from across the spectrum of the radical right and strengthened their antigovernment movement.



Building a movement: Aryan Nations official Louis Beam (top), gun rights absolutist Larry Pratt and future Militia of Montana founder John Trochmann were among those who attended a seminal 1992 gathering in Colorado.

RFH/STAFF IMAGES (BEAM); CAROLYN KASTER/AP IMAGES (PRATT); JACQUE JOHNSTON/AP IMAGES (TROCHMANN)

Poverty Law Center's count (see story, p. 44), had exploded over the prior year. The "tea parties," while not strictly speaking extremist groups, were shot through with radical ideas and conspiracy theories. Nativist groups were booming. And anger at Obama, even in the political mainstream, was swelling, fueled by accusations of creeping socialism.

It was a good time, in other words, for Bob Schulz.

When his WTP organization finally threw its "continental congress" in Illinois, it drew delegates from around the nation. And those delegates represented an even wider swath of the American radical right than had been represented at the Jekyll Island conclave. Now, there were neo-Confederate secessionists, "common-law court" enthusiasts, and adherents of the "sovereign citizens" movement, in addition to the militia backers and other radicals who had been at Jekyll Island.

Kevin Tebedo, who "testified" in 1995 to the Colorado Common Law Grand Jury, one of the pseudo-legal peoples' "courts" that populated the Patriot movement of the 1990s, was there. (Tebedo later led the anti-gay group, Colorado for Family Values.) So was William Reil, who was arrested in Pennsylvania in 1998 for having a homemade license plate and driver's license — typical of those in the so-called sovereign citizens movement. Reil used various "paper terrorism" tactics in an attempt to get his car back, including filing a document that demanded the arrest and impeachment of the governor. Reil declined to make any comment.

Dan Gonzales, a former Southeast Florida leader of the neo-secessionist League of the South — a white supremacist hate group whose leader has said that the South needs to be returned to "general European cultural hegemony" — was on hand. Gonzales, too, declined to discuss his past or the Illinois meeting.

In the end, the St. Charles congress

issued a genuinely radical document entitled "Articles of Freedom." It declares that the federal government "now threatens our Life, Liberty and

Property through usurpations of the Constitution" and calls for 11 different actions. It demands Obama produce his birth documents and blames immigrants for putting the nation "at risk of terrorism, crime, and disease." It calls for repealing all social service spending, denounces "a cartel of private banks," demands a currency alternative to the dollar, and insists on the end of taxation. It rejects

all supranational bodies, including the non-existent North American Union (the entity that nativist conspiracy theorists claim is being secretly planned by Mexico, Canada and the United States). Taking a page from the sovereign citizens movement, it demands an end to driver's licenses, auto registration and insurance. Rejecting the existing legal system, it calls for the creation of "randomly empanelled citizens' common law grand juries" to determine when a trial will take place. And, like the anti-Semitic hard-liners of the Posse Comitatus in the 1980s, it asks that Americans treat county sheriffs as the highest legitimate police authority.

Since the Congress

The ranks of We the People have burgeoned since the November congress, and they now include dozens of prominent radical-right figures. Among them are Orly Taitz, the California dentist on a personal jihad to prove that Obama is not a citizen; Cory Burnell, a former leader of the white supremacist League of the South and later founder of Christian Exodus, which seeks a theocratic takeover of the state of South Carolina; John Hassey, former leader of the Central Alabama Militia; Walter Burien, co-founder in the 1990s of the Arizona Sons and Daughters of Liberty militia; and Jo Ann Dingley, once a contact for the Santa

Rosa County Militia and a delegate to the Third Continental Congress, a Patriot formation.

With this swelling of the WTP rolls have come people with reported criminal histories. (Each of the people named below did not respond to E-mails seeking comment; details of their histories come from press reports). Among them:

Wayne Gunwall, who in the 1990s traveled around the country helping groups set up common-law courts. He was sentenced to 15 months in prison in 1997 for conspiring to impede and harass Internal Revenue Service agents.

Arthur Hollowell, a "sovereign citizen" who in 1982 was convicted of forgery charges and then was a fugitive for years. He was eventually sentenced to a year in federal prison in 1997 after pleading guilty to running a scam, called the Northwest Community Exchange, to hide millions of dollars from the Internal Revenue Service. In the 1990s, Hollowell was tied to the Citizens Bar Association, which urged tax resistance and was reportedly anti-Semitic.

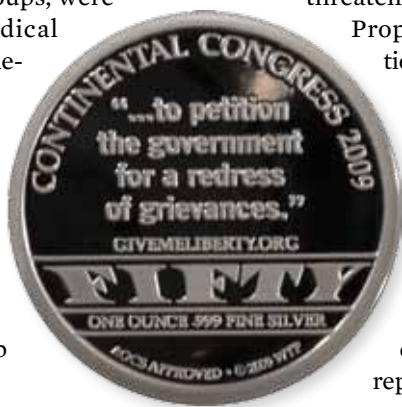
Robert B. Beale, convicted of tax evasion in 2008 after two years on the run.

And David Eugene Landess, who accepted a plea bargain in 2009 on felony charges of attempting to evade taxes over several years.

It's not clear what role Bob Schulz and We the People will play in the coming months and years. What is certain is that they have had a key, and little-noticed, part in the dramatic expansion of the radical right over the last year. It may well be, when the history of these years on the radical right in America is finally written, that the Jekyll Island summit, and the continental congress that followed, did more than any other effort to build the muscle of the radical antigovernment movement.

And that, judging by documents produced at the group's November congress, may well presage new dangers for the American public. The documents conclude that any infringement on the people's liberty as laid out in the Constitution is "an act of WAR" that "the People and their Militias have the Right and Duty to repel." ▲

Janet Smith contributed to this report.



This silver "round" was sold for \$100 to help raise funds for We the People's "Continental Congress 2009."

Lessons and Regrets

Two decades later, a woman remembers her life among killer skinheads and discusses how she has changed

INTERVIEW BY SONIA SCHERR PHOTOGRAPHY BY AMANDA SMITH

Julie Belec *has never forgotten the night of Nov. 13, 1988, when three racist skinheads beat to death Mulugeta Seraw, a 28-year-old graduate student and Ethiopian immigrant, outside his apartment in Portland, Ore. Belec, then 16, sat in a parked car as her boyfriend, East Side White Pride member Ken Mieske, known to his friends as “Ken Death,” repeatedly struck Seraw with a baseball bat during a late-night chance confrontation. Mieske ultimately pleaded guilty to murdering Seraw because of his race and was sentenced to 30 years in prison.*

In addition to criminal cases against Mieske and two other gang members, the murder prompted a lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) on behalf of Seraw’s son and other relatives. The SPLC suit targeted White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader Tom Metzger and his son, John, because the Metzgers had sent a recruiter from California to help organize the Portland skinhead gang and encourage its members to attack non-white people. During that trial, Belec testified for the defense. The jury found that the Metzgers and WAR were responsible for the killing and ordered them to pay \$12.5 million in damages to Seraw’s family.

Now 37, Belec is no longer the girl who helped fill the basement room she and Mieske shared with racist propaganda. She and her husband of nine years now live outside Portland with their blended family and own a business together. She’s also studying for an associate’s degree in mental health and human services and hopes to work with schoolchildren who might be vulnerable to hate group recruitment.

In a recent interview with the Intelligence Report, Belec (who asked that her maiden name be used to protect her privacy) spoke about why she became involved with East Side White Pride, her relationship with Mieske, the night Seraw was killed, and how her life has changed since she left the racist skinhead movement.

Julie, what was your early childhood like?

I did not come from a loving family. I did not come from a physically abusive family, but there were pretty much no emotions. I don’t remember as a child ever being told anything good about myself. There were no hugs, at least not from my mother or my stepfather. I was on my own to do as I pleased.

So how did you spend your time as a young child?

I actually played a lot of imaginary games, and one of them was that I had different parents. I was just your typical kid who wanted to learn about new things. My teenage years are when things started to change.

How did that happen?

I think middle school is a big change for most people. You start forming some of your own thoughts and feelings apart from your parents. You explore more, and you see more of how other people live. In middle school we were trying things more than the kids do now, it seems. I started smoking cigarettes and smoking pot and trying beer; that was all acceptable in my house. I was trying to fit in somewhere because I never quite fit in anywhere.

How did you meet Ken Mieske?

In middle school, I was introduced to a crowd that was into heavy death metal. That led to the punk rock people, which led to more drugs. I met Ken when I was about 13 at a place called the Death House, which was just a big party house. We did not get involved until I was



maybe 15. I'm not sure how we became involved. It was probably through drinking and drugs.

Do you remember what drew you to him?

He was older, and in fact all my relationships when I was young were with older men. Maybe I was looking for a father figure, because I didn't have that.

Was Mieske already a committed racist?

He did not have racist beliefs then. He was more of the punk-rock, troubled child. He had his own childhood issues. *[Editor's note: Mieske's mother was unable to care for her young son, and he did not have a stable home life with the family friend who adopted him. He later spent time on the streets and in jail.]* I think we all came into the skinhead group we were associating with through the whole punk rock crowd. I'm not even sure how it happened that

we became part of the skinhead movement. It just kind of got thrown at all of us. I'm not sure who really deeply believed in all of it or if it was just a new group. It was something new to all of us, and I think it made us all feel a part of something.

What attracted you to the group's racist beliefs?

I don't take any of this lightly and I do not find it humorous now, but I think I found humor in some of the literature that was going around. I didn't think all of the stuff was true, but you could belong when you were among these people. You felt like it was a family. I think that's where people get kind of trapped into it. Whether or not you really are believing all of this, you feel like these people are part of a family that maybe you didn't have. I think these kids are preyed on by the adults who

form these groups. I don't think it's the youth that are doing it.

So it was more the social aspects of the group that pulled you in rather than its ideology?

I finally fit somewhere. When parents are mentally abusive to their children, they [the children] have really low self-esteem. I have struggled my whole life with low self-esteem and not really being confident in myself and fitting in places. And the group seemed to accept me 100% as long as I believed what they did. So that worked for me.

Were you attending school at the time?

I dropped out of high school my sophomore year. I got my GED after that, when I was about 17. These kids in the [skinhead] group were dropouts. They were homeless kids. They were not kids who came from homes where their par-

ents cared about them. They were just kids that no one cared about. Education was not important in my home anyway.

I do make that important to my kids now. I didn't gain all that I could have in high school, which I'm sorry about.

What was your relationship like with Ken?

It was not good. The skinhead movement started being really anti-drug but they were not anti-alcohol. Nights were filled with drinking and abuse. Ken was very abusive. There were a few times where I was almost choked to death. There were black eyes, a broken nose. That was the thing about this group of guys. Getting together and drinking, they became angry and would find a victim. Without a victim for the evening, sometimes — I know in my case but not about anyone else's — I was then the victim.

Ken ended up living with you in your parents' basement. How did your parents feel about that? Did they sense something was wrong?

My mother has her own issues. As a child, I could have told her I'm going to rob a bank and she would have said, "Oh, OK, have fun." It was kind of whatever you wanted to do.

My first thought as a mother would be, "What is my teenage daughter doing with a man who is six years her senior?" There was also evidence of abuse. There was evidence of drinking. But as long as I told her I was happy, then she was OK with it. There was never any stepping in on the part of authority figures.

Were your parents concerned about the racist beliefs of East Side White Pride?

Not at all. There was never any parental direction that this was not a good choice. In my whole growing up, I could not look to my parents for advice on anything. When you are a teenager, you really need someone directing your choices. Without that there, I made horrible decisions.

Tell me about the night Mulugeta Seraw was killed.

We had come home from a night of drinking. We were dropping people off. There was a car in front of us with three men in it. They were kind of blocking

the road, which of course isn't anything that could be an instigator. But it did start an argument between our driver and their driver. Then it escalated into a street fight where Ken used a bat — a weapon.

Of course, the claim was that he was defending his friend. I didn't get out of the car; I couldn't actually physically see it with my own eyes. But, of course, we knew what had happened the next day. It has stayed with me 21 years now. I will never forget. Mulugeta is his name; it stays with me. Sometimes, I wish I could erase it. It's a part of my life that I have not shared with very many people. My husband knows, and two of my close, close friends. No one else. I can't even believe that I could ever have been a part of something like that.

What was your reaction to the attack at the time?

It just seemed surreal. It took a lot of years to sink in that a life was lost — not knowing the importance of life, maybe because when you are young, you think you will live forever. Death wasn't something I really knew of. I hadn't had anyone really close die. My father

did die, but I was really young. It took a long time to really hit home. Probably after the birth of my first son was when I really could mourn for this man who had lost his life. And today I still do.

How do you think the birth of your son enabled you to do that?

I think it just was experiencing a deep, deep love toward somebody, which I had not ever had before. Just that bond. And thinking about this man, Mulugeta, and his family, and how his family must have had that bond. Even though he was a grown man, you just don't ever get over losing a child. That, I think, is what really did it. I just became a different person.

How did the murder change your feelings about Ken?

I pretty much woke up to Ken shortly after he was in jail. In fact, I split up with him six months or so after. At that point, I ended our relationship just because he had been abusive toward me. I found a new skinhead group that included Dave Mazzella and some other individuals. *[Editor's note: Mazzella, the WAR recruiter who helped orga-*



nize *East Side White Pride*, continued to hang around with racist groups for a period after the murder. But he ultimately provided key testimony on behalf of the Seraw family at the civil trial. According to a December report in Portland's Willamette Week, he is now a 35-year-old father of three who says he's raising his children to be "open and tolerant" toward others.] I still tried to hang on to that because the skinheads were the only group that kind of accepted me. But by the time I had reached 18, I was 100% done with that type of lifestyle.

Why did you finally leave the racist skinhead scene?

Not because of the death of Mulugeta, but because of a bunch of small incidents. I had gotten immunity for the death of Mulugeta, but I was still involved with skinhead groups. I was not committing any crimes, but I was there when incidents were happening. The judge who handled my case in juvenile court said, "You're going to wind up in a lot of trouble." So I went to the girls' detention center in Salem. I was there for one year, from the time I was 17 to the time I was 18.

How did that happen?

That was the judge's choice. I 100% agree with that decision. I don't know what would have happened if I'd been in the wrong place at the wrong time. I'm just thankful.

The detention center did not straighten me out with their therapy. But just being away from the skinhead group and getting to know other people helped. I had kind of a best friend in there, and she was a girl who was in the Bloods. So she was African-American. Getting to know people of different races — which I had not done before, really, for quite a period of time — opened my eyes to the fact that there was no difference. That pretty much was the end of it. After that, I tried to forget that I had ever been involved in any of it to begin with.

I did help the woman [Elinor Langer] who wrote *A Hundred Little Hitlers*. I gave some of the story to her for that book.

How have you changed as a person since that time?

I'm so far from the person I was. I'm not going to say I don't see someone's color or ethnicity. I see it, but people just are and it doesn't make a difference.

I'm not just tolerating people. I volunteer at a place called Our House, which is a residential care facility for people living with AIDS. A lot of the people there are of different races. There are homosexuals. And some of my good friends who I've made in life are different races and nationalities and genders. It just doesn't matter.

That's a change that was made pretty much right away after leaving that group. But it wasn't until after I hit 30, when I really learned more about myself and became more confident in myself, that I became open to everybody and anything. I do not care how people want to live their lives as long as they are not hurting anybody.

How did you gain that confidence?

I still have my insecure moments. My best friend tells me, "You don't seem on the outside like you are," but I really am. It took a lot of years.

In fact, I still can barely speak up in

class at points. I get so nervous. I trip on my words. It has been a struggle. I just have had to learn to accept myself. The horrible death of Mulugeta Seraw has been a part of me feeling so horrible about myself, along with all the things that I had done when I was young. And I keep having to think, "OK, I was young then. It's not who I am now. It's not who I have been for a long time." But that haunts me. That has haunted me. And has made me feel like I'm not as worthy as other people. Like I don't have the right at points to tell my kids, 'You shouldn't do this or you shouldn't do that.' Because if they looked back on the example I was as a child, they would be horrified. That has been really hard. I have to just take it day by day.

Has your experience affected the way you raise your kids?

I think it has. I try to instill in my children to be good people. My older kids are in high school. In middle school, it might be the kid at school who doesn't dress as nicely as them. You have to say they can't help the way they are. I don't pinpoint race and nothing really has to do with that. It's just that you can be friends with everybody, whether they play your sport or whether they're interested in chess — no matter what it is. I try to make my kids open to friendships.

And because of my childhood and my ability to do whatever I wanted, my kids cannot do whatever they want. I do give them some freedom to explore. They're in charge of what they wear and that kind of stuff. But they have rules: They have to be in at certain times. There is no drinking and smoking and any of that allowed. I try to be there for them and to parent them.

If you didn't grow up with people telling you how great you are, you don't really ever believe that yourself. So, especially now with my 4-year-old daughter, she hears every day that she is just the most beautiful person ever and that she is wonderful and she's great. I think people take for granted that their kids know that, but they don't. That is what's really important: You don't want your kids to think they're better than anyone else, but you want them to know that they are special. ▲





RAGE ON THE RIGHT

THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

BY MARK POTOK

The radical right caught fire last year, as broad-based populist anger at political, demographic and economic changes in America ignited an explosion of new extremist groups and activism across the nation.

Hate groups stayed at record levels — almost 1,000 — despite the total collapse of the second largest neo-Nazi group in America. Furious anti-immigrant vigilante groups soared by nearly 80%, adding some 136 new groups during 2009. And, most remarkably of all, so-called “Patriot” groups — militias and other organizations that see the federal government as part of a plot to impose “one-world government” on liberty-loving Americans — came roaring back after years out of the limelight.

The anger seething across the American political landscape — over racial changes in the population, soaring public debt and the terrible economy, the bailouts of bankers and other elites, and an array of initiatives by the relatively liberal Obama Administration that are seen as “socialist” or even “fascist” — goes beyond the radical right. The “tea parties” and similar groups that have sprung up in recent months cannot fairly be considered extremist groups, but they are shot through with rich veins of radical ideas, conspiracy theories and racism.

“We are in the midst of one of the most significant right-wing populist rebellions in United States history,” Chip Berlet, a veteran analyst of the American radical right, wrote earlier this year. “We see around us a series of overlapping social and political movements populated by people [who are] angry, resentful, and full of anxiety. They are raging against the machinery of the federal bureaucracy and liberal government programs and policies including health care, reform of immigration and labor laws, abortion, and gay marriage.”

Sixty-one percent of Americans believe the country is in decline, according to a recent NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll. Just a quarter think the government can be trusted. And the anti-tax tea party movement is viewed in much more positive terms than either the Democratic or Republican parties, the poll found.

The signs of growing radicalization are everywhere. Armed men have come to Obama speeches bearing signs suggesting that the “tree of liberty” needs to be “watered” with “the blood of tyrants.” The Conservative Political Action Conference held this February was co-sponsored by groups like the John Birch Society, which believes President Eisenhower was a Communist agent, and Oath Keepers, a Patriot outfit formed last year that suggests, in thinly veiled language, that the government has secret plans to declare martial law and intern patriotic Americans in concentration camps. Politicians pandering to the antigovernment right in 37 states have introduced “Tenth Amendment Resolutions,” based on the constitutional provision keeping all powers not explicitly given to the federal

government with the states. And, at the “A Well Regulated Militia” website, a recent discussion of how to build “clandestine safe houses” to stay clear of the federal government included a conversation about how mass murderers like Timothy McVeigh and Olympics bomber Eric Rudolph were supposedly betrayed at such houses.

Doing the Numbers

The number of hate groups in America has been going up for years, rising 54% between 2000 and 2008 and driven largely by an angry backlash against non-white immigration and, starting in the last year of that period, the economic meltdown and the climb to power of an African American president.

According to the latest annual count (see list, p. 44, and map, p. 43) by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), these groups rose again slightly in 2009 — from 926 in 2008 to 932 last year — despite the demise of a key neo-Nazi group. The American National Socialist Workers Party, which had 35 chapters in 28 states, imploded shortly after the October 2008 arrest of founder Bill White (see story, p. 18) for making threats against his enemies.

At the same time, the number of what the SPLC designates as “nativist extremist” groups — organizations that go beyond mere advocacy of restrictive immigration policy to actually confront or harass suspected immigrants — jumped from 173 groups in 2008 to 309 last year (see story, p. 22, and list, p. 24). Virtually all of these vigilante groups have appeared since the spring of 2005.

But the most dramatic story by far has been with the antigovernment Patriots.

The militias and the larger Patriot movement first came to Americans’ attention in the mid-1990s, when they appeared as an angry reaction to what was seen as a tyrannical government bent on crushing all dissent. Sparked most dramatically by the death of 76 Branch Davidians during a 1993 law enforcement siege in Waco, Texas, those who joined the militias also railed against the Democratic Clinton Administration and initiatives like gun control and environmental regulation. Although the Patriot movement included people formerly associated with racially based hate groups, it was above all animated by a view of the

federal government as the primary enemy, along with a fondness for antigovernment conspiracy theories. By early this decade, the groups had largely disappeared from public view.

But last year, as noted in the SPLC’s August report, “The Second Wave: Return of the Militias,” a dramatic resurgence in the Patriot movement and its paramilitary wing, the militias, began. Now, the latest SPLC count finds that an astonishing 363 new Patriot groups appeared in 2009, with the totals going from 149 groups (including 42 militias) to 512 (127 of them militias; see complete list, p. 57) — a 244% jump.

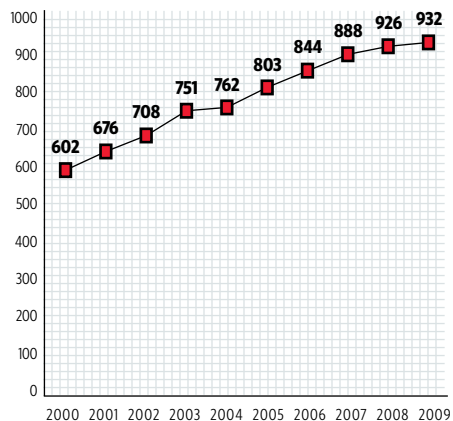
That is cause for grave concern. Individuals associated with the Patriot movement during its 1990s heyday produced an enormous amount of violence, most dramatically the Oklahoma City bombing that left 168 people dead.

Already there are signs of similar violence emanating from the radical right. Since the installation of Barack Obama, right-wing extremists have murdered six law enforcement officers. Racist skinheads and others have been arrested in alleged plots to assassinate the nation’s first black president. One man from Brockton, Mass. — who told police he had learned on white supremacist websites that a genocide was under way against whites — is charged with murdering two black people and planning to kill as many Jews as possible on the day after Obama’s inauguration. Most recently, a rash of individuals with antigovernment, survivalist or racist views have been arrested (see story, p. 5) in a series of bomb cases.

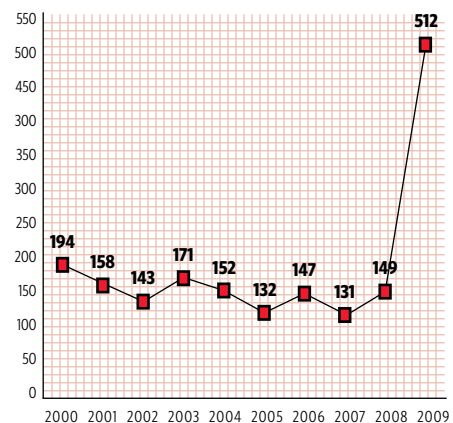
As the movement has exploded, so has the reach of its ideas, aided and abetted by commentators and politicians in the ostensible mainstream. While in the 1990s, the movement got good reviews from a few lawmakers and talk-radio hosts, some of its central ideas today are being plugged by people with far larger audiences like FOX News’ Glenn Beck and U.S. Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-Minn). Beck, for instance, re-popularized a key Patriot conspiracy theory — the charge that FEMA is secretly running concentration camps (see story, p. 12) — before finally “debunking” it.

Last year also experienced levels of cross-pollination between different

Hate Groups



‘Patriot’ Groups



sectors of the radical right not seen in years. Nativist activists increasingly adopted the ideas of the Patriots; racist rants against Obama and others coursed through the Patriot movement; and conspiracy theories involving the government appeared in all kinds of right-wing venues. A good example is the upcoming Second Amendment March in Washington, D.C. The website promoting the march is topped by a picture of a colonial militiaman, and key supporters include Larry Pratt, a long-time militia enthusiast with connections to white supremacists (see related story, p. 34), and Richard Mack, a conspiracy-mongering former sheriff associated with the Patriot group Oath Keepers.

What may be most noteworthy about the march, however, is its date — April 19. That is the date of the first shots fired at Lexington in the Revolutionary War. And it is also the anniversary of the fiery end of the government siege in Waco and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. ▲

RAGE **ON THE** **RIGHT**

THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS MAP

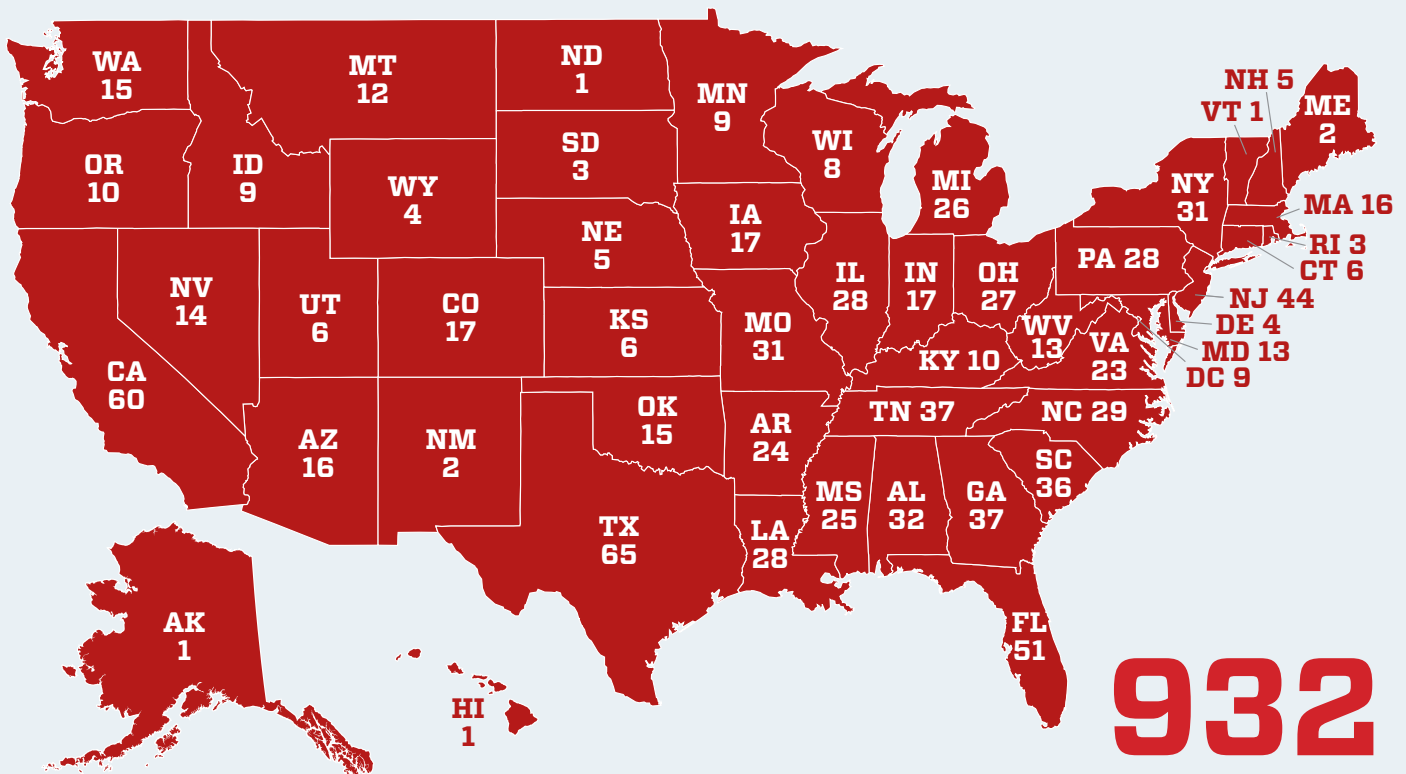
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THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2009

THIS LIST OF 932 ACTIVE HATE GROUPS (MAP, p. 43), up from the 926 groups listed a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2009, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafletting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters, and is marked with an asterisk (*).



932

ACTIVE HATE
GROUP CHAPTERS

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

RAGE ON THE RIGHT

THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS MAP

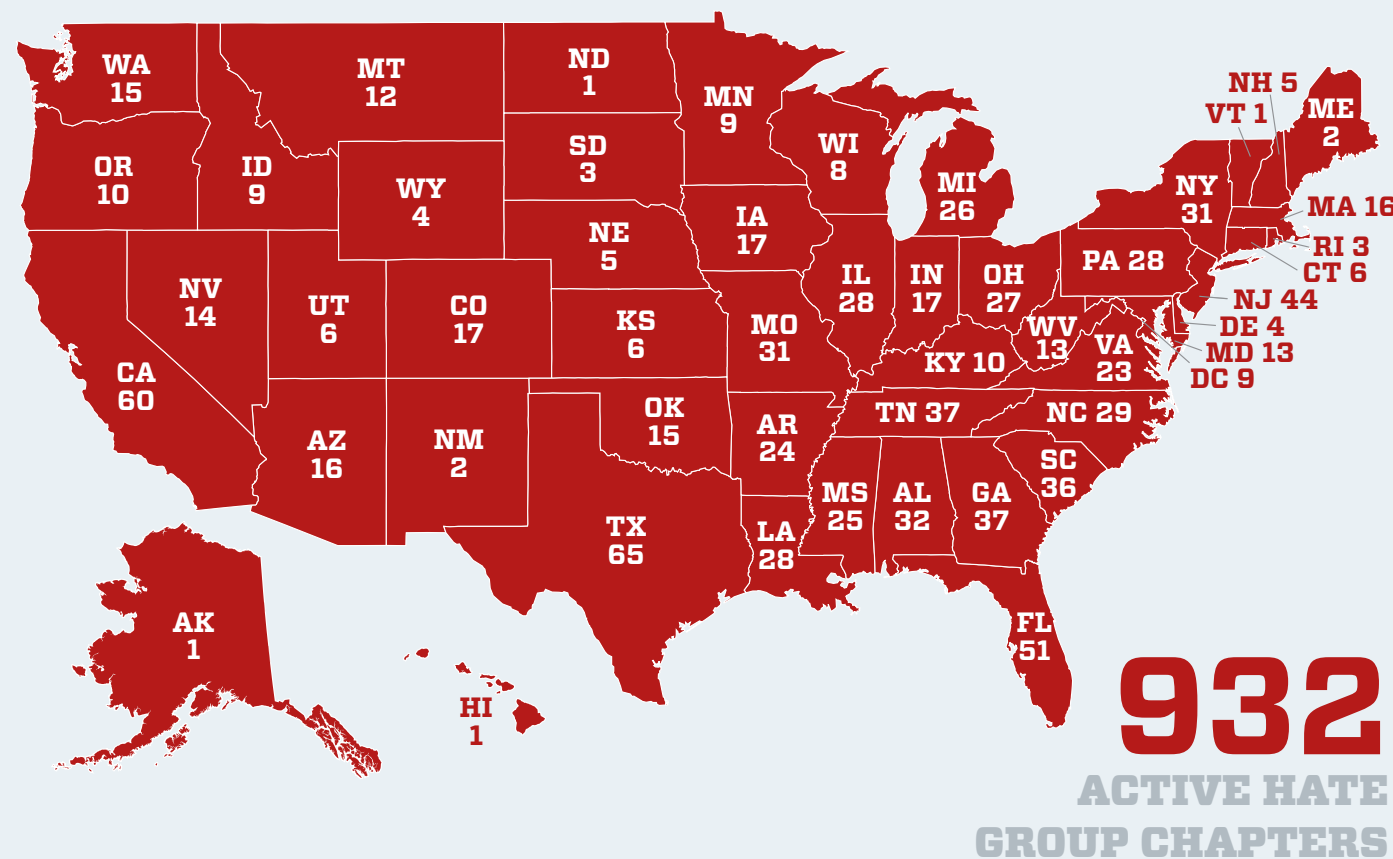
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THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

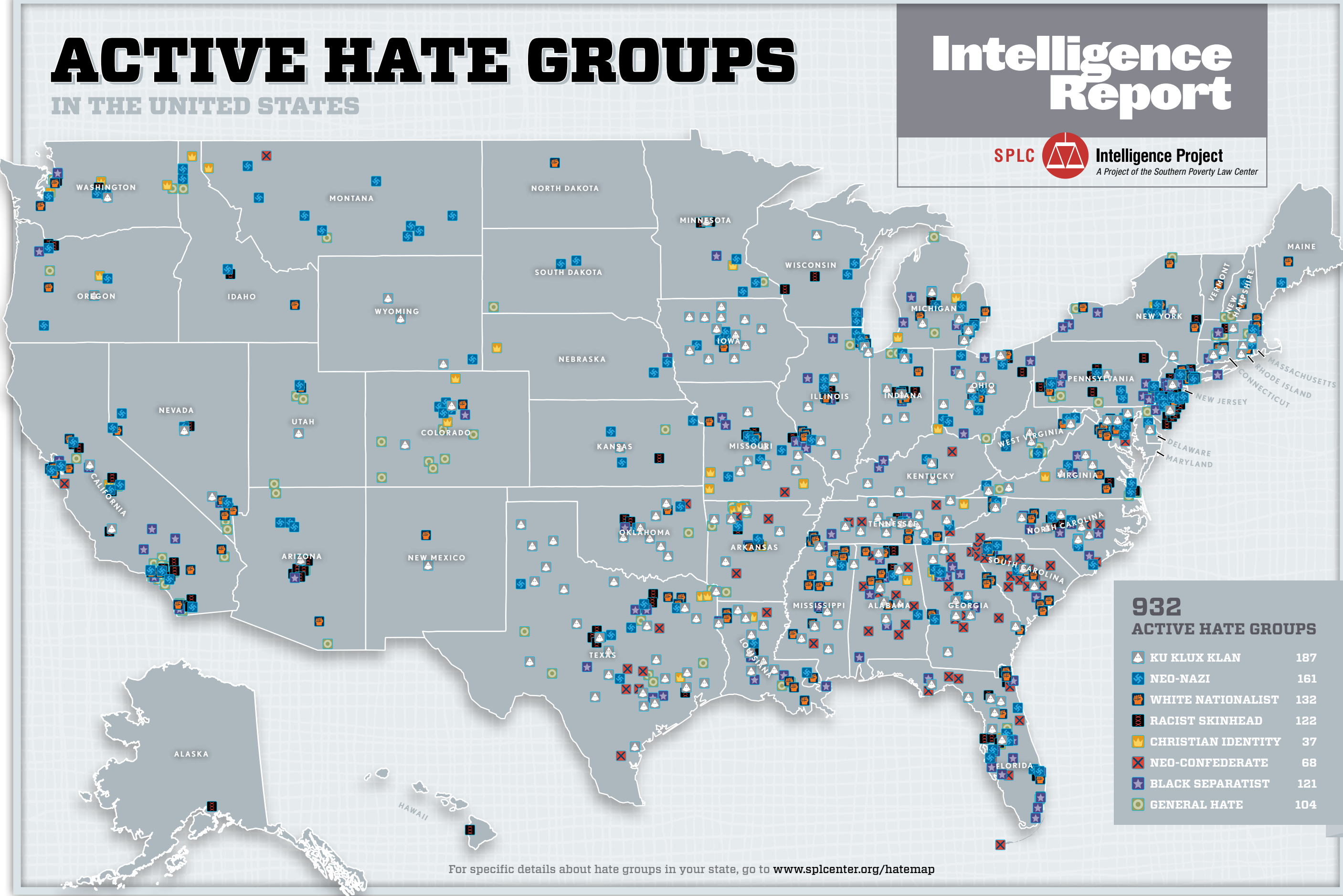
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IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2009

THIS LIST OF 932 ACTIVE HATE GROUPS (MAP, p. 43), up from the 926 groups listed a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2009, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafletting, publishing literature or criminal acts, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters, and is marked with an asterisk (*).



Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Jackson County Mid Michigan Western Michigan MINNESOTA (4) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Statewide Twin Cities Minnesota Minuteman Project (MMP) Statewide Minnesota Minutemen (MCDC) Mound MISSISSIPPI (1) Mississippi Minuteman Project (MMP) Statewide MISSOURI (4) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Christian County Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) Joplin Kansas City Springfield Minutemen (MCDC) Springfield MONTANA (2) Eastern Montana Minutemen (MCDC) Ryegate MCDC of Montana (MCDC) Missoula NEBRASKA (4) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Omaha Lincoln Minutemen (MCDC) Lincoln MCDC of Nebraska (MCDC) Omaha Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) Grand Island	NEVADA (8) Americans4America Las Vegas Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Las Vegas Northern Nevada Southern Nevada Statewide Las Vegas Minuteman Project (MMP) Las Vegas Nevada Action Coalition Las Vegas Pahrump Minutemen Pahrump NEW HAMPSHIRE (1) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Statewide NEW JERSEY (8) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Bergen County Cape May County Statewide MCDC of New Jersey (MCDC) Bound Brook Minuteman Project (MMP) Bergen County Trenton New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control Carlstadt United Patriots of America Lindenhurst NEW MEXICO (2) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) El Paso Patriots Border Alliance Alamogordo NEW YORK (6) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Nassau County Staten Island	Statewide MCDC of New York Freeport Minuteman Project (MMP) New York City N.Y. ICE (FIRE) New York City NORTH CAROLINA (9) Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC) Raleigh Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) North Central Northwest North Carolina Piedmont Region Piedmont Triad Area Statewide Triangle Region Western North Carolina Triangle Minutemen Patriots (MMP) Pittsboro OHIO (8) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Columbia County Darke County Dayton Statewide MCDC of Ohio (MCDC) Cincinnati Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) Cleveland Columbus Northeast Ohio Stern Warning Chapter (MMP) Painesville OKLAHOMA (3) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Muskogee Minuteman Project (MMP) Tulsa Oklahoma Minutemen (MCDC) Oklahoma City OREGON (6)	Coos County Citizen Caucus Coos Bay MCDC of Oregon (MCDC) Salem Oregon Brigade Minuteman Project (MMP) Statewide Oregon Minute-man Patriots Border Alliance Salem Oregon Minutemen (MMP) Bend Oregonians for Immigration Reform McMinnville PENNSYLVANIA (11) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Albrightsville Berks County Northeast Pennsylvania Philadelphia Spring City Great Lakes Minuteman Project (MMP) Union City Pennsylvania Minuteman Project (MMP) Statewide Pennsylvania Minutemen Quakertown Reading Pennsylvanians for Immigration Control Warminster Voice of the People Shenandoah RHODE ISLAND (2) Rhode Island Minuteman Project (MMP) Statewide Rhode Island Minutemen (MCDC) Providence SOUTH CAROLINA (6) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Beaufort County	Charleston Horry County North Charleston Horry County Minutemen (MCDC) Surfside Beach Low Country Minutemen (MCDC) Charleston TENNESSEE (5) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Knox County Lebanon Oak Ridge Rutherford County Warren County TEXAS (16) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Central Texas Conroe Dallas County Harris County Hidalgo County Hill Country Texas San Antonio Statewide Tarrant County Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) Austin Minuteman Project (MMP) Arlington Lone Star Texans For Immigration Reform Houston Texas Border Volunteers Conroe Texas Minutemen Arlington U.S. Border Watch Spring UTAH (10) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Cache Valley Layton Ogden Salt Lake City (2)	Southern Utah South Salt Lake City Statewide Southern Utah Minutemen (MCDC) St. George Utah Minutemen Project (MMP) Salt Lake City VIRGINIA (8) Centreville Citizens Coalition Centreville Help Save Fairfax Fairfax Help Save Hampton Roads Hampton Roads Help Save Loudon Loudon Help Save Stafford Stafford Help Save Virginia Herndon Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) Herndon Save the Old Dominion Manassas WASHINGTON (5) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Eastern Washington Puget Sound Statewide MCDC of Washington Yakima Minutemen American Defense Everett WISCONSIN (2) Federal Immigration Reform and Enforcement Coalition (FIRE) Southeast Wisconsin MCDC of Wisconsin Oconto Falls WYOMING (3) Evanston Minutemen Evanston MCDC of Wyoming Casper Newcastle Minutemen Newcastle ▲
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KU KLUX KLAN

When the Klan was formed in 1865, it was a single, unitary organization. Today, there are dozens of competing Klan groups.

Alabama

Christian Klan

Birmingham, AL

Association of Georgia Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Conyers, GA

Brotherhood of Klans

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Marion, OH*

Alabama

Connecticut

Florida

Iowa

Kansas

Kentucky

Louisiana

Maryland

Minnesota

Missouri

Nevada

Rhode Island

South Carolina

Utah

Richmond County, VA

Washington

West Virginia

Wyoming

Dixie Rangers Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Walker, LA

The Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Homosassa Springs, FL

Fraternal White

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Charles City, IA*

Toney, AL

Highland City, FL

Lakeland, FL

Plant City, FL

Cedar Rapids, IA

Clear Lake, IA

Dension, IA

Des Moines, IA

Ionia, IA

Mason City, IA

New Hampton, IA

Riceville, IA

Rockwell, IA

Waterloo, IA

Adolphus, KY

Philadelphia, MS

Alexandria, TN

Brush Creek, TN

Clarksville, TN

Franklin, TN

Hohenwald, TN

Linden, TN

Nashville, TN

Readyville, TN

Shelbyville, TN

Woodbury, TN

Powhatan, VA

Roanoke, VA

Great Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Watauga, TN*

Kellyton, AL

North Carolina

Talbott, TN

Telford, TN

Imperial Christian

Knights of the Ku

Klux Klan

North Carolina

Imperial Klans of

America Knights of

the Ku Klux Klan

Houston, TX*

Gainesville, FL

Dawson Springs, KY

Eugene, MO

Mapaville, MO

Indiana White

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Bloomington, IN

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc.

Colt, AR*

Pinson, AL

Young Harris, GA

Elwood, IN

Cleveland, OH

Knights of the Ku

Klux Klan

Harrison, AR*

Concord, AR

Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Ellijay, GA*

Bainbridge, GA

Brunswick, GA

Byron, GA

Harrisburg, IL

Tunas, MO

Ku Klux Klan LLC

Compton, AR

Master Klans of

America

Wetumpka, AL

Mississippi White

Knights of the Ku

Klux Klan

Petal, MS*

Brookhaven, MS

New Hampshire

New Jersey

Las Vegas, NV

Port Jervis, NY

Logan, OH

Oregon

Pennsylvania

Brush Creek, TN

San Antonio, TX

Simms, TX

Texarkana, TX

West Virginia

Mercer, WI

New Empire Knights

of the Ku Klux Klan

International LLC

Clemmons, NC

New Era Knights of

the KKK

Graham, NC

Supreme White

Knights of the Ku

Delaware

Hampton, FL

Georgia

Chicago, IL

Indiana

Louisiana

Massachusetts

Maryland

Missouri

North Carolina

Mays Landing, NJ

New Mexico

New York

Ohio

North Providence, RI

South Carolina

Kingsport, TN

Gordonsville, VA

United Realms of

America Knights of

the Ku Klux Klan

Ukiah, CA

Dayton, OH

Oklahoma

Atoka, OK

Henryetta, OK

Holdenville, OK

Oklahoma City, OK

Shawnee, OK

Tulsa, OK

Amarillo, TX

ArkLaTex Region, TX

Beaumont, TX

Buffalo, TX

Corpus Christi, TX

Dallas, TX

Forney, TX

Fort Worth, TX

Goose Creek, TX

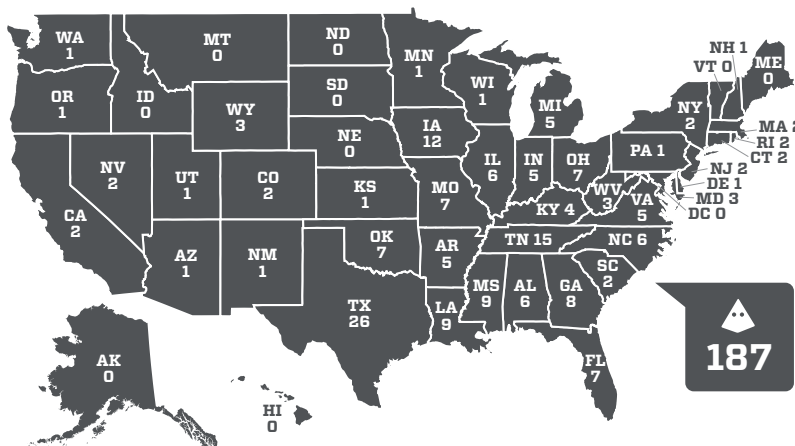
Houston, TX

Lufkin, TX

Marshall, TX

Midlothian, TX

Pan Handle Region, TX



Bruce, MS

Meridian, MS

Olive Branch, MS

Pearl, MS

Tremont, MS

Tupelo, MS

National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

South Bend, IN*

Arizona

California

Olathe, CO

Georgia

Chicago, IL

Indiana

Kentucky

Massachusetts

Dowling, MI

Klux Klan

Van Wert, OH

Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Splendora, TX

Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Potosi, MO

Traditional Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Farmington, WV

United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Fraser, MI*

Longmont, CO

Connecticut

Shelbina, MO

United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Longview, TX*

Southwest Arkansas

Illinois

Beardstown, IL

Belleville, IL

Homer, LA

Monroe, LA

Sarepta, LA

Shreveport, LA

South Louisiana

Tullos, LA

Michigan

Detroit, MI

Monroe, MI

Ohio

San Antonio, TX

San Saba, TX

Vidor, TX

Waco, TX

Wichita Falls, TX

Wyoming

Cheyenne, WY

Virginia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Fries, VA

White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Cleveland, TX

World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Sharpsburg, MD*

North Carolina ▲



NEO-NAZI

This listing of neo-Nazi groups does not include racist skinheads, although most of them hold neo-Nazi beliefs.

American Nazi Party

Westland, MI

Aryan Nations

Coeur d'Alene, ID*

Pennsylvania

Tacoma, WA

Appleton, WI

Aryan Nations

(offshoot)

Lexington, SC*

Attleboro, MA

Aryan Nations 88

Athol, ID*

Louisiana

Montana

Texas

Washington

Christian Defense

League

Mandeville, LA

Church of Creativity

Pittsburgh, PA

The Creativity

Alliance

Clovis, CA

Boone, IA

New York

Ohio

Wrightsville, PA

Maryville, TN

Mountain City, TN

West Virginia

Creativity Movement

Laramie County, WY*

Connecticut

Denver County, CO

Zion, IL

Billings, MT

Bozeman, MT

Helena, MT

Kalispell, MT

Laurel, MT

Lockwood, MT

Miles City, MT

Missoula, MT

Chillicothe, OH

Wise, VA

East Coast Aryan

Brotherhood

Lindenwold, NJ*

Gloucester City, NJ

Illinois National

Socialist Front

Peoria, IL*

Palatine, IL

Perkins, IL

Knights of the Nordic

Order

Cardiff, AL*

California

Colorado

Delaware

Florida

Iowa

Missouri

Oregon

Jackson County, SD

Nationalist Coalition

St. Petersburg, FL*

Mesa, AZ

Denver, CO

Daytona Beach, FL

National Alliance

Hillsboro, WV*

Sacramento, CA

Columbus, GA

Baltimore, MD

Benson, NC

Raleigh, NC

Las Vegas, NV

Cincinnati, OH

Parma, OH

Dallas/Fort Worth, TX

National Socialist

American Labor Party

Burbank, CA*

Opelika, AL

Florida

Georgia

Idaho

Kansas

Elkridge, MD

New Castle, ME

New York

Toledo, OH

Texas

Washington

National Socialist

Aryan Order

Davison, MI

National Socialist

Aryan Workers' Party

Kennesaw, GA

National Socialist

Freedom Movement

Tulsa, OK

National Socialist Ger-

man Workers Party

Lincoln, NE

National Socialist

Movement

Detroit, MI*

Phoenix, AZ

Arkansas

Dulzura, CA

Richmond, CA

Riverside, CA

San Francisco, CA

Hudson, CO

Delaware

Tampa Bay, FL

Georgia

Iowa

Belleville, IL

Schiller Park, IL

Wakarusa, IN

Haysville, KS

Lansing, KS

Kentucky

Boston, MA

Elkridge, MD

Austin, MN

Minneapolis, MN

Rochester, MN

Jefferson City, MO

Oak Grove, MO

Springfield, MO

Tupelo, MS

North Carolina

Greensboro, NC

Omaha, NE

New Hampshire

Birmingham, NJ

Hoboken, NJ

Livingston, NJ

Jersey City, NJ

Fallon, NV

Stateline, NV

Brooklyn, NY

Ohio

Cincinnati, OH

Oklahoma City, OK

Phoenix, OR

Portland, OR

Harrisburg, PA

Lehigh Valley, PA

Philadelphia, PA

Greenville, SC

Spartanburg, SC

Central Tennessee

Austin, TX

Lubbock, TX

Tyler, TX

Salt Lake City, UT

Hampton, VA

Norfolk, VA

Shenandoah Valley, VA

Kanawha County, WV

Keyser, WV

Romney, WV

Wirt County, WV

Green Bay, WI

National Socialist

Movement Viking

Youth Corps

Missouri

National Socialist

Movement Women's

Division

Iowa

New Order

Milwaukee, WI

Nordwave

Lake Worth, FL*

New York

South Dakota

NS Publications

Wyandotte, MI

Revolutionary Order

of the Aryan Republic

Chattanooga, TN

Romanian National

Vanguard

Michigan*

Nevada

SS Regalia

Edgewater, MD

White Aryan

Resistance

Warsaw, IN

White Knights of

America

Tonopah, AZ*

Whitney, TX

White Revolution

Russellville, AR*

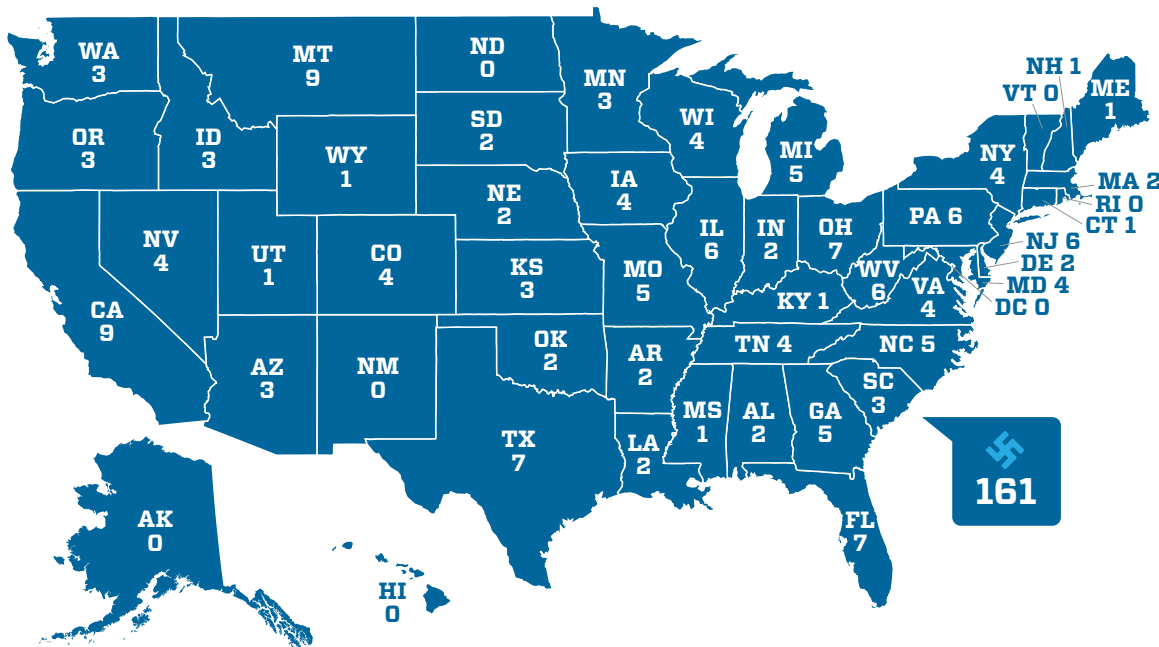
Orange County, CA

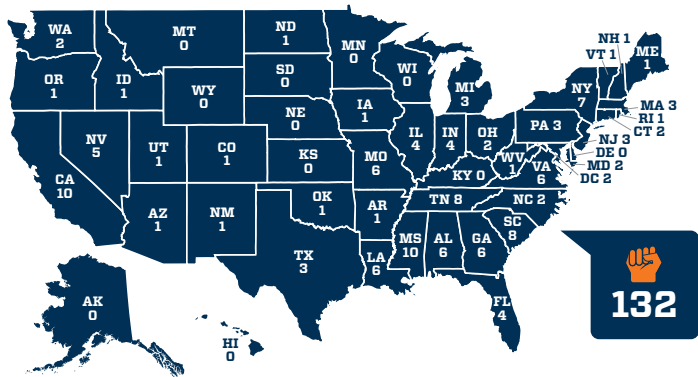
Loxahatchee, FL

Woodstock, GA

Wilmington, NC

Union Grove, WI ▲





WHITE NATIONALIST

White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. Groups listed in several other categories could also be described as white nationalist.

American Nationalist Union

Las Vegas, NV

American Renaissance/New Century Foundation

Oakton, VA*

San Francisco, CA
Southern California
Chicago, IL
Arlington, VA

Aryan Wear

Keller, TX

Bay Area National Anarchists

Dublin, CA

Center for Perpetual Diversity

Gaithersburg, MD

Charles Darwin Research Institute

Port Huron, MI

Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc

St. Louis, MO

Council for Social and Economic Studies

Washington, DC

Council of Conservative Citizens

St. Louis, MO*
Birmingham, AL
Cullman, AL
Florence, AL
Huntsville, AL
Jasper, AL
Montgomery, AL
Little Rock, AR

San Bernardino County, CA

San Francisco, CA

Connecticut

Jacksonville, FL

Atlanta, GA

Chicago, IL

Indiana

Carmel, IN

Louisiana

St. Amant, LA

Shreveport, LA

Boston, MA

Silver Spring, MD

Caledonia, MI

Missouri

St. Louis, MO

Booneville, MS

Calhoun City, MS

Greenwood, MS

Grenada County, MS

Jackson, MS

Mathiston, MS

Prentiss County, MS

Vaiden, MS

Clemmons, NC

Yadkinville, NC

Fort Lee, NJ

Las Vegas, NV

New York, NY

Parishville, NY

Allison Park, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

Revere, PA

Charleston, SC

Greenville, SC

Saluda, SC

West Columbia, SC

Bartlett, TN

Cleveland, TN

Erwin, TN

Franklin, TN

Kingsport, TN

Salt Lake City, UT

Do Right Foundation

Las Vegas, NV

East Coast White Unity

Chelsea, MA

European American Issues Forum

San Bruno, CA

European Americans United

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

European-American Unity and Rights Organization

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

European-American Unity and Rights Organization

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Sale Creek, TN

Sacramento, CA*

Mandeville, LA*

Jacksonville, FL

Columbus, GA

Savannah, GA

Thibodaux, LA

Ripley, MS

Cleveland, OH

Tulsa, OK

Columbia, SC

Woodruff, SC

Memphis, TN

Dallas/Fort Worth, TX

Irving, TX

Richmond, VA

Euro Pride Apparel

Summerville, SC

The Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation

Vienna, VA

Folk and Faith

Idaho Falls, ID

Free American

Tucson, AZ

Freedom 14

Orange County, CA

Frontline Aryans

Minot, ND*

Albuquerque, NM

Golden State Party

Garden Grove, CA

Heritage and Destiny

Falls Church, VA

Iron Rain Nationalists

Utica, NY*

Chicago, IL

The Kinist Institute

Orlando, FL

The League of Ameri-

can Patriots

Garfield, NJ

Nationalist

Movement

Learned, MS

National Policy

Institute

Augusta, GA

New Century

Productions

Littleton, CO

North East White Pride

Haverhill, MA*

Connecticut

Maine

New Hampshire

New Jersey

New York

Rhode Island

Vermont

Northern Voice

Bookstore

Las Vegas, NV

Northwest Front

Seattle, WA

Occidental Quarterly/Charles Martel Society

Augusta, GA

Pacifica Forum

Eugene, OR

Patriotic Flags

Summerville, SC

Pioneer Fund

New York, NY

Political Cesspool

Bartlett, TN

Racial Nationalist

Party of America

Lockport, NY

Scott-Townsend

Publishers

Washington, DC

Sigdrifa

Vancouver, WA

Stormfront

West Palm Beach, FL

Temple 88

Farmington, WV*

Nevada

United Patriots and Associates

Shreveport, LA

VDARE Foundation

Warrenton, VA

Voice of Reason

Broadcast Network

Pasadena, CA

Vox Nationale

Warren, MI

Washington Summit

Publishers

Augusta, GA

White Boy Society

Iowa

Illinois *

Indiana

Missouri

Ohio

White Christian

Soldiers

Lee's Summit, MO

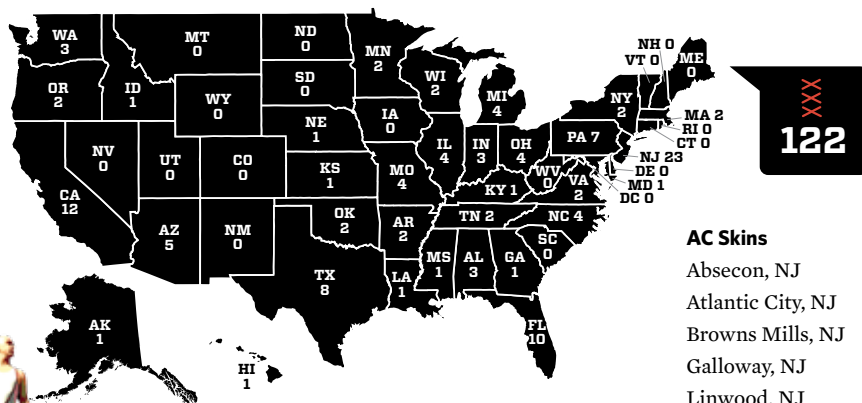
Women for Aryan

Unity

Brooklyn, NY

WTM Enterprises

Roanoke, IN ▲



RACIST SKINHEAD

Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups. This listing understates their numbers.

AC Skins

Absecon, NJ
Atlantic City, NJ
Browns Mills, NJ
Galloway, NJ
Linwood, NJ
Little Egg Harbor City, NJ
Manchester Township, NJ

Marlton, NJ
 Somers Point, NJ
 Wildwood, NJ
 Woodbine, NJ
American Front
 Sacramento, CA*
 Blountsville, AL
 St. Cloud, FL
 Troy, NY
Aryan Frontline
Skinheads
 Houston, TX
Aryan Terror Brigade
 Flemington, NJ*
 Arkansas
 Idaho
 Massachusetts
 New Jersey
 Pennsylvania
 Texas
Bergen County
Hooligans
 Wallington, NJ
 Garfield, NJ
Blood and Honour
 Richardson, TX*
 Lakeland, FL
 Lake St. Louis, MO
 Salem, OH
 Portland, OR
California Skinheads
 Fresno, CA
Cinnaminson
Skinheads
 Cinnaminson, NJ
Confederate
Hammerskins
 Huntsville, AL
 Jacksonville, FL
 Orlando, FL
 North Carolina
 Dallas, TX
 Petersburg, VA
Coors Family
Skinheads
 Big Bear Lake, CA
Crew 38
 Huntsville, AL
 New Port Richey, FL
 Oklahoma
 Tennessee
 Texas
 Seattle, WA
Deaths Head Hooligans
 Arizona

Eastern Hammerskins
 Brick, NJ
Firm 22
 Indiana*
 Anchorage, AK
 Kailua Kona, HI
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 La Crosse, WI
Folkish Women Front
 Loxahatchee, FL*
 Mississippi
Golden State
Skinheads
 San Luis Obispo, CA
The Hated
 Gainesville, FL
Independent Skins
Southwest
 Cleburne, TX*
 Callahan, FL
Inland Empire
Skinheads
 Riverside, CA
Keystone State
Skinheads
 Harrisburg, PA*
 Philadelphia, PA
 Pittsburgh, PA
 Wilkes Barre/
 Scranton, PA
Maryland State
Skinheads
 Baltimore, MD
Mesa Crew
 Mesa, AZ
Midland
Hammerskins
 Wichita, KS
Natural State
Skinheads
 Russellville, AR
Northern Hammerskins
 Illinois
 Detroit, MI
Northwest
Hammerskins
 Washington
Old Glory Skins
 North Carolina
Orange County Skins
 Orange County, CA
Phoenix Boot Boys
 Phoenix, AZ
Sacto Skinheads

Sacramento, CA
South Jersey Skins
 Gloucester City, NJ
 Monroeville, NJ
Supreme White
Alliance
 Ohio*
 Illinois
 Indiana
 Kentucky
 Louisiana
 Missouri
 North Carolina
 New Jersey
 Nevada
 Tennessee
 Texas
Troops of Tomorrow
 North Carolina
United Society of
Aryan Skinheads
 Orange County, CA
 Lakeside, CA
 San Diego, CA (2)
Vinlanders
 Mesa, AZ
 Ft. Lauderdale, FL
 Acworth, GA
 Illinois
 Knightstown, IN
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 Missouri
 Cherry Hill, NJ
 Pt. Pleasant Beach, NJ
 Waretown, NJ
 Ohio
 Oklahoma
 Pennsylvania
Volksfront
 Portland, OR*
 Phoenix, AZ
 California
 Kathleen, FL
 Chicago, IL
 Boston, MA
 Detroit, MI
 Bridgeton, MO
 New York, NY
 Cleveland, OH
 Pennsylvania
 Texas
 Norfolk, VA
 Seattle, WA
 Wisconsin ▲



CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Some groups listed in other categories, such as the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and several Klan groups, also hold Christian Identity beliefs.

America's Promise

Ministries

Sandpoint, ID

Aryan Nations Revival

Simms, TX*

Arkansas

California

Colorado

Brooks, GA

Louisiana

New Jersey

New York

Ohio

Oregon

Tennessee

Washington

By Yahweh's Design

Stevensville, MI

Christian Guard

Kathleen, FL

Christ's Gospel

Fellowship

Spokane, WA

Church of Jesus Christ

Bergman, AR

The Church of Jesus

Christ Christian /

Aryan Nations

Granby, MO

Church of the Sons of

Yhvh

Calhoun, LA

Church of True Israel

Noxon, MT

Covenant People's

Ministry

Brooks, GA

Daughters of Yahweh

Kathleen, FL

Ecclesiastical Council

for the Restoration of

Covenant Israel

Chicago, IL

Fellowship of God's

Covenant People

Burlington, KY

First Century Chris-

tian Ministries

The Woodlands, TX

House of Yahweh

New Tazewell, TN

Kingdom Identity

Ministries

Harrison, AR

Kinsman Redeemer

Ministries

Tacoma, WA

Mission to Israel

Scottsbluff, NE

Reformed Church of

Israel

Schell City, MO

Scriptures for Amer-

ica Ministries

Laporte, CO

United Church of

YHWH

Lincoln, AL

United Identity

Church of Christ

Simms, TX

Virginia Publishing

Company

Lynchburg, VA

Watchmen Bible

Study Group

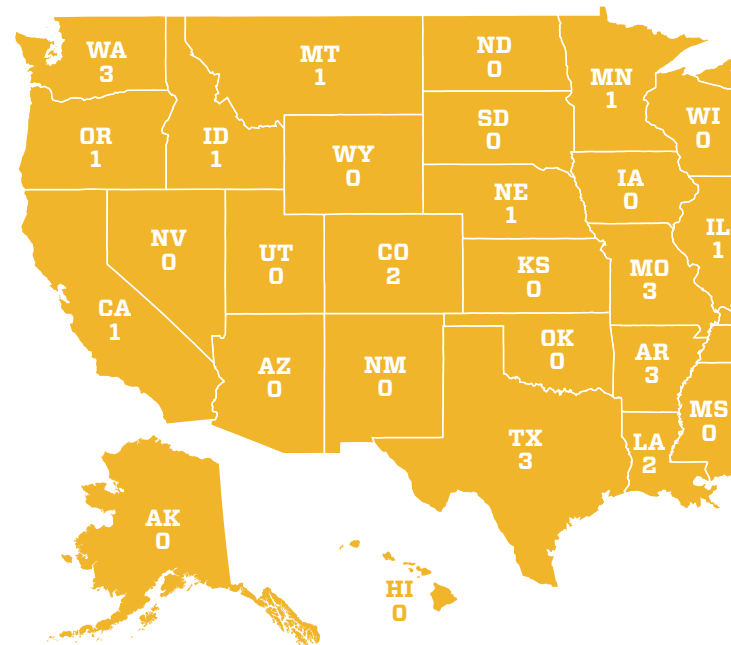
Wappapello, MO

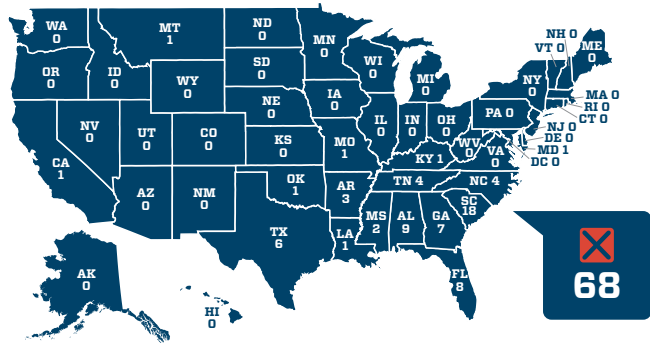
Weisman Publications

Burnsville, MN

Yahweh's Truth

Essexville, MI ▲





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NEO-CONFEDERATE

Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South.

Brian Pace Trading

Booneville, MS

Dixie Republic

Travelers Rest, SC

League of the South

Killen, AL*

Anniston, AL

Auburn, AL

Hackneyville, AL

Montgomery, AL

Selma, AL

Tuscaloosa, AL

Weogufka, AL

Wetumpka, AL

Alpena, AR

Hot Springs, AR

Mammoth Spring, AR

Scotts Valley, CA

Alva, FL

Bradenton, FL

Goldenrod, FL

Gulf Breeze, FL

Jacksonville, FL

Key West, FL

Polk County, FL

Southeast Florida

Gainesville, GA

Griffin, GA

Macon, GA

Middle Georgia

North Georgia

South Georgia

Statesboro, GA

Lexington, KY

Monroe, LA

Prince Frederick, MD

West Plains, MO

Mendenhall, MS

Big Fork, MT

Burlington, NC

Charlotte, NC

Durham, NC

Wilmington, NC

Bixby, OK

Abbeville, SC

Aiken, SC

Anderson, SC

Bamberg, SC

Calhoun County, SC

Columbia, SC

Florence, SC

Greenville, SC

Greenwood, SC

Laurens, SC

Newberry, SC

Richland, SC

Saluda, SC

Spartanburg, SC

Lobelville, TN

Nashville, TN

Westpoint, TN

Austin, TX

Iredell, TX

Northeast Texas

Panhandle Region

Texas

Rio Grande Valley

Texas

Southeast Texas

League of the South Institute

Clemson, SC

League of the South/Southern Patriot Shop

Cayce, SC

League of the South/Southern Patriot Super Store

Abbeville, SC

Mary Noel Kershaw Foundation

Lobelville, TN ▲

BLACK SEPARATIST

Black separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred.

The Israelite Church of God in Jesus Christ

Orlando, FL*

Washington, DC

Ft. Myers, FL

North Miami, FL

West Palm Beach, FL

Baltimore, MD

North Minneapolis, MN

Kansas City, MO

Fayetteville, NC

Wilmington, NC

Omaha, NE

Camden, NJ

Hackensack, NJ

New York, NY

Los Angeles, CA

Rialto, CA

Richmond, CA

San Diego, CA

Bridgeport, CT

Denver, CO

Washington, DC

Ft. Lauderdale, FL

Miami, FL

St. Petersburg, FL

Tallahassee, FL

Tampa, FL

Winter Haven, FL

Atlanta, GA

Columbus, GA

Macon, GA

Bloomington, IL

Charlotte, NC

Durham, NC

Fayetteville, NC

Greensboro, NC

Greenville, NC

Camden, NJ

Newark, NJ

Trenton, NJ

Las Vegas, NV

Buffalo, NY

Harlem, NY

Rochester, NY

Cleveland, OH

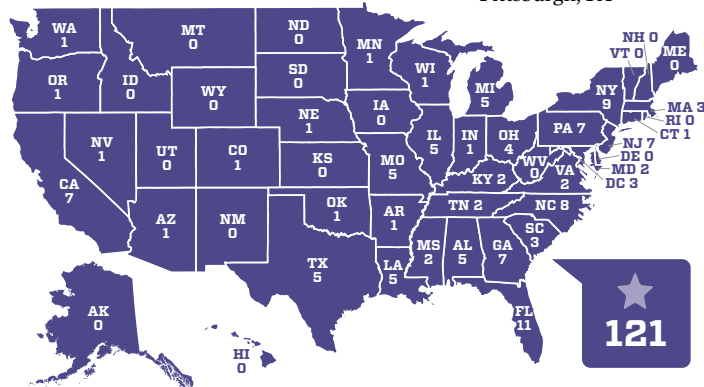
Columbus, OH

Dayton, OH

Youngstown, OH

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA



121

Oklahoma City, OK

Portland, OR

Allentown, PA

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

National Black Foot Soldier Network

Seattle, WA

Nation of Islam

Chicago, IL*

Birmingham, AL

Madison, AL

Mobile, AL

Montgomery, AL

Tuscaloosa, AL

Phoenix, AZ

Little Rock, AR

Compton, CA

Long Beach, CA

East Saint Louis, IL

Peoria, IL

Rockford, IL

Indianapolis, IN

Louisville, KY

Baton Rouge, LA

Lafayette, LA

New Orleans, LA

Shreveport, LA

Boston, MA

Springfield, MA

Baltimore, MD

Benton Harbor, MI

Detroit, MI

Grand Rapids, MI

Highland Park, MI

Kansas City, MO

St. Louis, MO

Southaven, MS

Wilkinsburg, PA

Charleston, SC

Columbia, SC

Greenville, SC

Memphis, TN

Nashville, TN

Austin, TX

Dallas, TX

Houston, TX

Richmond, VA

Milwaukee, WI

New Black Panther Party

Washington, DC*

California

Jacksonville, FL

Atlanta, GA

Louisville, KY

Louisiana

Boston, MA
Michigan
St. Louis, MO
Mississippi
Raleigh, NC
Newark, NJ
Trenton, NJ
New York

Harlem, NY
Philadelphia, PA
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
Virginia
**United Nuwaubian
Nation of Moors/
All Eyes on Egypt**

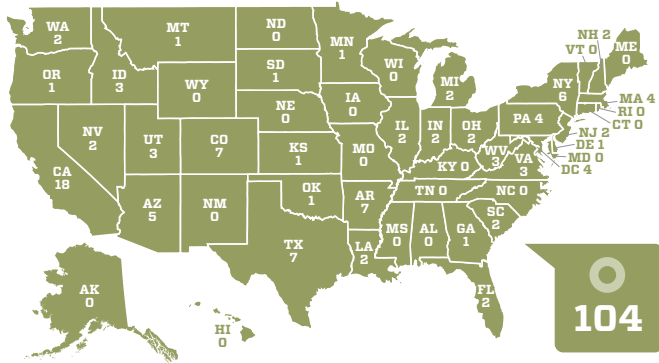
Bookstore
Milledgeville, GA*
Decatur, GA
Stone Mountain, GA
St. Louis, MO
Brooklyn, NY
New York, NY
Mount Vernon, NY ▲

New York, NY
Inconvenient History
San Ysidro, CA
Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, CA
**The International
Conspiratological
Association**
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Noontide Press
Newport Beach, CA
RACIST MUSIC (13)
Aryan 88 — The Official Johnny Rebel

Website
Mapleshade, NJ
Desastrous Records
Springtown, TX
Diehard Records
Chesapeake, OH
DJ GOR
Bedford, PA
Fetch the Rope
Bozeman, MT
Final Stand Records
Newark, DE
Heritage Connection
Harrison, AR
ISD Records
Lancaster, OH
Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade, NJ
MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO
Resistance Records
Hillsboro, WV
Tightrope
Calico Rock, AR
Unholy Records
Marlinton, WV
**RADICAL TRADITIONAL
CATHOLIC (16)**
**Alliance for Catholic
Tradition**
Pleasant Unity, PA
Catholic Apologetics
International Publishing, Inc.
State Line, PA
Catholic Counterpoint
Broomall, PA
**Catholic Family News/
Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.**
Niagara Falls, NY

Culture Wars/Fidelity Press
South Bend, IN
**The Fatima Crusader/
International Fatima
Rosary Crusade**
Constable, NY
IHM Media
Richmond, NH
IHS Press
Norfolk, VA
**In the Spirit of
Charities Committee**
Suffolk, VA
Legion of St. Louis
Odessa, TX
**OMNI Christian Book
Club**
Palmdale, CA
**The Remnant/The
Remnant Press**
Forest Lake, MN
**Slaves of the Immaculate
Heart of Mary**
Richmond, NH
St. Joseph Forum
South Bend, IN
**St. Michael's Parish/
Mount St. Michael**
Spokane, WA
Tradition in Action
Los Angeles, CA
OTHER (42)
a2z Publications
Las Vegas, NV
American Free Press
Washington, DC
**American Third
Position**
Los Angeles, CA
Artisan Publishers
Muskogee, OK
Chick Publications
Ontario, CA
**Christian Books and
Things**
Harrison, AR
Cultural Studies Press
New York, NY
**Fundamentalist Latter
Day Saints**
Hildale, UT*
Colorado City, AZ
Cotopaxi, CO
Custer County, CO
Florence, CO

Mancos, CO
Pringle, SD
Eldorado, TX
Holy Nation of Odin
Kingsburg, CA
**Jewish Defense
League**
Los Angeles, CA*
Ft. Lauderdale, FL
Skokie, IL
Louisiana
Michigan
Brooklyn, NY
South Carolina
Texas
JTB Publications
Careywood, ID
**M.A.C.S. Klan
Merchandise**
Louisiana
**National Prayer
Network**
Clackamas, OR
**National Vanguard
Books**
Hillsboro, WV
Ozark Craft LC
Harrison, AR
Power of Prophecy
Austin, TX
The Redneck Shop
Laurens, SC
**Sons of Aesir Motor-
cycle Club**
Maricopa County, AZ
**Tony Alamo Christian
Ministries**
Fouke, AR*
Fort Smith, AR
Canyon Country, CA
New York, NY
Texarkana, TX
Truth Triumphant
Eustis, FL
**Vinland Folk
Resistance**
Kingsburg, CA
Voz de Aztlan
Whittier, CA
**Westboro Baptist
Church**
Topeka, KS
**White Pride Home
School Resource
Center**
Bergman, AR ▲



GENERAL HATE

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

ANTI-GAY (14)
**Abiding Truth
Ministries**
Springfield, MA
America Forever
Sandy, UT
**America Forever
Foundation**
Sandy, UT
American Vision
Powder Springs, GA
**Biblical Family
Advocates**
San Diego, CA
Chalcedon Foundation
Vallecito, CA
**Faithful Word Baptist
Church**
Tempe, AZ
**Family Research
Institute**
Colorado Springs, CO
**H.O.M.E. Heterosex-
uals Organized for a
Moral Environment**
Downers Grove, IL
Mass Resistance
Waltham, MA

**The School of Chris-
tian Activism**
Springfield, MA
**Traditional Values
Coalition**
Anaheim, CA*
Washington, DC
Watchmen on the Walls
Seattle, WA
ANTI-IMMIGRATION (12)
American Border Patrol
Sierra Vista, AZ
**American Immigration
Control Foundation/
Americans for Immi-
gration Control**
Monterey, VA
**American Patrol/
Voice of Citizens
Together**
Sherman Oaks, CA
Border Guardians
Livingston, TX
**California Coalition for
Immigration Reform**
Huntington Beach, CA
**Concerned Citizens
and Friends of Ille-**

**gal Immigration Law
Enforcement**
Framingham, MA
**Emigration Party of
Nevada**
Henderson, NV
**Federation for American
Immigration Reform**
Washington, DC
**Rescue Without
Borders**
Boulder, CO
Save Our State
San Bernardino, CA
Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI
**United for a Sover-
eign America (USA)**
Phoenix, AZ
HOLOCAUST DENIAL (7)
**Barnes Review/Foun-
dation for Economic
Liberty, Inc.**
Washington, DC
**Campaign for Radical
Truth in History**
Coeur d'Alene, ID
Castle Hill Publishers

Hate Websites in the U.S.

This list of 670 U.S.-based hate sites active on the World Wide Web in 2009 includes pages from Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, White Nationalist, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate, Black Separatist, and General Hate groups. Web sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Sites marked with an asterisk (*) are organizations that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 44). Their locations are listed.

KU KLUX KLAN

44

Association of Georgia Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

associationofklanskkk.weebly.com

Conyers, GA

Brotherhood of Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

bok33.org
knightskkk.com

Marion, OH

Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

cnkkkk.com
South Bend, IN

Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

tinyurl.com/y9llklc

Dixie Rangers Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

dixierangerskkk.com
Walker, LA

The Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

knights311.org
Homosassa Springs, FL

Fraternal White Knights *

fraternalwhiteknights.com
Charles City, IA

Great Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

gkklk.com

Wautauga, TN

Imperial Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

imperialchristianknights.com
North Carolina

Imperial Klans of America *

realmofky.blogspot.com
Dawson Springs, KY

kkkk.net/missouri/index.htm

Mapaville, MO

kkkk.net/texas

Houston, TX

Indiana White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

indianawhiteknights.webs.com

Bloomington, IN

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc. *

ikkkkk.org

Colt, AR

Jason Robb Blog

jasonrobb.blogspot.com

Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan *

knightriderskkk.com

Ellijay, GA

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

arkpower-light.com

Concord, AR

kkk.bz

kkk.com

Harrison, AR

newporttennessee.net

Newport, TN

Knights Party Veterans League

knightspartyveteransleague.com

Ku Klux Klan, LLC *

kukluxklan.bz

Compton, AR

Master Klans of America *

masterklansofamerica.com

Wetumpka, AL

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

mwkkkk.com

Petal, MS

New Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan International LLC *

theklan1865.com

Clemmons, NC

Order of the Ku Klux Klan

kkklan.com

Rachel Pendergraft Blog

rachelpendergraft.blogspot.com

Southern Alliance of Klans

sakkkk.com

Supreme White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

supremewhiteknights.webs.com

Van Wert, OH

Texas Knights of the Invisible Empire Inc.

tktie.org

Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

texasrebelknightskkk.com

Splendora, TX

Thomas Robb Blog

tarobb.blogspot.com

Traditional Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

tckkkk.org

Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

traditionalistamericanknights.com

Potosi, MO

Traditional Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

tk311.com

Farmington, WV

United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

unskkkk.com

Fraser, MI

United Realms of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

curakkkk.com

Ukiah, CA

United White Knights Of The Ku Klux Klan *

uwkkkk.com

kkkkklavern7.com

Longview, TX

oklahomakkk.com

Oklahoma

White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

wckkkk.org

Cleveland, TX

World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan *

worldknights.org

Sharpsburg, MD

NEO-NAZI

86

1488 Folk

1488folk.com

Adolf Hitler Research Society

adolphihtlerresearchsociety.org

hitlerresearch.org

Adolf the Great

adolfthegreat.com

American Nazi Party *

americannaziparty.com

Westland, MI

Arthur Jones for Congress

arthurjonesforcongress.com

Aryan Front

aryan-front.com

Aryan Nations *

aryannations.org

Coeur d'Alene, ID

Aryan Nations 88 *

AryanNations88.com

Athol, ID

Aryan Nations (offshoot) *

posse-comitatus.org

aryan-nations.org

Lexington, SC

Aryan Union

aryanunion.org

Christian Defense League *

cdlreport.com

Mandeville, LA

The Creativity Alliance *

creativityalliance.com

SmokyMountainCreator.org

Maryville, TN

Creativity Church *

CreativityChurch.faithweb.com

PACreator.com

Pittsburgh, PA

Creativity Movement *

creativitymovement.net

rahowa.us

Zion, IL

ohiocreativitymovement.tk

Ohio

virginiacreativitymovement.tk

Wise, VA

ENationalist

enationalist.com

Final Solution 88

finalsolution88.com

Friends of a New Dawn

friendsofanewdawn.proboards.com

Hardy Lloyd

hardylloyd.com

Illinois National Socialist Front *

illinoisnsf.com

Peoria, IL

Iron Will Radio

ironwillradio.com

Jew Crime

jew-crime.com

Knights of the Nordic Order *

knightsoftenordicorder.org

Cardiff, AL

Lebensborn Assembly Church

lebensbornassemblychurch.com

Libertarian National Socialist Green Party

nazi.org

National Alliance *

natallmd.com

Baltimore, MD

natvan.com

natall.com

Hillsboro, WV

natallva.com

National Alliance Earl Turners Blog

earlturneralliance.wordpress.com

National Alliance News

natallnews.com

Nationalist Coalition *

ncoal.com

St Petersburg, FL

National Socialist American Labor Party *

nsalp.org

nsalppropaganda.blogspot.com

Burbank, CA
 nsalpf.blogspot.com
 Florida
 nsalpm.blogspot.com
 Maryland
 nsalptexas.blogspot.com
 Texas
National Socialist Aryan Order *
 nsaryanorder.tripod.com
 Davison, MI
National Socialist Black Metal
 nsbm.org
National Socialist German Workers Party
 nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com
 Lincoln, NE
National Socialist Movement *
 nsm88ca.com
 Riverside, CA
 nsmdenver.org
 Colorado
 nsmga.blogspot.com
 Georgia
 tinyurl.com/ydc6wqf
 Maryland
 nsm88.com
 nsm88.org
 whitepowerchat.com/nsmforum
 Detroit, MI
 nsmms.blogspot.com
 Mississippi
 nsm88nv.com
 newp.org/nsmreno
 Nevada
 ohio.nsm88.org
 Ohio
 nukeisrael.com
 Portland, OR
 nsmspartanburg.20fr.com
 nsmsouthcarolina.blogspot.com
 South Carolina, SC
 nsm88wi.com
 Green Bay, WI
National Socialist Movement Radio
 nsm88radio.com
National Socialist Punk
 nazipunk.8k.com
Nazi Space
 nazispace.net
New Order *
 theneworder.org
 Milwaukee, WI
Nordwave *
 nordwave.net
 Lake Worth, FL
N.S. Acumen of Bowles
 bowlesblog.blogspot.com
NSM 88 Records
 nsm88records.com
NSM Blog
 blog.nsm88.org
NSM International Blog
 nsminternational.blogspot.com
NSM Prison Pen Pals
 nsmpriprisonpenpals.webs.com
NSM88 Womens Division
 wd.nsm88.org

NS Publications *
 nspublications.com
 Wyandotte, MI
OWN Party
 OWNParty.org
Revolutionary Order of the Aryan Republic *
 125833.spreadshirt.com
 Chattanooga, TN
Romanian National Vanguard *
 ronatan.com
 news.ronatan.com
 Michigan
SS Regalia *
 ssregalia.com
 Edgewater, MD
Third Reich Books
 third-reich-books.com
White Aryan Resistance *
 resist.com
 Warsaw, IN
White Honor
 whitehonor.com
White Knights of America *
 whiteknightsofamerica.com
 Tonopah, AZ
White Revolution *
 whiterevolution.com
 Russellville, AR
World Union of National Socialists
 nationalsocialist.net
Zog's Nightmare
 zogsnightmare.com

WHITE NATIONALIST 211

30.06 Blog
 stormfront.org
Access St. Louis!
 accessstlouis.blogspot.com
Age of Treason
 age-of-treason.blogspot.com
AlterMedia International
 altermedia.info
American Italian White Separatist Front
 angelfire.com/rebellion2/aiwsf
American National Conference
 ancpage.com
American Nationalist Union *
 anu.org
 anunews.net
 castefootball.us
 Las Vegas, NV
American Renaissance/New Century Foundation *
 chicagoamren.com
 Chicago, IL
 amren.com
 Oakton, VA
A Race Against Time
 araceagainstime.blogspot.com
ArrowOdd Blog
 stormfront.org
Aryan Preservation Alliance
 aryanpreservationalliance.com
Aryan Sanctuary
 aryansanctuary.wordpress.com

Aryan Wear *
 aryanwear.com
 Keller, TX
Bay Area National Anarchists
 bayareanationalanarchists
Birder Blog
 stormfront.org
Birdman Bryant: The World's Most Controversial Author
 thebirdman.org
B.U.G.S.-Bob's Underground Graduate Seminar against white genocide
 whitakeronline.org/blog
Carolina Patriot Blog
 stormfront.org
Celtic Reign
 celticreign.com
Center for Perpetual Diversity *
 perpetualdiversity.com
 Gaithersburg, MD
Charles Darwin Research Institute *
 charlesdarwinresearch.org
 Port Huron, MI
Christian Defense Association (White Christian Soldiers) *
 tinyurl.com/ykhfy7c
 Lee's Summit, MO
Christian Legal Reformation Club
 clrc.net
Christian Party
 christianparty.net
The Color of Crime
 colorofcrime.com
Conspiracy Penpal
 conspiracypenpal.com
Council Entertainment — Music Label
 councilentertainment.com
Council of Conservative Citizens *
 alcofcc.wordpress.com
 Jasper, AL
 arcofcc.freesevers.com
 Little Rock, AR
 northalcofcc.wordpress.com
 scccc.wordpress.com
 California
 hoosiernation.us
 Carmel, IN
 lacofcc.wordpress.com
 Louisiana
 nationalcapitolarea.com
 Silver Spring, MD
 cofcc.org
 countenance.wordpress.com
 saintlouiscofcc.wordpress.com
 St. Louis, MO
 cofcc.org/chapters/mississippi
 Greenwood, MS
 Jackson, MS
 cofccnc.wordpress.com
 North Carolina
 heritagelost.wordpress.com
 Charleston, SC
 tennesseecouncil.com
 Tennessee
 midtncouncil.wordpress.com
 Franklin, TN
 msccc.wordpress.com

ohiocofcc.org
CURT MAYNARDS NEWEST BLOG
 curtmaynardsnewestblog.blogspot.com
David Duke Online
 davidduke.com
David Lane's Pyramid Prophecy
 davidlane1488.org
Day of the Rope Blogspot
 dayoftherope.blogspot.com
Defensive Racism
 defensiveracism.com
delray times
 delraytimes.blogspot.com
Detroit is Crap
 detroitiscrap.blogspot.com
Diversity is Chaos
 diversityischaos.blogspot.com
Do Right Foundation *
 doright.org
 Las Vegas, NV
Dr. Virginia Deane Abernethy
 virginiaabernethy.com
East Coast White Unity *
 ecwu.org
 Chelsea, MA
EAU School of Western Culture
 europeanamericansunited.org
European American Issues Forum *
 eaif.org
 San Bruno, CA
European-American Unity and Rights Organization *
 whitecivilrights.com
 Mandeville, LA
European Americans United *
 europeanamericansunited.org
 Sacramento, CA
 eau-tn.com
 Sale Creek, TN
European Caucasian Preservation Univ.
 e-CPU.blogspot.com
European Union Times
 eutimes.net
Euro Pride Apparel *
 europeanpride.com
 Summerville, SC
Eyzwydopen
 eyzwydopensblog.blogspot.com
Faith, Folk, and Family
 odinist.com/othala
Fallen Freedom
 fallenfreedom.blogspot.com
The First Freedom
 gulftel.com/firstfreedom/
Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation — FGF Books *
 fgfbbooks.com
 Vienna, VA
Folk and Faith *
 folkandfaith.com
 Idaho Falls, ID
Frank Roman's Blog
 frankroman.wordpress.com
Free American Magazine *
 freeamerican.com
 Tucson, AZ

Freedom 14 *
freedom14.org
Southern California
Free the Order
freetheorder.com
Free White News
freewhitenews.blogspot.com
from wembley park
fromwembleypark.com
Frontline Aryans *
frontlinearyans.com
Minot, ND
Get Some 88
getsome88.com
Golden State Party *
goldenstateparty.com
Garden Grove, CA
Guy White Making Sense On Race
guywhite.wordpress.com
Holy Western Empire
holyywesternempire.org
Honest Media Today
honestmediatoday.com
INCOG MAN: Sick of all the BS anymore...
incogman.wordpress.com
Iron Rain Nationalists *
irnnfchicago.tripod.com
Chicago, IL
irnnf.20.forumer.com
Utica, NY
Jamie Kelso's Blog
stormfront.org
Jared Taylor
jaredtaylor.org
Jewish Tribal Review
jewishtribalreview.org
Jew Watch
jewwatch.com
John De Nugent
johnndenugent.com
Kentuckyanna True News
kentuckyannatrueenews.blogspot.com
Kevin MacDonald Blog
kevinmacdonald.net
The Kinist Institute *
kinism.net
Orlando, FL
Koinen's Corner
koinenscorner.blogspot.com
Latte Island
latteisland.blogspot.com
latteisland.wordpress.com
The League of American Patriots *
leagueap.org
Garfield, NJ
Lee in the Mountains
leeinthemountains.wordpress.com
Louis Beam
louisbeam.com
Magna Est Veritas Et Praevalet
greatistruth.blogspot.com
The Mankind Quarterly
mankindquarterly.org
March of the Titans A History of the White Race
white-history.com

MarcusMlandez Blog
stormfront.org
Martin Luther King Jr. A Historical Examination
martinlutherking.org
Merlin's Castle
stormfront.org
Micetrap Radio
aryanradio.com
Nationalist Library
nationalistlibrary.com
Nationalist Movement *
nationalist.org
Learned, MS
National Policy Institute *
nationalpolicyinstitute.org
McLean, VA
NationalSalvation.net
nationalsalvation.net
Natural Consequences
naturalconsequences.blogspot.com
NeoEugenics
neoeugenics.com
Neo White Revolutionary Press
nwrpress.com
New Century Foundation
nc-f.org
New Century Productions *
aconversationaboutrace.com
Littleton, CO
New Nation News
newnation.org
New Nation News Reporters Forum
newnation.vg
New Saxon
newsaxon.com
NewsNet14
1488.net
newsnet14.com
New York White Pride
newyorkwhitepride.blogspot.com
Nicholas Stix, Uncensored
nicholasstixuncensored.blogspot.com
Noahide News
samliquidation.com/noahidenews30.htm
No New World Order
nonwo.com
North East White Pride *
newp.org
Haverhill, MA
Northern Voice Bookstore *
northernvoicebookstore.com
Las Vegas, NV
Northwest Front *
northwestfront.org
Seattle, WA
Northwest Homeland Blogspot
northwestfront.org
No War for Israel
nowarforisrael.com
Occidental Dissent
occidentaldissent.com
The Occidental Observer
theoccidentaloobserver.com
Occidental Origin
occidentalorigin.com
The Occidental Press

occidentalpress.com
Occidental Quarterly/Charles Martel Society
theoccidentalquarterly.com
toqonline.com
Augusta, GA
Odin's Reich
odinsreich.com
Order of White Knights
orderofwhiteknights.org
Original Dissent
originaldissent.com
OURGAZETTEER.ORG
ourgazetteer.org
Pacifica Forum *
geocities.com/pacificaforum
Eugene, OR
Patriotic Flags *
patriotic-flags.com
Summerville, SC
Pioneer Fund *
pioneerfund.org
New York, NY
The Political Cesspool *
thepoliticalcesspool.org
Bartlett, TN
Political Soldier.net and Final Conflict
politicsoldier.net
Professor Kevin MacDonald, CSULB, Department of Psychology
kevinmacdonald.net
Putting Up a Fight
geocities.com/puttingupafight
Put Troops on the Border
puttroopsontheborder.com
Racial Compact
racialcompact.com
Racial Nationalist Library
library.flawlesslogic.com
Racial Nationalist Party of America *
rnpaheadquarters.org
Lockport, NY
Rebel Army
rebelarmy.com
Revilo Oliver
revilo-oliver.com
robertsgriffin.com
robertsgriffin.com
The Sam Francis Letter
samfranciscolumn.blogspot.com
The Scarecrow Chronicles
stormfront.org
Scott-Townsend Publishers *
scott-townsend.com
Washington, DC
Shots Fired
shotsfired.us
Sigdrifa Publications *
sigdrifa.net
Vancouver, WA
SolarGeneral.com White Nationalist News Portal
solargeneral.com
Spirit Water Blood
spiritwaterblood.com
Stalking the Wild Taboo
lrainc.com/swtaboo/index.html

The State of White America
thestateofwhiteamerica.blogspot.com
Stormfront *
stormfront.org
wpwww.com
West Palm Beach, FL
Temple 88 *
temple88.com
Farmington, WV
Thoughtcrime — Harold Covington
downwithjugears.blogspot.com
Tightrope
tightrope.cc
Truck Roy Blog
stormfront.org
The Truth About Panzerfaust Records
anthony pierpont.com
United Patriots and Associates *
geocities.com/rebely2070/RebelY-ell1776.html
Shreveport, LA
Vanguard News Network
vanguardnewsnetwork.com
govnn.com
Vanguard News Network Forum
vnnforum.com
Vanishing American
vanishingamerican.blogspot.com
VDARE Foundation *
vdare.com
Warrenton, VA
VDARE.com: Blog Articles
blog.vdare.com
Warrenton, VA
View From the Right
amnation.com/vfr
Vinland Folk Patriots
vinlandfolkresistance.com
Voice of Reason Broadcast Network *
reasonradionetwork.com
Pasadena, CA
Wake Up or Die
wakeupordie.com
Washington Summit Publishers *
wspublishers.com
Augusta, GA
Welcome Kinsmen Blog
stormfront.org
Western Voices World News
wwwnews.net
What Goes On In This Little Lady's Mind Blog
stormfront.org
Whitaker Online
whitakeronline.org
White America
whiteamerica.us
White Boy Society *
localwhiteboy.com
Illinois
White Christian Heritage Festival
whitechristianheritagefestival.org
The whitechrist's Weblog
thewhitechrist.wordpress.com
White History
white-history.com
White Pride-Advocating for White

People

white-pride.org
White Pride Michigan
whitepridemi.com
White Racial Patriots
tworca.org
White Survival
whitesurvival.wordpress.com
Why Blacks Suck
whyblackssuck.blogspot.com
WNTube
wntube.net
Women for Aryan Unity *
w-a-u.net
Brooklyn, NY
W.O.T.A.N.
allfatherwotan.org
WPWW-The Folk
wpww-thefolk.com
WTM Enterprises *
thornwalker.com/ditch/index.html
Roanoke, IN

Yggdrasil's Library
whitenationalism.com

Young John's Blog
yjohn.wordpress.com

RACIST SKINHEAD 23

American Front *
americanfront.org
Sacramento, CA
Aryan Terror Brigade
atb8318.webs.com
Blood and Honour *
bloodandhonour-usa.com
kriegsberichter.com
Richardson, TX
Blood and Honour/Volksfront *
bhamerica.net
Portland, OR
California Skinheads *
caskinhead.com
Fresno, CA
COORS Family Skinheads Forum *
tinyurl.com/y99ttfd
Big Bear Lake, CA
Crew 38 *
crew38.com
Florida
Folkish Women Front *
folkishwomensfront.com
Florida
Hammerskin Nation
hammerskins.net
Hooligan Site
hooligansite.com
Independent Skins *
independentskins.com
Callahan, FL
Keystone State Skinheads *
kss88.com
keystoneunited.com
Harrisburg, PA
Maryland Skinheads *
marylandskinsheads.com
Baltimore, MD
Natural State Skinheads *

naturalstateskinheads.com
Russellville, AR
Sacto Skinheads *
tinyurl.com/ygtmtgo
Sacramento, CA
Skinheadz
skinheadz.com
Supreme White Alliance *
swa43.com
Central City, KY
Troops of Tomorrow *
tot88.com
North Carolina
Vinlanders Social Club *
vinlanders.com
Knightstown, IN
Volksfront *
volksfrontinternational.com
Portland, OR
Wolf Lair Radio
wolflairradio.com

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY 40

Adam's Bible
adamsbible.com
America's Promise Ministries *
amprom.org
Sandpoint, ID
Anglo-Saxon Israel
anglo-saxonisrael.com
Aryan Nations Revival *
aryannationsrevival.org
Simms, TX
By Yahweh's Design *
byyahwehsdesign.com
blogtalkradio.com/byd
Stevensville, MI
Children of Yahweh
israelect.com/ChildrenOfYahweh
Christian Identity
christian-identity.com
Christogenea
christogenea.org
The Church of Jesus Christ Christian/ Aryan Nations
pastorlindstedt.org
Granby, MO
Church of Jesus Christ/Thomas Robb Ministries *
christianidentitychurch.net
Bergman, AR
Church of the Sons of Yhvh *
churchofthesonsofyhvh.org
Calhoun, LA
Church of True Israel *
churchoftrueisrael.com
Noxon, MT
Covenant People's Forum
cpm.freehostia.com
Covenant People's Ministry *
covenantpeoplesministry.com
Brooks, GA
Dr. James P. Wickstrom
posse-comitatus-usa.blogspot.com
Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel *
anglo-saxonisrael.com

Chicago, IL
First Century Christian Ministries *
angloisrael.com
The Woodlands, TX
God Save America Again
godsaveamericaagain.com
House of Yahweh *
oneyahweh.com
New Tazewell, TN
Israel Elect
israelect.com
Israelite Watchmen
israelitewatchmen.com
Jesus Was Not a Jew
jesuswasnotajew.com
Kingdom Identity Ministries *
kingidentity.com
Harrison, AR
Kinsman Redeemer Ministries *
kinsmanredeemer.com
Tacoma, WA
Mission To Israel *
missiontoisrael.org
Scottsbluff, NE
Pastor Bill's Christian Identity Page
cichaplain.blogspot.com
Reformed Church of Israel *
reformedchurchofisrael.com
Schell City, MO
Scriptures for America *
scripturesforamerica.org
Laporte, CO
Serpent's Seed
serpentseed.com
Skip Baker
skipbaker.com
United Church of YHWH *
ucoy.christogenea.org
Lincoln, AL
United Identity Church of Christ *
unitedidentitychurchofchrist.com
Simms, TX
Virginia Publishing Company *
richardhoskins.com
Lynchburg, VA
Watchmen Bible Study Group *
biblestudysite.com
Wappapello, MO
Weisman Publications *
seek-info.com
Burnsville, MN
Yahweh's Truth *
posse-comitatus-usa.blogspot.com
Essexville, MI

NEO-CONFEDERATE 19

Brian Pace Trading *
brianpacetrading.com
Booneville, MS
Dixie Republic *
dixierepublic.com
Travelers Rest, SC
Florida League of the South Online Store
cafePress.com/freeflorida
League of the South *
auburnlos.20m.com
Auburn, AL

dixienet.org
leagueofthesouth.net
Killen, AL
arkansaslos.org
Mammoth Springs, AR
freeflorida.org
Florida
coolchange.net
Jacksonville, FL
louisiana.chapterlos.org
Monroe, LA
abbvillecolos.wordpress.com
Abbeville, SC
palmetto.org
sclos.org
Columbia, SC
freetennessee.org
Westpoint, TN
texasls.org
Iredell, TX
virginalos.org
freetennessee.org
League of the South Online Store
cafePress.com/losstore
Militant South: Greg Kay's Homepage
geocities.com/gregmkay/fiction.html

BLACK SEPARATIST 50

Blacks and Jews Newspaper
blacksandjews.com
Final Call
finalcall.com
The Israelite Church of God In Jesus Christ *
icgicmd.org
Baltimore, MD
The Last Crusade
thelastcrusade.org
National Black Foot Solider Network *
tinyurl.com/yjt65ev
Seattle, WA
Nation Of Islam *
noituscaloosastudygroup.blogspot.com
Tuscaloosa, AL
noiwest.com
Los Angeles, CA
muhammadmosque51.com
Denver, CO
muhammadstempleofislam41.org
Bridgeport, CT
noidc.org
Washington, DC
muhammadmosque95.org/hem.asp
St. Petersburg, FL
muhammadmosque15.org
Atlanta, GA
noicolumbusga.org
Columbus, GA
noi.org
Chicago, IL
brlamuhammaduniversity.org
Baton Rouge, LA
noilafayette.org
Lafayette, LA
noineworleans.org
New Orleans, LA
noishreveport.org

Shreveport, LA
 thenationspeaks.org
 Dorchester, MA
 noibaltimore.org
 Baltimore, MD
 noidetroit.org
 Detroit, MI
 noigrandrapids.com
 Grand Rapids, MI
 muhammadmosque30.com
 Kansas City, MO
 muhammadmosque28.org
 St. Louis, MO
 mosque36.com
 Charlotte, NC
 mosque34.org
 Durham, NC
 noifayettevillenc.webs.com
 Fayetteville, NC
 muhammadmosque92.org
 Greensboro, NC
 muhammadmosque20.com
 Camden, NJ
 muhammadmosque25.com
 Newark, NJ
 muhammad75.wordpress.com
 Las Vegas, NV
 muhammadmosque23.org
 Buffalo, NY
 mosque7.org
 New York, NY
 noicleveland.org
 Cleveland, OH
 daytonblacknetwork.ning.com
 Dayton, OH
 muhammadstemple12.faithweb.com
 Philadelphia, PA
 pghmosque22.org
 Pittsburgh, PA
 noicharlestonsc.org
 Charleston, SC
 muhammadmosque55.com
 Memphis, TN
 austinnoi.com
 Austin, TX
 noidallas.org
 Dallas, TX
 noiswregion.org
 Houston, TX
 muhammadstemple24.org
 Richmond, VA
 mosque3.org
 Milwaukee, WI
New Black Panther Party *
 newblackpanther.com
 Washington, DC
 nbpp-boston.com
 Boston, MA
Truth Establishment Institute
 truthinstitute.org
United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors/All Eyes on Egypt Bookstore *
 alleyesonegyptbookstore.com
 Milledgeville, GA
 alleyesonegypt.net
 Stone Mountain, GA

GENERAL HATE 197

ANTI-GAY (15)
Abiding Truth Ministries *
 defendthefamily.com
 Springfield, MA
America Forever *
 americaforever.com
 Sandy, UT
Americans for Truth About Homosexuality
 americansfortruth.com
American Vision *
 americanvision.org
 Powder Springs, GA
Article8.org
 article8.org
Biblical Family Advocates *
 bfamilyadvocates.com
 San Diego, CA
Chalcedon Foundation *
 chalcedon.edu
 Vallecito, CA
Chalcedon Store
 chalcedonstore.com
Faithful Word Baptist Church *
 faithfulworldbaptist.org
 Tempe, AZ
Family Research Institute *
 familyresearchinst.org
 Colorado Springs, CO
H.O.M.E. Heterosexuals Organized for a Moral Environment *
 home60515.com
 Downers Grove, IL
Mass Resistance *
 massresistance.org
 Waltham, MA
The Traditional Values Coalition *
 traditionalvalues.org
 Anaheim, CA
Watchmen on the Walls *
 watchmenonthewalls.com
 Seattle, WA
ANTI-IMMIGRANT (19)
American Border Patrol *
 americanborderpatrol.com
 Sierra Vista, AZ
American Immigration Control Foundation/Americans for Immigration Control *
 aicfoundation.com
 immigrationcontrol.com
 Monterey, VA
American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together *
 americanpatrol.com
 Sherman Oaks, CA
Border Guardians *
 borderguardians.org
 Livingston, TX
California Coalition for Immigration Reform *
 ccir.net
 Huntington Beach, CA
Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement *
 ccfile.org

Framingham, MA
Emigration Party of Nevada *
 sendeback.org
 Henderson, NV
Federation for American Immigration Reform *
 fairus.org
 Washington, DC
I Hate Illegals
 tinyurl.com/yh5o9f2
NeuterMexicans
 neutermexicans.com
NoAztlan.org
 noaztlan.org
Rescue Without Borders *
 rescuewithoutborders.org
 Boulder, CO
Save Our State *
 saveourstate.org
 San Bernardino, CA
Social Contract Press *
 thesocialcontract.com
 Petoskey, MI
Stop the Invasion of Oregon
 stoptheinvasionoforegon.wordpress.com
United for a Sovereign America (USA) *
 immigrationbuzz.com
 Phoenix, AZ
Washington Grassroots Granny
 grassrootsgranny.com
We Hate Gringos
 wehategringos.com
HOLOCAUST DENIAL (19)
Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty *
 barnesreview.org
 Washington, DC
Campaign for Radical Truth in History *
 revisionisthistory.org
 Coeur d'Alene, ID
Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust
 codoh.com
Friedrich Paul Berg's "NaziGassings.com"
 nazigassings.com
Historical Revisionism by Virj Historisch Onderzoek
 vho.org
Holocaust Denial Videos
 holocaustdenialvideos.com
Holocaust Historiography Project
 historiography-project.org
The Holohoax
 holohoax.com
Inconvenient History *
 inconvenienthistory.com
 San Ysidro, CA
Institute For Historical Review *
 ihr.org
 Newport Beach, CA
Institute for Historical Review Store
 ihrstore.com
International Conspiratological Association *
 conspiratology.com
 Coeur d'Alene, ID
Michael Crook: The Official Website

michael-crook.com
Noontide Press *
 noontidepress.com
 Newport Beach, CA
One Person With Proof
 bradleysmithsblog.blogspot.com
On the Contrary
 revisionistreview.blogspot.com
The Piper Report
 mikepiperreport.com
The Revisionist Clarion
 revurevi.net/revclar/clarindex.html
The Zundelsite — Dedicated to Ernst Zundel — Prisoner of Conscience
 zundelsite.org
RACIST MUSIC (24)
Aryan 88 — The Official Johnny Rebel Website *
 aryan88.com/whiterider/officialjr
 Mapleshade, NJ
Battlecry
 battlecrymusic.com
Desastrious Records *
 desastrious.com
 Springtown, TX
Diehard Records *
 diehardrecords.net
 Chesapeake, OH
DJ GOR *
 djgor.com
 djgor.t35.com
 Bedford, PA
Fetch the Rope *
 fetchtherope.com
 Bozeman, MT
Final Stand Records *
 finalstandrecords.com
 Newark, DE
Heritage Connection *
 heritageconnection.tv
 Harrison, AR
ISD Records *
 isdrecords.com
 Lancaster, OH
Label 56 Music
 label56.com
Micetrap Distribution *
 whitepride.net
 whitepride.com
 combat18.com
 micetrap.net
 historiography-project.org
 Maple Shade, NJ
MSR Productions *
 msrproductions.com
 Wheat Ridge, CO
Nordic Diffusion
 nordicdiffusion.net
NS88 Videos
 ns88.com
Radio White
 radiowhite.com
Resistance Records *
 resistance.com
 Hillsboro, WV
Satanic Skinhead Propaganda
 satanichatefulwarskin.com
Unholy Records *

unholyrecords.com
 Marlinton, WV
Victory Forever
 victoryforever.com
White Knuckle Driver
 whiteknuckledriver.com
RADICAL TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC (18)
Bellarmino Theological Forum
 catholicintl.com
Catholic Apologetics International *
 catholicintl.com
State Line, PA
Catholic Counterpoint *
 catholiccounterpoint.com
Broomall, PA
Catholic Family News *
 cfnews.org/cfn.htm
Niagara Falls, NY
Catholicism.org
 catholicism.org
Culture Wars/Fidelity Press *
 culturewars.com
South Bend, IN
FATIMA NETWORK *
 fatima.org
Constable, NY
Hutton Gibson — Defending the Faith of Our Fathers
 huttongibson.com
IHM Media *
 sai-cs.org
Richmond, NH
In the Spirit of Chartres Committee *
 realcatholicism.net
Suffolk, VA
The Legion of St. Louis *
 legionofstlouis.com
Odessa, TX
Most Holy Family Monastery
 mostholymonastery.com
Mount St. Michael *
 stmichaels.org
Spokane, WA
Omni Christian Book Club *
 omnicbc.com
Palmdale, CA
The Remnant Newspaper *
 remnantnewspaper.com
Forest Lake, MN
Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary *
 catholicism.org
Richmond, NH
St. Joseph Forum *
 stjosephforum.org
South Bend, IN
Tradition In Action *
 traditioninaction.org
Los Angeles, CA
OTHER (102)
6th Column Against Jihad
 thethirdjihad.com
88Tube
 88tube.net
a2z Publications *
 a2zpublications.com
Las Vegas, NV

AlanStang.com
 alanstang.com
Alex Jones' Prison Planet
 prisonplanet.com
American Free Press *
 americanfreepress.net
Washington, DC
American Third Position *
 american3p.com
Los Angeles, CA
Artisan Publishers *
 artisanpublishers.com
Muskogee, OK
Aryanism
 aryanism.net
Atlas Shrugs
 atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com
Attorney Jason Robb
 jasonrobb.blogspot.com
Bad Eagle
 badeagle.com
Bamboo Delight Company
 bamboo-delight.com
Billy the Heretic
 billytheheretic.com
Chick Publications *
 chick.com
Ontario, CA
Chimpout
 chimpout.com
Christian Books and Things *
 christianbooksandthings.net
Harrison, AR
Cultural Studies Press
 culturalstudiespress.com
Eric Hufschmid.net
 erichufschmid.net
Ether Zone
 etherzone.com
Free Bill White
 freebillwhite.com
The French Connection
 iamthewitness.com
Genocide of African Americans in America
 genocideofafricanamericans.8m.com
Globalization, Immigration, & Political Correctness
 immigration-globalization.blogspot.com
HateLawsExposed.org
 hatelawsexposed.org
The Heretical Press
 heretical.com
Hitler Historical Museum
 hitler.org
Holy Nation of Odin *
 holynationofodin.org
Kingsburg, CA
James Hart for Congress
 jameshartforcongress.com
Jew Crimes
 jewcrimes.com
Jewish Defense League *
 jdl.org
Los Angeles, CA
Jewish Task Force
 jtf.org

JTB Publications — Crescent and Cross *
 crescentandcross.com
Careywood, ID
judenfrei
 judenfrei.org
Judicial-Inc.org
 judicial-inc.biz
LaTrine's Blawg
 latrinejakscoon.blogspot.com
La Voz de Aztlan *
 aztlan.net
Whittier, CA
Life of an IT Grunt
 itgrunt.com
M.A.C.S. Klan Merchandise *
 macsconfederate.com
Louisiana
Mind If I Do A J? Forum
 mindifidoaj.com
Missing Links: The Truth About 9/11
 911missinglinks.com
National Prayer Network *
 truthtellers.org
Clackamas, OR
National Vanguard Books *
 natvanbooks.com
Hillsboro, WV
News from the West
 newsfromthewest.blogspot.com
Niggermania!
 niggermania.com
NordicHeathenVinlander Blog
 stormfront.org
Ozark Craft LC *
 ozarkcraft.net
Harrison, AR
Patriot Militia.com
 patriotmilitia.com
Pilgrimage to Monsalvat
 pilgrimagetomonsalvat.blogspot.com
Power of Prophecy *
 powerofprophecy.com
 texemarrs.com
Austin, TX
Pragmatic Witness
 whitewritethe.wordpress.com
Prothink: The Study of Parasitism
 prothink.org
Racist Jokes
 racist-jokes.com
Racist Jokes
 mohammedbaboor.angelfire.com
Real Zionist News
 realzionistnews.com
REB WARE PRODUCTS
 rebware.com
The Redneck Shop *
 theoriginalredneckshop.com
Laurens, SC
rense.com
 rense.com
Ruminations
 iranianforaryans.blogspot.com
ScottRobers Blog
 stormfront.org
Shank Radio
 shankradio.com

Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club *
 sonsofaesirmc.com
Maricopa County, AZ
The Sovereign States
 sovereignstates.org
Spiritually Smart
 spirituallysmart.com
The Spoils of War
 silentconsort.com
This is Zionism
 thisiszionism.blogspot.com
Thug Report
 thugreport.com
THY WEAPON OF WAR
 thy-weapon-of-war.blogspot.com
Tony Alamo Christian Ministries *
 alamoministries.com
Fouke, AR
Truth in Our Time
 truthinourtime.com
T-Shirt Hell
 tshirthell.com
Vanquishing Georgia
 vanquishinggeorgia.blogspot.com
Vinland Folk Resistance *
 vinlandfolkresistance.com
Kingsburg, CA
Wake Up America!!!
 wake-up-america.net
West Coast
 westcoastinroch.com
Westboro Baptist Church *
 westborobaptistchurch.com
 godhatesireland.com
 blogs.sparenot.com/index.php/workmen
 blogs.sparenot.com/index.php/dearmargie
 blogs.sparenot.com/index.php/dearshirley
 blogs.sparenot.com/index.php/fred7
 godhatesamerica.com
 godhatescanada.com
 godhatesfags.com
 godhatesmexico.com
 godhatesweden.com
 godhatestheworld.com
 hatemongers.com
 blogs.sparenot.com/index.php/obama
 priestsrapeboys.com
 signmovies.net
 thesignsofthetimes.net
 blogs.sparenot.com
 blogs.godhatesamerica.com
 jewskilledjesus.com
Topeka, KS
White Pride Home School Resource Center *
 whitepridehomeschool.com
Bergman, AR
White Pride T.V.
 whitepride.tv
Wing TV
 wingtv.net
ZSIDOZAS-The Jewish Question
 zsidozas.wordpress.com/ ▲

Patriot Groups

The Intelligence Project identified 512 “Patriot” groups that were active in 2009. Of these groups, 127 were militias, marked with an asterisk, and the remainder includes “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Generally, Patriot groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order,” engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, Patriot publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located.

ALABAMA 7

2nd Alabama Militia *
Mobile
Alabama Shoals Badgers *
Tusculumbia
Constitution Party
Montgomery
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
THREE%ER
Pinson
We the People
Madison County

ALASKA 5

Alaska Citizens Militia *
Nikiski
Constitution Party (Alaskan Independence Party)
Soldotna
John Birch Society — Alaskans for Restoring our Constitutional System
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We the People
Homer

ARIZONA 10

American Grand Jury
Nogales
American Patriot Friends Network
Peoria
Arizona Citizens Militia *
Douglas
Arizona Militia *
Glendale
Cochise County Militia *
Tombstone
Constitution Party
Goodyear

John Birch Society
Statewide
Northern Arizona Militia *
Flagstaff
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Statewide

ARKANSAS 6

Constitution Party
Fayetteville
John Birch Society
Statewide
Militia of Washington County *
Fayetteville
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Bentonville
Searcy

CALIFORNIA 22

American Armenian Militia *
Los Angeles/San Fernando Valley Area
American Independent Party
Vacaville
Constitution Party
Riverside
Freedom Force International
Thousand Oaks
Freedom Law School
Phelan
Free Enterprise Society
Fresno
John Birch Society
Chula Vista
Roseville
San Luis Obispo County
Northern California State Militia *
Falcon Creek
Sunnyvale

Oath Keepers
High Desert
Northern California
San Diego
Southern California
Second Amendment Committee
Hanford
State of California Unorganized Militia *
Monrovia
Truth Radio
Delano
We Are Change
Chico
Oakland
Sacramento
San Francisco Bay Area

COLORADO 10

America First Party
Boulder
American Freedom Network
Johnstown
Constitution Party
Arvada
John Birch Society
Aurora
Minutemen Militia *
Fort Collins
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Colorado Springs
Huerfano
Statewide
We the People
Gunnison

CONNECTICUT 6

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance
Middlefield
Constitution Party — Concerned Citizens Party
Plantsville
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Meriden
We the People
Statewide

DELAWARE 3

Constitution Party
Bear
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 2

Oath Keepers
Washington DC
We the People
Washington DC

FLORIDA 11

America First Party of Florida
Mims
Constitution Party
West Palm Beach
Florida Free Alliance *
Nokomis
Florida Free Militia *
Palm Coast
John Birch Society
Newberry
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Fort Walton Beach
Jacksonville
Orlando
Tampa
We the People
Statewide

GEORGIA 15

Constitution Party
Woodstock
Georgia Militia *
Chatham County
Cobb County
Gwinnett County
Newton County
John Birch Society
Statewide
Militia of Georgia *
Lawrenceville
Militia Recruiting Command *
Columbus
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Society for American Sovereignty
Marrietta
We Are Change
Atlanta
Columbus
LeGrange
Trenton
We the People
Statewide

HAWAII 3

Constitution Party
Honolulu
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

IDAHO 11

Constitution Party
Parma
Idaho Citizens Constitutional Militia *
Statewide
Idaho Observer
Spirit Lake
John Birch Society
Nampa
North Idaho Light Foot Militia *
Bonner County

Boundary County
Kootenai County
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Police & Military Against the New World Order
Kamiah
We Are Change
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

ILLINOIS 10

135th Illinois Volunteer Cavalry *
Statewide
America First Party of Illinois
Rolling Meadows
Camp FEMA
Northbrook
Constitution Party
East Peoria
Illinois State Militia (Unorganized)
167th Battalion, 21st FF *
Statewide
John Birch Society
Statewide
Martial Law Survival
Thomson
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Restore the Republic
Northbrook
We the People
Statewide

INDIANA 21

Constitution Party
Indianapolis
Indiana Citizens Volunteer Militia, 3rd Brigade *
Tippecanoe County
Indiana Constitutional Militia *
Statewide
Indiana Militia Corps *
Ingalls
Northeast
Northwest
Pendleton
Southeast
Southwest
Indianapolis Baptist Temple
Indianapolis
Indiana Sedentary Militia *
Hendricks County
Southern
Southwest
Statewide
Western
Indiana's Greene County Militia *
Greene County
Indiana State Militia 14th Regiment *
Owen County
John Birch Society
Indianapolis
NORFED — National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal

Reserve Act
Evansville
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

IOWA 5

Constitution Party
Oskaloosa
We Are Change
Cedar Falls
Des Moines
Quad Cities
We the People
Statewide

KANSAS 7

Constitution Party
Wichita
John Birch Society
Statewide
Kansas State Militia *
Wichita
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Lawrence
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

KENTUCKY 13

1st Joint Public Militia *
Bowling Green
Jefferson County
Louisville
Marshall County
Northern
Statewide
Constitution Party
Lexington
John Birch Society
Statewide
Kentucky State Militia — Ohio Valley Command *
Louisville
Oath Keepers
Statewide
PatriotResistance.com
Lexington
Take Back Kentucky
Clarkson
We the People
Statewide

LOUISIANA 10

Constitution Party
Mandeville
Louisiana Militia *
Statewide
Louisiana Unorganized Militia *
Abbeville
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Truth Attack

Shreveport
We Are Change
Arcadia
New Orleans
Shreveport
Slidell
We the People
Statewide

MAINE 7

Constitution Party
New Castle
John Birch Society
Statewide
Maine Constitutional Militia *
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
New England Area
Portland
We the People
Statewide

MARYLAND 8

America's Survival, Inc.
Owings
Constitution Party
Pocomoke
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Save A Patriot Fellowship
Westminster
Southern Sons of Liberty *
Statewide
We Are Change
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

MASSACHUSETTS 7

America First Party of Massachusetts
New Bedford
Constitution Party
Amesbury
John Birch Society
Hyde Park
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Boston
Cape Cod
We the People
Statewide

MICHIGAN 47

America First Party of Michigan
Ypsilanti
Constitution Party (U.S. Taxpayers Party of Michigan)
Grand Rapids
Delta 5 Mobile Light Infantry Militia *
Eaton County

East-Central Volunteer Militia of Michigan *
Lapeer County
Hutaree Militia *
Southern
Jackson County Volunteers *
Jackson County
John Birch Society
Statewide
Lenawee County Free and Independent Militia *
Adrian
Michigan Militia *
Redford
Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines 8th Division *
South Central
Michigan Patriot Alliance *
Arenac County
Bay County
Cheboygan County
Clinton County
Crawford County
Genesee County
Gladwin County
Gratiot County
Jackson County
Lapeer County
Macomb County
Midland County
Oakland County
Oceana County
Presque Isle County
Saginaw County
St. Clair County
Sanilac County
Shiawassee County
Tuscola County
Northern Michigan Backyard Protection Militia *
Northern
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Patriot Broadcasting Network
Dexter
Southeast Michigan Volunteer Militia *
Livingston County
Macomb County
Oakland County
Washtenaw County
Wayne County
We Are Change
Battlecreek
Clio
Detroit
Flint
Royal Oak
Schoolcraft
Statewide
West Michigan Volunteer Militia *
Muskegon County
We the People
Statewide

MINNESOTA 8

Constitution Party
Redwood Falls
John Birch Society
Statewide
Minnesota Militia/Army of Mississippi *
St. Cloud
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Duluth
Minneapolis
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

MISSISSIPPI 6

America First Party of Mississippi
Greenwood
Constitution Defense Militia of Attala County (CDMAC) *
Attala County
Constitution Party
Okolona
East Central Mississippi Militia *
East Central
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

MISSOURI 9

America First Party of Missouri
Imperial
Constitution Party
Arnold
John Birch Society
St. Peters
Liberty Restoration Project
St. Louis
Missouri Militia *
Kansas City
St. Louis
Oath Keepers
Statewide
United American Freedom Foundation
Grandview
We the People
Statewide

MONTANA 9

Celebrating Conservatism
Missoula
Constitution Party
Great Falls
John Birch Society
Statewide
Lincoln County Watch
Bozeman
Militia of Montana *
Noxon
Oath Keepers
Bozeman
We Are Change

Billings
Missoula
We the People
Statewide

NEBRASKA 7

Constitution Party
Omaha
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Dakota
Omaha
Tri-Cities Area
We the People
Statewide

NEVADA 7

Center for Action
Sandy Valley
Independent American Party (Constitution Party)
Elko
Oath Keepers
Northern
Southern
Sovereign People's Court for the United States of America
Las Vegas
We Are Change
Reno
We the People
Statewide

NEW HAMPSHIRE 6

America First Party of New Hampshire
Windham
Constitution Party
Concord
New Hampshire Patriot Militia *
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
United States Constitution Rangers *
West Lebanon
We the People
Statewide

NEW JERSEY 8

Constitution Party
Cinnaminson
John Birch Society
Ringwood
New Jersey Militia *
Trenton
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Cape May
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

Wolfpack Militia *
Statewide

NEW MEXICO 5

Constitution Party
Albuquerque
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

NEW YORK 17

America First Party of New York
Lynbrook
Constitution Party
New York
Empire State Militia 11th Field Force *
Northwestern
Oneida Area
Staten Island
Ulster County
Westchester Area
The Jekyll Island Project
Queensbury
Oath Keepers
Chatham
We Are Change
Hempstead
Ithaca
Long Island
New York City
Oswego County
Staten Island
We The People
Queensbury
Statewide

NORTH CAROLINA 10

Constitution Party
Fuquay-Varina
John Birch Society
Raleigh
North Carolina Citizens Militia *
Charlotte
Coastal Area
Sandhills Area
Waynesville
Oath Keepers
Statewide
We Are Change
Mount Airy
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

NORTH DAKOTA 3

Constitution Party
Casselton
John Birch Society
Statewide
We the People
Statewide

OHIO 13

America First Party of Ohio
Cleveland
Constitution Party
Delaware
Constitutional Militia of Clark County *
Clark County
John Birch Society
Columbus
Northeastern Ohio Defense Force 3BN *
Lisbon
Northwestern Ohio Defense Force 4BN *
Kenton
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Ohio Defense Force State Headquarters *
Zanesville
Ohio Militia *
Statewide
Southeastern Ohio Defense Force 3rd Platoon *
Belmont County
Southwestern Ohio Defense Force 5BN *
Lebanon
Unorganized Militia of Champaign County *
St. Paris
We the People
Statewide

OKLAHOMA 5

Constitution Party
Chandler
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
OK SAFE, Inc. (Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise)
Tulsa
We the People
Statewide

OREGON 14

Constitution Party
Hubbard
Embassy of Heaven
Stayton
Emissary Publications
Clackamas
Freedom Bound International
Klamath Falls
John Birch Society
Statewide
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Oregon Militia Corps *
Statewide
Southern Oregon Militia *
Eagle Point

We Are Change

Cave Junction
Eugene
Florence
Portland
Salem

We the People

Statewide

PENNSYLVANIA 9

America First Party of Pennsylvania

Ridgway

Constitution Party

Blawnox

Keystone Freedom Fighters *

Gettysburg

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We Are Change

Harrisburg

Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

Scranton

We the People

Statewide

RHODE ISLAND 3

Constitution Party

Middletown

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

SOUTH CAROLINA 7

Constitution Party

Greenville

John Birch Society

Greenville

Oath Keepers

Statewide

The Patriot Network

Anderson

We Are Change

Columbia

Greenville

We the People

Statewide

SOUTH DAKOTA 3

Constitution Party

Brandon

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

TENNESSEE 12

Constitution Party

Englewood

East Tennessee Militia *

East

John Birch Society

Lascassas

Memphis

Lawful Path

Lynnville

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We Are Change

Cookeville

Johnson City

Knoxville

Memphis

Nashville

We the People

Statewide

TEXAS 52

The American Open Currency Standard

Frisco

American Patriots for Freedom Foundation *

Spring

Brave New Books

Austin

Buffalo Creek Press

Cleburne

Central Texas Militia *

Central

Church of God Evangelistic

Association

Waxahachie

Constitution Party

Cleburne

Constitution Society

Austin

John Birch Society

Cypress

McKinney

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Republic Broadcasting

Round Rock

Republic of Texas

Bastrop County

Bexar County

Bowie County

Brazos County

Colorado County

Fayette County

Galveston County

Goliad County

Gonzales County

Harris County

Harrison County

Houston County

Jackson County

Jasper County

Jefferson County

Lamar County

Liberty County

Matagorda County

Milam County

Montgomery County

Nacogdoches County

Red River County

Refugio County

Robertson County

Rusk County

Sabine County

Shelby County

Travis County

Victoria County

Washington County

Texas Well Regulated Militia *

Edwards County

We Are Change

Austin (2)

Dallas

Fort Worth

Pasadena

San Antonio

San Marcos

Tyler

We the People

Statewide

UTAH 10

Constitution Party

Layton

Hutaree Militia *

Statewide

JoelSkousen.com

Orem

John Birch Society

Springville

Liberty News Radio

Highland

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We Are Change

Orem

Salt Lake City

West Valley City

We the People

Statewide

VERMONT 3

Constitution Party

Williston

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

VIRGINIA 7

Constitution Party

Vienna

Oath Keepers

Statewide

U.S. National Party

Oakton

Virginia Citizens Militia *

Roanoke

We Are Change

Shenandoah

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

WASHINGTON 11

Constitution Party

Kent

Grays Harbor Civilian Defense

Force *

Grays Harbor

John Birch Society

Puyallup

Kitsap County WA Militia *

Kitsap County

National Association of Rural Land Owners

Fall City

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Washington State Militia *

Statewide

We Are Change

Bellingham

Seattle

Spokane

We the People

Statewide

WEST VIRGINIA 5

Constitution Party

Martinsburg

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We Are Change

Huntington

Statewide

We the People

Statewide

WISCONSIN 13

America First Party of Wisconsin

Muscoda

Constitution Party

Ripon

John Birch Society

Appleton

John Birch Society Shop JBS

Appleton

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We Are Change

Green Bay

Kenosha

Madison

Milwaukee

Oshkosh

Racine

Stockbridge

We the People

Statewide

WYOMING 4

Constitution Party

Afton

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

We the People

Statewide ▲

Patriot Websites

This list of 298 sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to the “Patriot” movement, which generally defines itself as opposed to the “New World Order,” engages in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocates or adheres to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Pages were current in 2009, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice, so they may be hard to locate. Of the sites, 62 were connected to militias or militia ideology; the rest, grouped in the Other Patriot category, include sites associated with “common-law courts,” publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Listing here does not imply that the individuals or groups with websites advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activity or are racist. Listings indicated with an asterisk (*) belong to actual groups that promote Patriot doctrine beyond the mere publishing of their Internet material.

MILITIA

62

1st Joint Kentucky Militia — Ohio Valley Freedom Fighters

ovfreedomfighters.com

2nd Alabama Militia *

freewebs.com/alabamamilitia

Mobile, AL

Alabama Shoals Badgers *

tinyurl.com/yh5unxt

Tuscumbia, AL

American Armenian Militia *

americanarmeniamilitia.com

Los Angeles, CA

Arizona Citizens Militia *

arizonamilitia.com

Douglas, AZ

Arizona Militia *

arizonamilitia.com

Glendale, AZ

A Well Regulated Militia

awrm.org

California State Militia — 31st

Field Force Squad Alpha/SOG *

californiastatemilitia.yolasite.com

Orange County, CA

Cochise County Militia *

cochisecountymilitia.org

Tombstone, AZ

Constitution Defense Militia of

Attala County (CDMAC) *

attalamilitia.webs.com

Attala County, MS

Constitutional Militia of Clark

County *

ccsgO.tripod.com

Clark County, OH

Delta 5 Mobile Light Infantry Militia *

delta5mlim.webs.com

Eaton County, MI

East Central Mississippi Militia *

mississippimilitia.com

East Central, MS

East Central Volunteer Militia of Michigan *

michiganmilitia.com

Lapeer County, MI

East Tennessee Militia *

tinyurl.com/y9bnp22

East Tennessee

Empire State Militia 11th Field Forces *

geocities.com/esm2nddiv

New York

Florida Free Militia *

floridafreemilitia.com

Palm Coast, FL

Georgia Militia Emergency

Response Team *

georgiamilitia.net

Gwinnett County, GA

Grays Harbor Civilian Defense Force *

tinyurl.com/yga2wvd

Grays Harbor, WA

Hutaree Militia *

hutaree.com

Utah

Illinois State Militia (Unorganized)

167th Battalion, 21st FF *

ilstm.bravehost.com

Illinois

Indiana Constitutional Militia *

indianaconstmilitia.yolasite.com

Indiana

Indiana Militia Corps *

IndianaMilitia.org

Pendleton, IN

Indiana Sedentary Militia *

specter.lictor.tripod.com

Indiana

Indiana's Greene County Militia *

tinyurl.com/yj5rdx8

Green County, IN

Indiana State Militia 14th Regiment *

14thregofism.tripod.com

Owen County, IN

Jackson County Volunteers *

jacksonccm.org

Jackson County, MI

Kansas State Militia *

kansasstatemilitia.webs.com

Wichita, KS

Kentucky's Section 8 Militia

freewebs.com/section8militia

Kitsap County WA Militia *

tinyurl.com/ygc6gvn

Kitsap County, WA

Lenawee County Free and Independ- ent Militia *

lenaweemilitia.com

Adrian, MI

Maine Constitutional Militia *

mainepatriot.741.com

Maine

Maine Highlands Defense Force

mainepatriot.net

The Maine Patriot Board

tinyurl.com/yjm4jkk

Michigan Militia *

michiganmilitia.com

Redford, MI

Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines

8th Division *

mmcw8thdiv.22web.net

South Central Michigan

Militia of Montana *

militiaofmontana.com

Noxon, MT

Militia of Washington County *

arkansasmilitia.org

Fayetteville, AR

Militia Recruiting Command *

gomilitia.com

Columbus, GA

Missouri Militia *

missourimilitia.com

St. Louis, MO

Modern Minuteman

modernminuteman.net

The Nebraska State Militia

nebraskamilitia.com

New Hampshire Patriot Militia*

nhmilitia.com

New Hampshire

New Jersey Militia *

njmilitia.org

Trenton, NJ

North Carolina Citizens Militia *

ncmilitia.org

Waynesville, NC

North Carolina Citizens Militia

Mecklenburg County Militia *

mcmilitia.org

Mecklenburg County, NC

North Idaho Light Foot Militia *

northidaho21lightfoot.org

Boundary County, ID

Northeast Ohio Defense Force *

neodf.org

Lisbon, OH

Northern California State Militia *

cal-militia.com

Sunnyvale, CA

Northern Michigan Backyard Pro- tection Militia *

nmbpm.webs.com

Northern Michigan

Ohio Defense Force Home Guard *

sodf.org

Zanesville, OH

Oregon Militia Corps *

oregonmilitia.homestead.com

Oregon

Southeast Michigan Volunteer

Militia *

tinyurl.com/yk2vgkf

Detroit, MI

Southern Oregon Militia *

inlibertyandfreedom.com

Eagle Point, OR

State of California Unorganized Militia *

californiamilitia.com

Monrovia, CA

Unorganized Militia of Champaign County *

champaigncounty.tripod.com

St. Paris, OH

Virginia Citizens Militia *

virginiamilitia.org

Roanoke, VA

The Well Regulated Militias

militias.ning.com

West Michigan Volunteer Militia *

freewebs.com/westmivolunteermilitia

Muskegon County, MI

Wolfpack Militia *

3sog.org/COCORNER.html
New Jersey

MEDIA 15

American Freedom Network *
americannewsnet.com
Johnstown, CO

American Resistance Radio
americanresistanceradio.com

The Federal Observer
federalobserver.com

Freedom's Phoenix
freedomspheonix.com

Genesis Communication Network
gcnlive.com

Idaho Observer *
proliberty.com/observer
Spirit Lake, ID

Liberty News Radio
libertynewsradio.com

Liberty Tree Radio
libertytreeradio.4mg.com

The Maine Patriot Board
tinyurl.com/yjm4jkk

Patriot Broadcasting Network *
pbn.4mg.com
Dexter, MI

The Power Hour
thepowerhour.com

Radio Liberty
radioliberty.com

Republic Broadcasting *
republicbroadcasting.org
Round Rock, TX

Truth Radio Network *
truthradio.com
Delano, CA

MINISTRIES 3

Church of God Evangelistic Association (Newswatch Magazine) *
newswatchmagazine.org
Waxahachie, TX

Iahushua
iahushua.com

Indianapolis Baptist Temple *
indianapolisbaptisttemple.com
Indianapolis, IN

PUBLISHING 3

Buffalo Creek Press *
buffalo-creek-press.com
Cleburne, TX

Emissary Publications Midnight Messenger *
midnight-emissary.com
Clackamas, OR

Shop JBS *
shopjbs.org

Appleton, WI

SUPPORT 138

America First Party *
americafirstparty.org
Boulder, CO

The American Open Currency Standard
opencurrency.com

American Patriot Friends Network *
apfn.org
Peoria, AZ

American Patriot Network
civil-liberties.com

America's Survival, Inc. *
usasurvival.com
Owings, MD

The Amero Currency
amerocurrency.com

AssaultWeb.Net
Assaultweb.net

Barefoot's World
barefootsworld.net

Celebrating Conservatism *
montanacnservative.wordpress.com
Missoula, MT

Center for Action *
bogritz.com
Sandy Valley, NV

Connecticut Survivalist Alliance *
digivill.net/~iirg/csa.html
Middlefield, CT

The Constitutional Rights Enforcement & Support Team
thecrest.ws

Constitution Society *
constitution.org
Austin, TX

David Wynn Miller
dwmlc.com

Dprogram.net
dprogram.net

Flyover Press
flyoverpress.com

Freedom Fighters for America
freedomfightersforamerica.com

Freedom Force International *
Freedom-Force.org
Thousand Oaks, CA

Freedom Law School *
livefreenow.org
Phelan, CA

Freedom Underground
freedomunderground.org

Free Enterprise Society *
freeenterprisesociety.com
Fresno, CA

Free Republic

freerepublic.com

Hour of the Time
hourofthetime.com

Infowars.com
infowars.com

Jack McLamb — Police & Military Against the New World Order
jackmclamb.us

The Jekyll Island Project *
jekyllislandproject.com
Queensbury, NY

JoelSkousen.com *
joelskousen.com
Orem, UT

LewRockwell.com
lewrockwell.com

Liberty Dollar of Chambersburg
chambersburglibertydollar.com

Liberty Restoration Project *
libertyrestorationproject.org
St. Louis, MO

LizMichael.com
lizmichael.com

The Mental Militia Forums
thementalmilitiaforums.com

Minuteman Patriot
MinutemanPatriot.homestead.com

National Association of Rural Lane Owners *
narlo.org
Fall City, WA

National Economic Security and Reformation Act
nesara.us

NORFED — National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act *
LibertyDollar.org
Evansville, IN

NWOTruth
nwotruth.com

OK SAFE, Inc. (Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise) *
ok-safe.com
Tulsa, OK

The Patriot Coalition
patriotcoalition.com

PatriotResistance.com *
patriotresistance.com
Lexington, KY

Republic of Texas *
texasrepublic.info
Bastrop County, TX

The Resistance—Mark Dice's Official Website
theresistancemanifesto.com

Restore the Republic *
restoretherepublic.com

Northbrook, IL

Richard T. Osborne
richard-t-osborne.com

Save A Patriot Fellowship *
save-a-patriot.org
Westminster, MD

Second Amendment Committee *
libertygunrights.com
Hanford, CA

SheriffMack.com
sheriffmack.com

Stop the North American Union
stopthenorthamericanunion.com

Stop the Security and Prosperity Partnership
stopsppp.com

Take Back Kentucky *
takebackkentucky.com
Clarkson, KY

THREE%ER *
threepercentcenter.org
Pinson, AL

Truth Attack *
truthattack.org/jml/index.php
Shreveport, LA

United American Freedom Foundation *
uaff.info
Grandview, MO

U.S.A. The Republic: How you Lost It
usa-the-republic.com

U. S. National Party *
nationalparty.us
Oakton, VA

The Voice of Freedom
freedomradio.us

We Are Change *
wearechangearizona.com
Arizona

wearechangecolorado.org
Colorado

wearechangecoloradosprings.org
Colorado Springs, CO

wearechangehuerfano.us
Huerfano County, CO

wearechange.org
Orlando, FL

wearechangeatlanta.com
Atlanta, GA

waccolumbusga.com
Columbus, GA

wearechangegea.bappy.com
LeGrange, GA

wearechange.org
Cedar Falls, IA

wearechangeidaho.org
Idaho

freewebs.com/wearechangeks
 Wichita, KS
 wearechangenola.com
 New Orleans, LA
 truthla.blogspot.com
 Shreveport, LA
 wearechangeboston.org
 Boston, MA
 wacmd.weebly.com
 Maryland
 somethingmustbreak.net
 Maine
 wacnewengland.org
 Maine
 wacmichigan.wordpress.com
 Michigan
 mnchange.org
 Minnesota
 tinyurl.com/yb87spp
 Missoula, MT
 wearechangenc.com
 North Carolina
 wearechangemountairy.webs.com
 Mt. Airy, NC
 wearechangenewjersey.org
 New Jersey
 capemaychange.com
 Cape May, NJ
 wearechangereno.org
 Reno, NV
 wacncountry.webs.com
 North Country, NY
 philadelphiawearechange.org
 Philadelphia, PA
 wearechangeppgh.org
 Pittsburgh, PA
 wearechangeneba.blogspot.com
 Scranton, PA
 wearechange-memphis.webs.com
 Memphis, TN
 wearechangenashville.com
 Nashville, TN
 sanantoniotruth.org
 San Antonio, TX
 wacut.org
 Salt Lake City, UT
 utahwearechange.org
 West Valley City, UT
 wearechangevirginia.org
 Virginia
 wearechangeseatle.org
 Seattle, WA
 wearechangekenosha.webs.com
 Kenosha, WI
We the People *
 givemeliberty.org
We the People — Continental Congress *

givemeliberty.org
 Madison County, AL
 Homer, AK
 Arizona
 Gunnison, CO
 Connecticut
 Delaware
 Washington, DC
 Florida
 Georgia
 Hawaii
 Idaho
 Illinois
 Indiana
 Iowa
 Kansas
 Kentucky
 Louisiana
 Maryland
 Massachusetts
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 Mississippi
 North Dakota
 Nebraska
 Nevada
 New Hampshire
 New Mexico
 New York
 Ohio
 Oklahoma
 Oregon
 Pennsylvania
 Rhode Island
 South Carolina
 South Dakota
 Tennessee
 Texas
 Vermont
 Washington
 Wisconsin
 West Virginia
 Wyoming

VENDOR

5

Brave New Books *
 bravenewbookstore.com
 Austin, TX
Camp FEMA *
 campfema.com
 Northbrook, IL
Frugal Squirrel's Homepage for Patriots, Survivalists, and Gun Owners
 frugalsquirrels.com
Lawful Path *
 lawfulpath.com
 Lynnville, TN
Martial Law Survival *

martiallawsurvival.com
 Thomson, IL

POLITICAL/ CITIZEN GROUPS

65

American Independent Party *
 aipca.org
 Lemon Grove, CA
Christian Exodus
 christianexodus.com
The Conservative Caucus (Constitution Party) *
 conservativeusa.org
 Vienna, VA
Constitution Party *
 alconstitutionparty.org
 Cullman, AL
 gaconstitutionparty.org
 Woodstock, GA
 constitutionpartyofhawaii.com
 Honolulu, HI
 cpidaho.org
 Parma, ID
 constitutionpartyil.com
 East Peoria, IL
 constitutionpartyofindiana.com
 Indianapolis, IN
 cpmn.org
 St. Cloud, MN
 home.centurytel.net/amfam/CPOMT
 Great Falls, MT
 constitutionpartyoregon.net
 Hubbard, OR
 constitutionpartyvt.com
 Williston, VT
 wisconsinconstitutionparty.com
 Ripon, WI
John Birch Society *
 jbs.org
 Appleton, WI

Lincoln County Watch *
 lincolncountywatch.org
 Bozeman, MT

The New American
 thenewamerican.com
Oath Keepers *
 oathkeepers.org
 Alabama
 Alaska
 Arizona
 Arkansas
 Northern California
 Southern California
 Colorado
 Delaware
 Washington, DC
 Florida
 Hawaii

Iowa
 Idaho
 Illinois
 Indiana
 Kansas
 Kentucky
 Louisiana
 Maine
 Maryland
 Massachusetts
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 Missouri
 Montana
 North Carolina
 North Dakota
 Nebraska
 New Jersey
 New Mexico
 Chatham, NY
 Ohio
 Oklahoma
 Pennsylvania
 Rhode Island
 South Carolina
 Tennessee
 Texas
 Utah
 Vermont
 Virginia
 Washington
 West Virginia
 Wisconsin
 Wyoming

Oath Keepers Blog

oath-keepers.blogspot.com

The Patriot Network *

patriotnetwork.info
 Anderson, SC

SOVEREIGN/ COMMON LAW/JURAL

7

American Grand Jury *

americangrandjury.org
 Nogales, AZ

Christian National Common-Law Court

christiancommonlaw-gov.org

Dixieland Law Journal

fly.hiwaay.net/~becraft

Embassy of Heaven *

EmbassyOfHeaven.com
 Stayton, OR

State Citizens Service Center Research Headquarters

state-citizen.org

Team Law

teamlaw.org ▲



Thousands of Ugandan children joined a January demonstration against homosexuals in Kampala, where a "kill the gays" bill is pending.

UGANDA

U.S. Anti-Gay Activists Under Fire for Role in Uganda

BY SONIA SCHERR

Did gay-bashing American evangelicals contribute to legislation in Africa that would jail homosexuals for life?

Conspiracy theorist Scott Lively co-founded the virulently anti-gay group Watchmen on the Walls and wrote the book *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*, a pseudo-history falsely claiming that "militant male homosexuals" helped mastermind the World War II Holocaust.

Lively is also one of several Americans with ties to the Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Act of 2009, which gay rights activists have dubbed the "kill the gays" bill. These Americans, who have promoted the largely discredited view that gays can choose to become straight, are now trying to distance themselves from the proposed legislation.

Although laws against homosexuality ("unnatural acts") have been on the books for decades in Uganda, the proposed legislation would make penalties even harsher. Among its provisions: People who have homosexual sex more

than once, or who have gay sex with minors, could receive a death sentence. So could HIV-positive individuals who have consensual homosexual sex. Anyone who fails to immediately report that someone they know is homosexual could be sent to prison.

The bill has provoked a worldwide outcry; its diverse critics include Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and conservative Christian psychology professor Warren Throckmorton, who has blogged extensively about it on his website. During a Jan. 22 congressional hearing convened by the House's Tom

Lantos Human Rights Commission, critics warned that the bill could promote more violence against gays in Africa and hurt efforts to combat HIV and AIDS. In addition, over 90 U.S. lawmakers sent letters to President Barack Obama and Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni calling the bill "the most extreme and hateful attempt by an African country to criminalize their LGBT community."

America's clout in the debate comes in part from the millions in foreign aid it provides each year to Uganda, a country where gays already face assaults, harassments and criminal charges if they're outed. As of press time, however, Ugandan lawmaker David Bahati was refusing to drop the proposed legislation, even though President Museveni said he believed the death penalty provision went too far. The country's lawmakers were expected to debate the bill in February or March.

The bill was introduced one month after a trio of American evangelical Christians including Lively arrived in the Ugandan capital of Kampala in March 2009 to hold a massive, three-day seminar titled "Exposing the Truth Behind Homosexuality and the Homosexual Agenda." Jeffrey Gettleman described the event in *The New York Times*: "For three days, according to participants and audio recordings, thousands of Ugandans, including police officers, teachers and national politicians, listened raptly to the Americans, who were presented as experts in homosexuality. The visitors discussed how to make gay people straight, how gay men often sodomized teenage boys and

how 'the gay movement is an evil institution' whose goal is 'to defeat the marriage-based society and replace it with a culture of sexual promiscuity.'"

Gay rights activists say the seminar helped foster a climate of heightened anti-gay



Gay rights activists protest Uganda's proposed anti-gay law in London.

sentiment that allowed the proposed legislation to gain support. In addition, the Ugandan organizers of the seminar were involved in writing the bill, *The Times* reported. For his part, Lively has said he did speak about the bill with Ugandan lawmakers.

In addition to *The Pink Swastika*, Lively wrote *7 Steps to Recruit-Proof Your Child* and *The Poisoned Stream: "Gay" Influence in Human History*, which posits "a dark and powerful homosexual presence" during "the Spanish Inquisition, the French 'Reign of Terror,' the era of South African apartheid, and the two centuries of American Slavery." Lively runs Abiding Truth Ministries, a Springfield, Mass.-based anti-gay organization that the Southern Poverty Law Center lists as an anti-gay hate group. Lively also has been deeply involved with Watchmen on the Walls, an international extremist anti-gay movement that has a following among Russian-speaking evangelicals from the former Soviet Union. During a 2007 Watchmen on the Walls conference in Novosibirsk, Russia, Lively downplayed the killing of Satendar Singh, a 26-year-old immigrant from Fiji, in California. Singh, who'd been partying with friends in a Sacramento park, was attacked by a group of Slavic men who perceived him as gay.

The other two American speakers at the Ugandan seminar were Don Schmierer and Caleb Lee Brundidge, both stalwarts of the "ex-gay" movement that claims homosexuals can alter their sexual orientation. Schmierer is a board member for Exodus International, a worldwide umbrella group covering hundreds of ex-gay ministries, who warns parents in his guide to preventing homo-

sexuality to watch out for boys who show "extreme macho behavior," are "frail, deformed, deaf" or "avoid fights/physical altercations."

Brundidge, a self-described former gay man, is a sexual reorientation coach for International Healing Foundation, which purports to help people shed their unwanted same-sex attractions. The group's founder is Richard Cohen, who says he is a former homosexual who converted to heterosexuality. Cohen, now a married father of three, demonstrated his healing touch therapy on CNN's "Paula Zahn Now" and also discussed it on Comedy Central's "The Daily Show." The therapy involves men striving to overcome their homosexual

desires by cradling other men in their arms. On CNN, he also demonstrated "bioenergetics": beating on chairs with tennis rackets and screaming, "Mom, Mom, why did you

do this to me?" Cohen's television appearances were public relations disasters for the ex-gay movement.

Yet Ugandans are relying on his work. Rachel Maddow on her MSNBC program last December

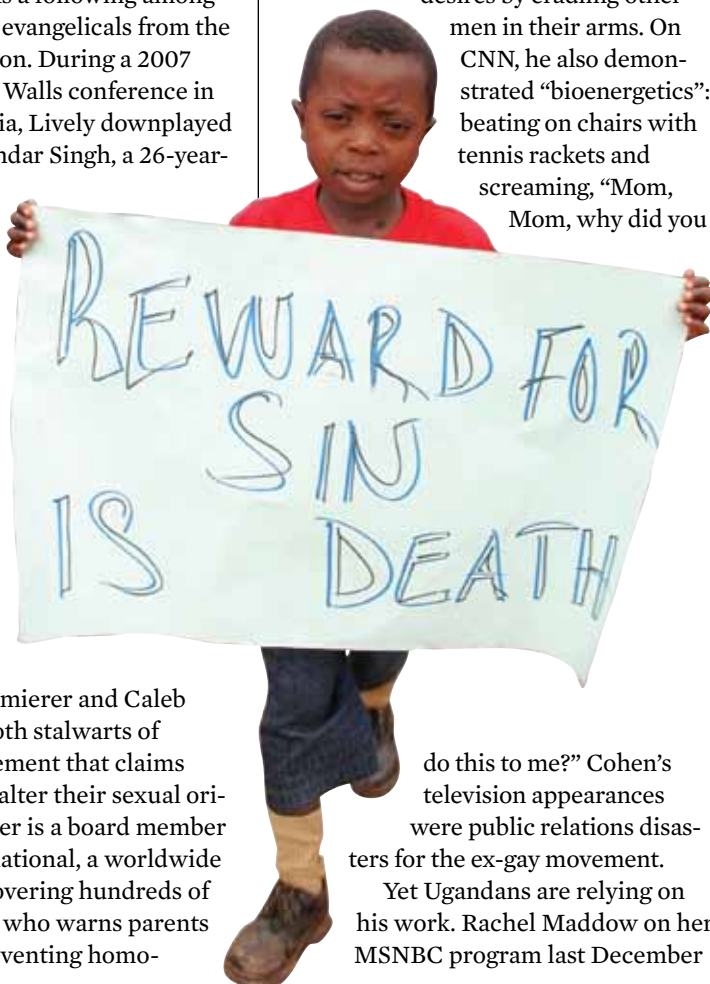


Members of the Uganda National Pastors Task Force Against Homosexuality tell President Obama to "back off."

showed a video clip of a lead proponent of the Ugandan bill holding up Cohen's book, *Coming Out Straight*, and summing up some of its conclusions as proof that the legislation is necessary. That book includes a number of bogus defamatory statistics about gays that Cohen attributed to Paul Cameron, an anti-gay zealot who has published an array of pseudo-scientific studies about homosexuality over the years. Cameron has been booted out of the American Psychological Association and the American Sociological Association. After being prodded by Maddow, Cohen said he would delete those statistics before the next edition of his book is printed and emphatically denied favoring the Ugandan bill.

Also drawing criticism was megachurch pastor and bestselling author Rick Warren, who has past associations with Ugandan pastor Martin Ssempe, an ardent supporter of the bill. Warren initially avoided any direct condemnation of the proposed Uganda law. In December, however, he wrote a letter to pastors in Uganda denouncing the proposed law as "unjust, extreme and un-Christian toward homosexuals."

Since the barrage of negative publicity, the three Americans who spoke at last year's conference have also criticized the harshness of the bill. "That's horrible, absolutely horrible," Schmierer told *The Times*. "Some of the nicest people I have ever met are gay people." ▲



FOR THE RECORD

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES LISTED IN FOR THE RECORD ARE drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a tiny fraction of the approximately 191,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2005 government report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the fourth quarter of 2009 (any additional listings may be found on the Intelligence Project's website at www.intelligenceproject.org.)

ALABAMA

Phenix City • Nov. 23, 2009

The letters "KKK" were spray-painted on a family's car.

ALASKA

Anchorage • Dec. 18, 2009

Robert Gum and Deanna Scaglione were indicted on federal hate crime charges, including threatening, intimidating and interfering with a person because of his race after they allegedly screamed racial slurs and threw water bottles and eggs at an Alaskan native man in July.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Oct. 3, 2009

A 39-year-old white woman who was with her black boyfriend was shot to death after being confronted by a white man with tattoos and a shaved head who asked the black man what he was doing with a white woman.

Phoenix • Nov. 7, 2009

About 100 members of the National Socialist Movement held an anti-immigration march and protest at the Arizona State Capitol.

ARKANSAS

Donaldson • Dec. 8, 2009

Four men were sentenced on federal hate crime and obstruction of justice charges after they attempted to burn a cross in June 2008 at the residence of a woman who associated with black people. Jacob Wingo, 20, was sentenced to 24 months in prison; Clayton Morrison, 29, was sentenced to 15 months; Darren McKim, 38, was sentenced to 18 months and Richard Robins, 42, was sentenced to 12 months. In November Dustin Nix has been sentenced to 12 months and one day in prison on federal civil rights in connection with the incident.

CALIFORNIA

Carmichael • Nov. 10, 2009

A swastika, other Nazi symbols and the words "Kristallnacht still lives" were spray-painted on a synagogue.

Costa Mesa • Dec. 29, 2009

Ronald Allen Bramlett, a 65-year-old white man, was charged with felony aggravated assault, criminal threats and an enhancement of an alleged hate crime for allegedly calling a black teenager racial slurs and threatening him with a knife.

Fullerton • Oct. 8, 2009

Darrel James Allen, a 23-year-old black man, was charged with a hate crime battery causing injury, robbery, assault and violation of civil rights for yelling racial slurs and punching a Latino man unconscious.

North Hollywood • Oct. 29, 2009

Two Jewish men were shot as they were entering a synagogue. Police were investigating the incident as a hate crime.

Riverside • Oct. 24, 2009

Members of the National Socialist Movement held an anti-immigration protest.

San Bernardino • Oct. 16, 2009

Christopher Fulmer, a 21-year-old alleged white supremacist, was sentenced to 21 years in prison for the fatal hate-motivated shooting of a Latino man and the wounding of another man in December 2007.

San Francisco • Oct. 6, 2009

John Gimbel, 59, pleaded not guilty to federal charges associated with sending racist, threatening E-mails to President Barack Obama and other officials.

Whittier • Oct. 14, 2009

Three swastikas were spray-painted on a synagogue and other

graffiti was painted on a tree, a curb and a tarp on a nearby fence.

COLORADO

Denver • Nov. 23, 2009

A juvenile was arrested on charges of aggravated robbery, aggravated assault and bias-motivated crimes in connection with 26 racially motivated assaults in the downtown area.

CONNECTICUT

Fairfield • Dec. 13, 2009

Three masked young men held Nazi flags at the town's menorah-lighting ceremony.

Norwalk • Oct. 13, 2009

Robert Wolf, 48, was charged with intimidation based on bigotry and third-degree assault for allegedly spitting in a woman's face and calling her a derogatory name for Latinos.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Oct. 14, 2009

Robert Hannah, 19, was sentenced to six months in jail for the beating death of a man outside a gay club.

Washington • Oct. 27, 2009

A female Georgetown University student who was wearing a gay rights T-shirt was assaulted by two men who shouted anti-gay slurs.

Washington • Nov. 1, 2009

A male Georgetown University student was assaulted by a man who used anti-gay slurs.

FLORIDA

Bartow • Dec. 8, 2009

William Brown Jr., 23, was sentenced to two life terms after being convicted in November of first-degree murder and pleading guilty to arson and tampering with evidence in connection with the 2007 killing of a gay man.

Coral Springs • Nov. 9, 2009

Swastikas and the words "Jews shall die" were painted on the walls

of a Jewish community center on the anniversary of Kristallnacht.

DeLand • Oct. 28, 2009

Julie Edwards Hubbard, 44, was charged with corruption of a public servant or family by threat, battery on a law enforcement officer and obstructing an officer without violence after she allegedly made death threats and racial slurs toward a black deputy who had stopped her.

Miami • Oct. 27, 2009

A swastika was found drawn on a wall of a restroom at the University of Miami.

Orlando • Nov. 15, 2009

A swastika was spray-painted on the gay/lesbian/bisexual community center and anti-gay slurs were spray-painted on a gay business.

Palm Beach Gardens • Dec. 10, 2009

Anthony David Schell, 32, was charged with hates crimes, stalking and criminal mischief after allegedly harassing a former tenant by leaving a note on her door mentioning her Judaism and bearing a swastika. He also smashed her mezuzah.

IDAHO

Boise • Nov. 3, 2009

Three men were sentenced to prison after being convicted in July of committing a hate crime in connection with the July 2008 beating of a black man. Michael Bullard, 23, was sentenced to more than four years, Richard Armstrong, 24, to more than three years and James Whitewater, 23, to a year and a half.

Coeur d'Alene • Nov. 6, 2009

Ira Tankovich, 47, William Tankovich, 49, and Frank Tankovich, 46, were charged with malicious harassment and conspiracy to commit malicious

harassment in connection with an alleged confrontation outside a Latino man's home.

Coeur d'Alene • Nov. 19, 2009

A swastika sticker was found on the door of the Human Rights Education Institute.

Coeur d'Alene • Dec. 3, 2009

Swastikas and a racial slur were spray-painted on a pickup truck belonging to a Muslim man of Jordanian descent.

Sandpoint • Dec. 6, 2009

Aryan Nations fliers were left at residences.

ILLINOIS

Bolingbrook • Oct. 27, 2009

Aaron J. Pierce, 25, was charged with committing a hate crime and battery against a merchant because of his perceived religion.

Elgin • Dec. 14, 2009

Marcus Crimaldi, 23, was charged with a felony hate crime and two counts of aggravated battery for allegedly striking a gay man in the face with a metal object because of the man's sexual orientation.

Kinsman • Nov. 22, 2009

Scott Finch and Luke Harty, both 32, were charged with aggravated battery for allegedly assaulting a Muslim man outside a tavern.

Plainfield • Oct. 30, 2009

Two bricks with racial slurs on them were thrown through the windows of a black family's residence.

Tinley Park • Nov. 7, 2009

Valerie Kenney, 54, was charged with a hate crime for allegedly yanking the headscarf of a Muslim woman two days after the Fort Hood shootings.

INDIANA

Indianapolis • Nov. 6, 2009

Three men were sentenced to prison for burning a cross in the yard of a black family's home in 2008. Richard Lashure, 41, was sentenced to 15 months and Richard Logue and Aaron Latham, both 20, were each sentenced to a year.

LaPorte • Dec. 29, 2009

A rock was thrown through a win-

dow of a predominantly black church and a racial epithet was written in the snow on the sidewalk outside.

Mishawaka • Dec. 22, 2009

Bruce Kikulyuk, 50, was sentenced to 42 months in federal prison for burning a cross in the yard of a black man and a white woman and using racial slurs and threatening the black man with a knife in September 2007.

LOUISIANA

Dubberly • Dec. 14, 2009

Five men were arrested for allegedly spray-painting racist language and drawings on signs in two separate incidents and also for bashing mailboxes. Craig Ryan Bourn, 20, was charged with one count of hate crimes and two counts of felony criminal damage to property; Brandon Michael Bookston, 19, was charged with two counts of hate crimes and three counts of felony criminal damage to property; Brandon Ryan Deloach, 19, was charged with two counts of hate crimes and three counts of criminal damage to property; and Jeffery Allan Anderson Jr., 19, was charged with two counts of hate crimes and three counts of felony criminal damage to property.

MARYLAND

Ellicott City • Dec. 5, 2009

Three 15-year-old boys were charged with burglary, malicious destruction of property, theft and defacing school property with hate messages for allegedly breaking into a portable classroom at a high school and scrawling swastikas and the letters "KKK" on the walls.

Laurel • Dec. 12, 2009

A swastika, a picture of a gun firing at a Star of David and other graffiti were spray-painted on the outside of a middle school and a trailer on the property.

Wheaton • Oct. 25, 2009

Cinder Tobar-Campos, 23, Alexander Mendoza, 30, and Felix Arevalo Cantarero, 24, were charged with attempted murder and committing a hate-related assault after they allegedly struck two women and a man with rocks and bottles while calling them anti-gay epithets.

MASSACHUSETTS

Framingham • Nov. 6, 2009

Michael Hansberry, 46, was charged with two counts of committing a hate crime, assault and battery, assault and battery with a dangerous weapon and disorderly conduct for allegedly attacking two men because they were Brazilian.

Framingham • Nov. 11, 2009

John William Gandolfo, 56, was charged with a hate crime and using his car as a dangerous weapon in an assault for allegedly yelling racial slurs at three black painters working on a convenience store and then nearly hitting them with his car.

Orleans • Oct. 9, 2009

Eric Patten was sentenced to 30 days in jail for punching and pushing two women after yelling anti-gay epithets at them in May.

Swansea • Nov. 24, 2009

Mario Andreozzi, 56, was charged with a civil rights violation after he allegedly shouted racial slurs at a black man his son and daughter allegedly had kidnapped and held captive.

MINNESOTA

Austin • Oct. 22, 2009

White supremacist stickers were glued to the office window of an attorney who has handled immigration matters in the area.

Rochester • Oct. 29, 2009

Joey Lyke, a 29-year-old white man, was charged with harassment and disorderly conduct after he allegedly approached a black man and told him that he was in his neighborhood and he didn't belong there.

St. Cloud • Dec. 8, 2009

Anti-Islamic cartoons featuring swastikas were left on utility poles, one of which was outside a store catering to Somali people.

MISSISSIPPI

Natchez • Oct. 3, 2009

A racial slur and the letters "KKK" were painted on a campaign sign of a candidate for sheriff and a target was painted over the candidate's picture.

Oxford • Nov. 21, 2009

About a dozen members of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a brief rally before a University of Mississippi football game.

MISSOURI

Columbia • Oct. 29, 2009

Two brothers were arrested after one allegedly used racial slurs toward a black family in a store parking lot and assaulted and threatened to kill another black man, while the other brother allegedly drove his truck on a sidewalk toward the black family, reportedly later saying he had wanted to kill them. James Robert Pezold, 25, was charged with tampering, leaving the scene of a motor vehicle accident, assault of a law enforcement officer and four counts of first-degree assault. Michael Pezold, 20, was charged with suspicion of third-degree assault.

MONTANA

Bozeman • Dec. 13, 2009

The words "White Power" and a backwards swastika were scrawled across the window of a Korean woman's van.

NEBRASKA

Omaha • Nov. 22, 2009

Three lighted dreidels erected in the front yard of an Orthodox Jewish family in celebration of Hanukkah were smashed.

NEW JERSEY

Manchester Township • Dec. 19, 2009

A 16-year-old boy was charged with criminal mischief for alleg-

edly spray-painting a racial epithet on a fence at a black fireman's residence.

South Harrison Township • Nov. 13, 2009

James Trexler, 24, was sentenced to one year in jail for using racial epithets and threatening a black motorist in 2006.

NEW YORK

Farmingville • Nov. 9, 2009

A Muslim woman's home was burglarized, vandalized and defaced with graffiti.

Lakeview • Nov. 1, 2009

Three men allegedly yelled anti-gay epithets and beat a man and his cross-dressing friend then stole money from one of the men. Robert Bellamy Jr., 23, was charged with robbery and assault.

Merrick • Nov. 6, 2009

Frank T. Carney, 16, was charged with felony menacing and misdemeanor aggravated harassment after he and another man allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs and chased a man while wielding a knife.

New York • Oct. 6, 2009

Jack Rhodes, 47, was convicted of hate crimes, including charges of robbery, burglary and assault charges, in connection with a series of muggings of older women in December 2006 and March 2007. Authorities said Rhodes targeted the women because of their age, which is a violation of the state hate crimes act. He was sentenced in December to 75 years in prison.

New York • Oct. 8, 2009

Daniel Rodriguez, 21, and Daniel Aleman, 26, were charged with felony assault as a hate crime after allegedly making an anti-gay remark while beating a gay man.

New York • Oct. 14, 2009

An undocumented Latino immigrant was allegedly attacked by several men who shouted "wet-back go home."

New York • Nov. 20, 2009

Gilberto Ortiz and Trinidad Tapia were indicted on charges of second-degree assault as a hate crime for allegedly attacking a transgender woman with a metal belt buckle because of her perceived sexual orientation.

New York • Dec. 27, 2009

Marco Palencia, a 26-year-old Latino man, allegedly attacked a black man while yelling racial epithets.

Spring Valley • Nov. 10, 2009

Two black teens, Leroy Simpson, 16 and Tre Sellers, 17, were each charged with a felony count of second-degree attempted robbery as a hate crime after they allegedly targeted a Latino man to rob in October because of his race.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte • Oct. 19, 2009

A sign erected by a Jewish student group at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte to mark a Jewish festival was vandalized.

OHIO

Cleveland • Dec. 1, 2009

A toy camel with a noose around its neck was hung on the apartment door of a graduate student with a Middle Eastern-sounding name.

Delaware • Nov. 5, 2009

A dummy dangling from a noose was hung in a black family's yard.

OREGON

Portland • Oct. 8, 2009

Daniel Lee Jones, 32, regional director of the neo-Nazi American National Socialist Workers Party, was charged with mailing a threatening communication and interfering with federally protected activities for allegedly mailing a hangman's noose to an Ohio civil rights leader.

PENNSYLVANIA

Conewago • Nov. 29, 2009

Paula Lynn Ness, 51, was charged with aggravated assault, making terroristic threats, ethnic intimidation, simple assault and resisting arrest for allegedly

threatening to shoot two state troopers while yelling ethnic slurs at once of them.

Pittsburgh • Nov. 15, 2009

A cross was burned at the home of a white family with a black teenage foster child.

Shenandoah • Dec. 15, 2009

Derrick Donchak and Brandon Piekarsky were each indicted on a federal hate crime charge for allegedly beating to death a Latino man, Luis Ramirez, while shouting racial epithets at him. Shenandoah Police Chief Matthew Nestor, Lt. William Moyer and police officer Jason Hayes were charged with conspiring to obstruct justice during the investigation into the fatal beating of Ramirez. Moyer was also charged with witness and evidence tampering and lying to the FBI. Nestor and his second-in-command, Capt. Jamie Gennarini, were charged with multiple counts of extortion and civil rights violations.

RHODE ISLAND

South Kingstown • Oct. 21, 2009

Eric Muroski, an 18-year-old white student at the University of Rhode Island, pleaded not guilty to vandalism and disorderly conduct after he allegedly scrawled racial epithets and sexual graffiti in the dorm rooms of black female students at the university then attempted to force his way into one female student's room.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston • Oct. 10, 2009

Fliers from the National Socialist Movement were left in driveways.

Columbia • Dec. 30, 2009

Racist graffiti was spray-painted on city hall. Two of the candidates in the city's mayoral race are black.

TENNESSEE

Kingsport • Oct. 22, 2009

Andy Frye, 19, was indicted for vandalism for allegedly spray-painting racist threats, including

a mention of President Barack Obama, on an overpass.

TEXAS

Dallas • Oct. 31, 2009

Two swastikas and an obscenity were spray-painted on a kosher restaurant and market.

Houston • Oct. 7, 2009

Anti-Islamic remarks were scrawled on the wall of a mosque.

Waxahachie • Dec. 19, 2009

A swastika, the letters "KKK" and anti-Semitic remarks were spray-painted on cars in a neighborhood.

UTAH

Jordan • Oct. 10, 2009

Rocks with anti-Mormon notes tied to them were thrown at glass doors at five Latter Day Saints Church meetinghouses in Jordan and Riverton.

Salt Lake City • Oct. 14, 2009

A 50-year-old white man was charged with assault, possession of a controlled substance with intent to distribute, theft, and possession of a firearm for allegedly waving a handgun and threatening to kill a Latino man after hurling racial slurs at him.

VIRGINIA

Hamilton • Dec. 1, 2009

A noose was found in the car of a black firefighter. Two white firefighters were suspended with pay.

Henrico • Oct. 12, 2009

Anti-Semitic and racist graffiti, including a threat against President Barack Obama, was spray-painted in a park.

WASHINGTON

Tacoma • Oct. 12, 2009

Swastikas and the letters "KKK" were carved into a black woman's car door and scrawled on her cubicle at work.

WISCONSIN

Lake Mills • Oct. 31, 2009

A lesbian was allegedly punched in the face by a costumed assailant because of her sexual orientation.

Oshkosh • Dec. 24, 2009

Swastikas were spray-painted on the marquees of a Jewish synagogue and a Methodist church. ▲

Junkyard Dog

J.B. Stoner was so vicious that his fellow white supremacists thought he had to be an informant. They were quite wrong

BY LARRY KELLER

TO THE LATE JESSE “J.B.” STONER JR., Jews were Satan’s children and Hitler was “too moderate.” Blacks were “niggers” with small brains. The FBI — the “Federal Bureau of Integration” — was infested with Jews and its agents were “storm troopers.” At the height of the civil rights movement, by any measure, Stoner was a rabble-rouser and race-baiter extraordinaire.

But it turns out that his rhetoric was so rabid that many of his fellow bigots suspected Stoner was a front for the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) or the FBI even while he was a suspect in bombings at black churches and at schools integrating throughout the South. That rich irony emerges from 928 pages of FBI documents obtained recently by *Intelligence Report*.

Stoner was a peculiar character. A lawyer who mostly defended like-minded racists, a lifelong bachelor and a perennial political candidate in Georgia, his primary career was riling up crowds at white supremacist rallies in language so vile that even some sympathizers were repulsed. Wherever there was racial tension — in Oxford, Miss., St. Augustine, Fla., Selma and Anniston, Ala., and Bogalusa, La. — the bow-tie clad Stoner would pop up like some pernicious version of Forrest Gump to fan the flames of hatred. He was, perhaps, the most malevolent racist in America.

One can only imagine Stoner’s fury had he known that Eugene “Bull” Connor, the brutal, pro-segregation, Klan-friendly police commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., was feeding intelligence about him to the FBI. One of Connor’s informants, according to the documents, said Stoner called him after a bombing attempt at a Birmingham church in 1958 to say, “I

have just finished repairs on the church in Birmingham.” Then he asked when he could meet with the “Birmingham men about the money.” Nineteen years later, in 1977, Alabama authorities indicted Stoner in that case. He eventually was convicted and spent 3 ½ years in prison.



No regrets: J.B. Stoner, seen here in a 1977 photo as he fought extradition for an Atlanta church bombing, went to his grave as an unrepentant white supremacist.

Connor wasn’t the only racist leery of Stoner. When Stoner traveled to Miami in 1959, a local white supremacist leader ordered his followers to shun him, whispering that Stoner was an agent of the ADL or the NAACP. Three months earlier, a Klan leader in Atlanta threatened to sue Stoner if he continued using the Klan’s name when recruiting people. Even American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell wanted nothing to do with Stoner, saying his attacks on the FBI were antagonizing the public, according to the FBI file. Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of the criminally prone United Klans of America, distanced his group, too.

Stoner became so unhinged by constant FBI surveillance of him that he came to loathe the bureau even more than Jews and blacks. “When an FBI agent gets killed,” he told an informant, “I always go out and celebrate. When one got killed in Baltimore recently, I got so high I nearly couldn’t get home.” Memos between FBI offices continually warned that Stoner should be considered “armed and dangerous.” At a rally in 1963, Stoner vowed that FBI agents would be tried for treason once his obscure National States Rights Party came to power. He told another crowd that any FBI informants who were identified would be tortured, a presumably nervous informant told the FBI. The most sensational threat, however, came from a snitch who said that Stoner was contemplating luring three or four agents into a trap, at which time he could kill them. He would do so in Columbus, Ga., “friendly territory,” he said, where the cops and courts would be sympathetic.

Despite the doubts some harbored about him, Stoner never cooperated with the FBI or civil rights organizations. His career as a professional racist forced him to live austere, traveling by bus from one city to another, often broke. An FBI check of Stoner’s credit history when he was 39 revealed he had none. He told an informant in 1959 that he had an offer to join an Atlanta lawyer’s practice, but said he’d “rather spend his time fighting Jews than checking court records.”

In his final years, Stoner was gaunt, partially paralyzed by a stroke and fiercely unrepentant. His angry voice was finally stilled with his death in a nursing home in 2005. He was 81, alone, and, until almost the last minute, predicting that “God will put his hand on my head and bless me.” ▲

The SPLC *Intelligence Report* Offers New Online Investigative Resources

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



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