

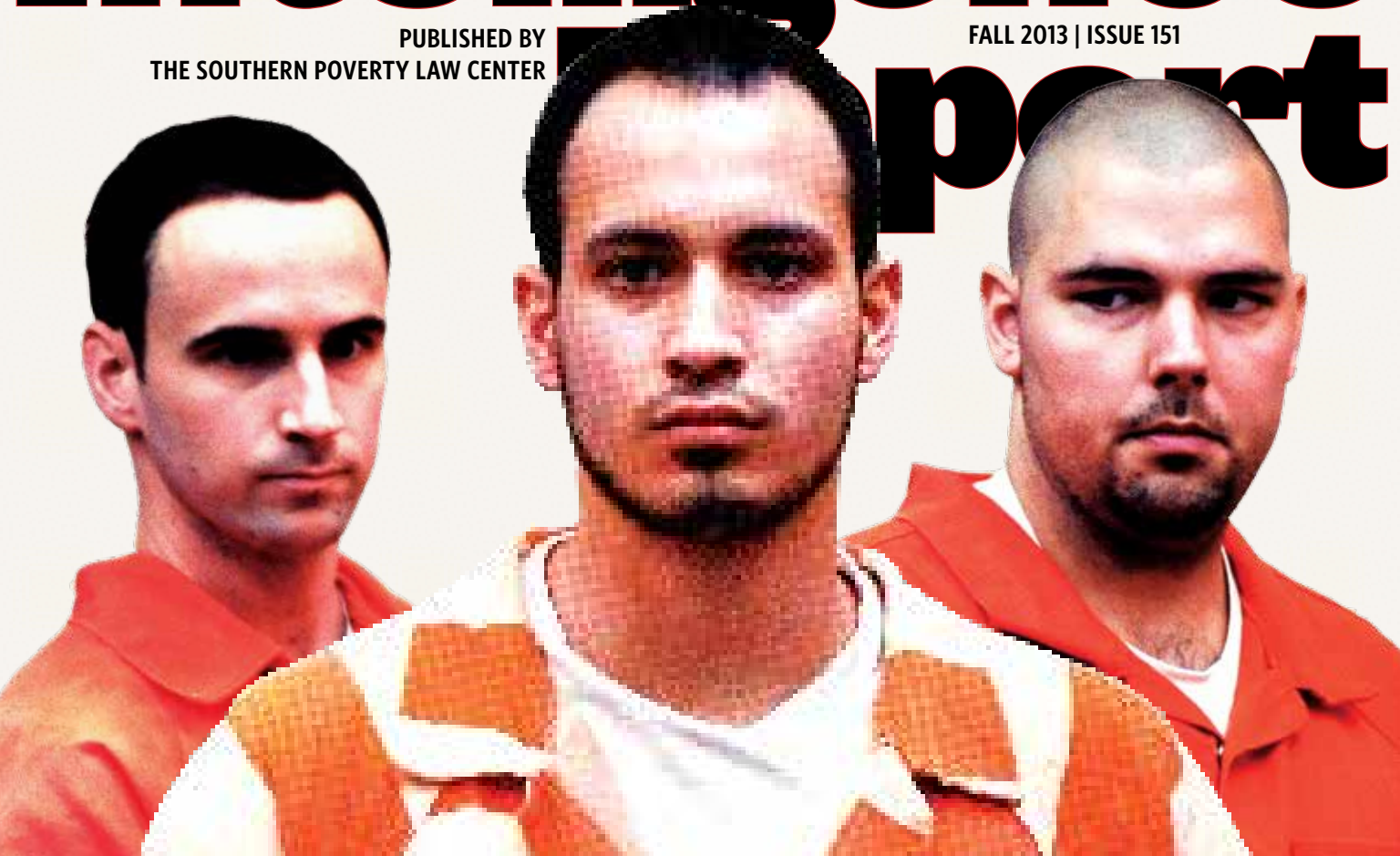
TOURING THE THIRD REICH HARRY COOPER'S SHARKHUNTERS



Intelligence Report

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FALL 2013 | ISSUE 151



FEAR RISING

The antigovernment plot began on a Georgia Army base. In the end, with two dead and others facing lengthy prison terms, it left only human wreckage



Delusional, Delirious — and Deadly Serious

BY MARK POTOK



TO HEAR THE PLOTTERS TELL IT, the plan was like something out of a Batman comic book. They would patrol the Canadian border to prevent drugs from entering the United States. They would take over an Army base, or blow up a building, or assassinate a future president. They would poison the apple crop in the state of Washington. Armed to the teeth, they would defend “the people.”

“We would go out and cause anarchy,” is the way one of the plotters put it in a confession to law enforcement officials. “Kill people. Blow shit up.”

In the end, some in the group that called itself Forever Enduring, Always Ready — FEAR — really did kill people. As we detail in this issue’s cover story, FEAR leader Isaac Aguigui pleaded guilty in July to the 2011 murder of a former comrade he feared might snitch and his 17-year-old girlfriend. Aguigui said his group of close to a dozen people, most active-duty or recently discharged soldiers at Fort Stewart, Ga., had turned into a “bad dream.”

“The militia wasn’t supposed go out and burn everything to the ground,” a tearful Aguigui told his interrogators at one point. “It was supposed to be in defense of the people. It wasn’t supposed to turn into this.”

What it turned into was a group with ostensibly political antigovernment aims, but one that ended up simply wallowing in violence and fantastic, bloodthirsty plans. Its members talked about killing judicial and political officials, creating a fake security company, knocking down a dam and even blowing up a fountain in Savannah, Ga. All of these plans, it turned out, began with their enthusiasm for a particularly violent video game.

FEAR isn’t the only group in the antigovernment “Patriot” movement — a movement that has grown exponentially since Barack Obama became our first black president — whose members sound delusional but nevertheless have been charged with or convicted of deadly serious crimes.

At around the same time that FEAR members murdered Michael Roark and Tiffany York, members of a north Georgia militia were making plans of their own. In meetings at a local Waffle House and elsewhere, four elderly men allegedly conspired to attack four cities including Atlanta with the deadly biological toxin ricin. Incredibly, they believed that they could

simply toss the powder out of the window of a speeding car without becoming infected themselves.

The group’s leader, 73-year-old Frederick Thomas, spoke of bombing a federal building “like Timothy McVeigh,” executing victims with a single shot behind the ear, and making a “bucket list” of politicians who needed to be “taken out” to “make the country right again.” “There’s no way for us, as militiamen, to save this country, to save Georgia, without doing something that’s highly illegal — murder,” Thomas said in a conversation recorded by an informant. Thomas pleaded guilty to conspiracy last year and was sentenced to five years in prison.

Thomas and his confederates, two of whom have not yet been tried, did not kill anyone. But prosecutors say they did try to buy explosives, start to make the ricin, and case several federal buildings.

Most recently, the FBI this summer arrested a New York Klansman who worked as an industrial mechanic for General Electric and a friend. In a hair-raising, 66-page criminal complaint, officials say the men were well along the way to building a remotely operated radiation device that they intended for use in the mass murder of Muslims.

The idea behind the device, a truck-borne industrial X-ray system, was that it could be parked in front of, say, a mosque, and remotely initiated. Victims would be hit with lethal doses of radiation but would not die for several days, making it possible for the killers to simply drive the truck away before any attack was detected.

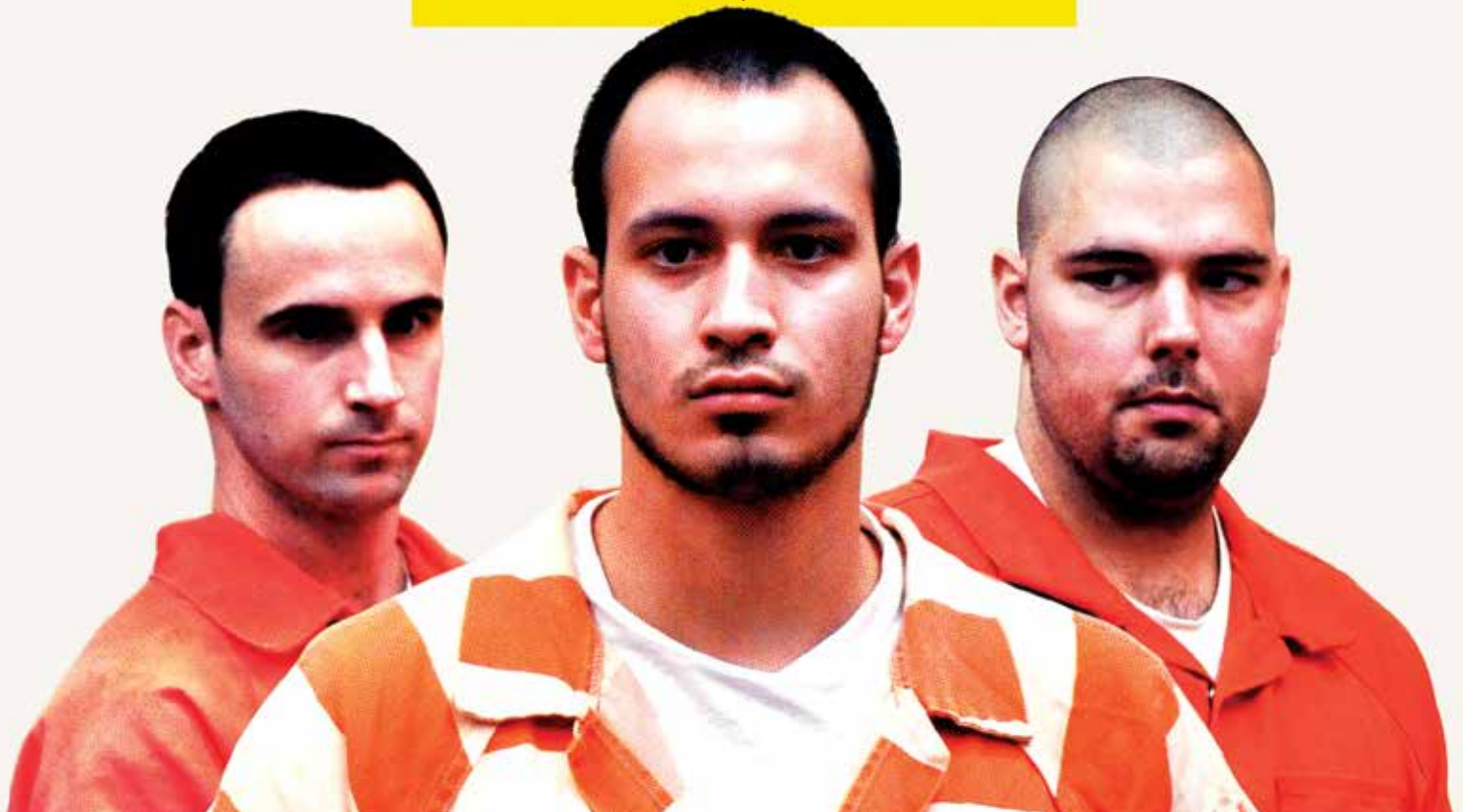
Glendon Scott Crawford, a member of the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, allegedly sought to raise money from Jewish groups and even another Klan group to help purchase parts. Instead, he was repeatedly reported to authorities for the device that he allegedly characterized as “Hiroshima on a light switch.”

It’s easy to dismiss these plots and others as the products of sick minds, people incapable of actually carrying out their plans. But as the case of FEAR shows all too clearly, even people who seem utterly unhinged are capable of producing bloody mayhem. Consider Tiffany York, the high school junior murdered for being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Or think of the 168 people massacred in Oklahoma City by McVeigh, a man who once investigated Area 51 for possible alien influence but was perfectly capable of building a deadly truck bomb.

“I just want to wake up from this bad dream,” FEAR’s Aguigui told an interrogator. But Aguigui will never wake up from that bad dream, and neither will Tiffany York or the other victims of plots that seemed simply insane. ▲

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ON THE COVER

24 FEAR Rising

The antigovernment plot, hatched by soldiers at a Georgia Army base in 2011, was born from a fascination with a forthcoming video game and contemplated bombings, kidnappings and political assassinations. Led by a charismatic young private who attracted followers despite the incoherence of his plans, the plotters soon began to kill their own for fear of snitches. In the end, there was only human wreckage.



12 Touring the Third Reich

The founder of Sharkhunters International, which runs tours to sites associated with the German Nazi regime, denies he is pro-Nazi or anti-Semitic. But Harry Cooper advertises in neo-Nazi publications, associates with former Nazis and leading racists, is an editorial adviser of a Holocaust-denial journal, and wears a swastika ring.



17 Dangerous Liaisons

The tiny Central American nation of Belize has become Ground Zero in the latest international battle to outlaw sex between adults of the same gender. At the heart of the legal struggle, which could have implications for other countries, are attorneys provided by U.S. anti-LGBT groups that are losing most of their battles at home.



43 Following the White Rabbit

A mysterious figure who calls himself Horus the Avenger and has operated White Rabbit Radio for the last three years has become a key propagandist of the racist right, even attracting the attention of a Norwegian mass murderer. From the start, Horus vowed to remain anonymous, but that ended with a jolt this summer.

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"Andy the German," a key figure in Oklahoma City bombing conspiracy theories, has reappeared in Berlin, but in a much diminished role. He's selling toy soldiers.

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.





Playing make-believe: Judicial Watch's Larry Klayman, a far-right zealot who has fruitlessly sued a whole array of leaders he doesn't like, isn't the first Obama-basher to convene a bogus grand jury to further his efforts. In 2010, New York City pastor James David Manning, who also marched to protest the president, "tried" Obama after he was "indicted" by the "American Grand Jury."

ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOTS'

Former DOJ Lawyer Convenes 'Citizens Grand Jury' to Indict U.S. Officials

In a recent column published on the far-right RenewAmerica blog — one of several online publications to which he contributes — Larry Klayman denounced "Muslim-in-Chief, Barack Hussein Obama, and his leftist Jewish government comrades and partners in crime."

Soon after that, Klayman, a Jewish convert to Christianity who says his heart "throb[s] in shame" over the crimes of the "felonious" liberal Jews who have committed "the moral equivalent of ethical and religious bankruptcy" by aligning themselves with the Obama administration, convened a "citizens grand jury" to indict President Obama, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Attorney General Eric Holder, Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, and other officials for supposed misdeeds against the American people.

Klayman should know better. A former prosecutor for the U.S. Department of Justice, he once worked on cases whose outcomes actually mattered. Today, though, he's best known for filing lawsuits against the likes of Fidel Castro, Osama bin Laden, Dick Cheney, Bill Clinton and Facebook's Mark Zuckerberg.

Ridiculous lawsuits are nothing new for Klayman. As the head of Judicial Watch, an ardently self-righteous and ultraconservative nonprofit organization, he sued the Clinton administration more than a dozen times, complaining among other things that special prosecutor Kenneth Starr wasn't aggressive enough in pursuing the administration.

Convening so-called citizens grand juries is a newer hobby for Klayman, one he's taken to with gusto. In 2011,

after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Affordable Care Act, or "Obamacare," he declared his intention to get citizens to "indict" Roberts and Justice Elena Kagan for supposedly violating their oaths of office. In a typically self-aggrandizing press release, he said his power to convene this body stemmed from the Fifth Amendment, which, according to him, was designed to "hold corrupt judges and politicians accountable under criminal laws, thereby hoping to avoid another revolution as occurred in 1776."

Elsewhere, using language and logic taken right out of the antigovernment "sovereign citizens" movement, Klayman has contended that citizens grand juries are a "common law" right that predates the Magna Carta. These days, as the former DOJ official knows all too well, real grand juries are con-

HATE IN THE MAINSTREAM

“Your folk never used all this sheit to protect my folk from your slave-holding, murdering, adulterous, baby-raping, incestuous, snaggle-toothed, backward-assed, inbreed, imported criminal-minded kin folk.”

—Black Alabama state Rep. **JOE MITCHELL** (D), responding to a white opponent of gun control in a January E-mail made public March 27

“Who are they going to shoot, us?”

—Televangelist **PAT ROBERTSON**, weighing in March 28 on a nonexistent Department of Homeland Security plot to stockpile ammunition for future use against American conservatives

“[P]eople are now being trained to come in and act like Hispanics when they’re radical Islamists.”

—U.S. Rep. **LOUIE GOHMERT** (R-Texas), arguing for a fence along the entire Mexican border in an April 17 C-SPAN interview

“The 2nd amendment means nothing unless those in power believe you would have no problem simply walking up and shooting them if they got too far out of line.”

—**CHRIS NOGY**, in an April 19 essay for the Benton County, Ark., GOP newsletter later condemned by area GOP officials as “scary”

“As our character and culture change, we become a different nation, like an alien being taking over a human body.”

—Former U.S. Rep. **TOM TANCREDO** (R-Colo.), warning of the dangers of immigration in a May 3 WorldNetDaily column

“Miss Hillary Clinton needs to be convicted, she needs to be tried, convicted and shot in the vagina. I wanna pull the trigger.”

—Far-right Internet radio host **PETE SANTILLI**, who in the same May 9 rant called for executing President Obama and the Bush family

“[M]ost jokes are about Jewish people, rednecks, black folks. ... I didn’t make up the jokes.”

—Celebrity chef **PAULA DEEN**, defending herself in a May 17 deposition after former employees accused her of sexual and racial discrimination

“[A]dults stamped a ‘bull’s eye’ on the Boy Scouts as pederast targets.”

—Gay-basher **JUDITH REISMAN**, who in the same May 28 WorldNetDaily column suggested openly gay scouts will be “juvenile boy molesters”

vened only by prosecutors officially empowered to do so. Members of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement who believe themselves exempt from the confines of established legal procedure frequently use pseudo-legal “common-law courts” to indict “enemies” and adjudicate cases among themselves.

Klayman’s May indictments accuse the president and other officials of involuntary manslaughter related to a deadly attack on Navy SEALs that followed the identification of SEAL Team 6 as the unit that killed Osama bin Laden, and of endangering national security by telling reporters about U.S. capacity to carry out Internet attacks. They additionally target IRS officials for allegedly singling out conservative groups for extra scrutiny, and Roberts for not somehow forcing Kagan to recuse herself from certain Supreme Court deliberations.

Klayman’s is not the first bogus “citizens grand jury” to indict the president. In 2010, Pastor James David Manning of Harlem’s ATLAH World Ministries Church organized an entire “trial” after members of an organization called American Grand Jury “indicted” Obama for supposedly conspiring with Columbia University, the president’s alma mater, to conceal the “fact” that the president is not a natural born citizen and is therefore ineligible for office.

NEO-NAZIS

Man Who Named Son Hitler Wears Nazi Attire to Custody Hearing

When Heath Campbell appeared in Hunterdon County (N.J.) Family Court on June 3 to fight for the right to visit his 18-month-old son, he had one goal in mind: prove he is a fit father who deserves a second chance. To bolster his chances, the 40-year-old Holland, N.J., man dressed for success — in a Nazi uniform decorated with medals, a swastika armband, and shiny, knee-high leather boots.

Campbell, who sports a Hitler-style mustache and whose body is festooned

with Nazi-themed tattoos, including one that reads “Kill Judes” (misspelled German for “Jews”), came under scrutiny in 2008 when he asked a supermarket to write “Happy Birthday Adolf Hitler” on a cake for his son, who is named for Campbell’s hero. Little Adolf Hitler Campbell, 6, along with his siblings — Joycelynn Aryan Nation Campbell, 5, and Honszlynn Hinler Jeannie Campbell, 4 — were taken into state custody in 2009 after the birthday cake incident triggered an investigation. They have since been adopted. The toddler at the center of the current custody battle, Hons Heinrich Campbell, was taken into custody on the day of his birth.

The unemployed Campbell survives on disability and appears to be involved with the National Socialist Movement (NSM), currently the largest neo-Nazi

group in America. He contends that he is capable of being a good father. “Jewish people came into my house and took my kids all over a name,” he



J. SCOTT APLEWHITE / CORBIS IMAGES (BALA); BUTTERWORTH / PLAGIASHNEWS / CORBIS IMAGES (CAMPBELL)

told the *New York Daily News*. “I didn’t murder anybody. I didn’t hurt anybody. What crime did I do? Yes, I’m guilty of loving my children.”

But it wasn’t just the Nazi names. Two former wives have alleged that Campbell beat, intimidated and threatened to kill them. According to one, he wanted to name another son Lucifer.

In June, Campbell announced that he and his new fiancée, Bethanie Zito, 22, are expecting a child. If it’s a girl, he told the *New York Daily News*, they will call her Eva Braun, after Hitler’s mistress. A boy would be named after Erwin Rommel, the Nazi field marshal known as “The Desert Fox” who commanded German and Italian forces in North Africa during World War II.

ANTI-IMMIGRANT GROUPS

African-American Coalition Provides Cover to Nativist Lobby

The anti-immigrant lobby has long enjoyed influence in Washington but in recent years has been forced to defend itself against charges that it represents the narrow interests of white nationalists who fear the “browning” of America.

So it may have surprised some when a new coalition of African-American activists, called the Black American Leadership Alliance (BALA), announced its opposition to legislation that could provide a path to citizenship for millions of undocumented Latino immigrants.

In a June 3 letter to members of Congress, BALA claimed the proposed bill “will harm black American workers more than any other group” because “[m]ass immigration and amnesty puts African Americans from all walks of life out of work and suppresses wages, causing them to compete with aliens willing to work in poorer working conditions for cheaper pay.”

What BALA did not say in that letter — or during a press conference in



A smattering of African Americans opposed to immigration reform attended a rally sponsored by the Black American Leadership Alliance, the latest racial front group to emerge from the white-dominated Federation for American Immigration Reform. The new black group is populated by extremists like Jesse Lee Peterson, who once thanked God for slavery.

April when it called itself the African American Leadership Council — was anything about its provenance. There’s a good reason for that. It turns out that BALA is simply the latest front group for the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), the flagship of a network of anti-immigrant organizations formed by the white nationalist John Tanton.

When it first emerged in April, BALA was openly sponsored by another FAIR front called Progressives for Immigration Reform (PFIR), purportedly an organization concerned about the environmental impact of immigration. As late as June, the media spokesperson and phone number listed on BALA’s press releases were associated with PFIR.

BALA is not the first African-American front group formed by FAIR. In 2006, an organization called Choose Black America (CBA), appeared on the scene. Its black “members” were selected, flown to a press conference in Washington and lodged there by FAIR. The group’s spokesman was a white FAIR official.

Though CBA fell apart soon after its debut, the Tanton network’s dream of appearing to represent a rainbow coali-

tion did not die with it. In 2011, FAIR briefly sponsored Blacks for Equal Rights Coalition, a Los Angeles-based anti-immigration organization that has been celebrated by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens.

BALA's members include a familiar cast of Tanton allies, notable among them Leah Durant, an African-American lawyer who is also PFIR's executive director. Durant, who once worked for FAIR's legal arm, also spoke at a press conference held to announce the creation of CBA.

Durant is not the only former CBA member on BALA's roster. Others are Jesse Lee Peterson, an African-America pastor who once thanked God for slavery, and Frank Morris, who is sometimes described as BALA's leader. Morris, a veteran anti-immigration activist with a doctorate in political science from M.I.T., is also a board member at both FAIR and the Tanton-affiliated Center for Immigration Studies (CIS). T. Willard Fair, also a BALA member, sits with Morris on the CIS board.

Fair, who has a respectable history of advocating for African Americans, has worked with Tanton-linked front groups before. In 2007, he lent his face to an anti-immigration ad campaign by the Coalition for the Future American Worker, a purportedly pro-labor organization whose constituent members included not a single union but did include an alphabet soup of nativist groups founded and/or funded by Tanton's network.

BALA's other members include Vernon Robinson, a North Carolina politician who once accused President Obama of subscribing to "loony, vile, anti-America, anti-Whitey, anti-Semitic, pro-reparations, black liberation theology"; pundit Leo Alexander, who claims black people were better off under Jim Crow; Charles Butler, a conservative Chicago radio host and gun rights activist; and Kevin Jackson, executive director of The Black Sphere, a black conservative group that claims to desire an end to "identity politics."

Muslim taxi driver and Iraq war veteran Mohamed Salim was attacked and had his jaw broken in the wave of anti-Muslim hatred that swept the country in the aftermath of the Boston Marathon bombing. Virginia authorities charged Ed Dahlberg with assault and may press hate crime charges.



ANTI-MUSLIM PROPAGANDA

Boston Bombings Produce Conspiracy Theories, Violence

A New Hampshire state legislator who made national headlines when she claimed the federal government was behind the April 15 bombing at the Boston Marathon resigned from office on June 20, claiming she wanted to spend more time with her elderly parents.

On April 30, Rep. Stella Tremblay, a Republican, told ultraconservative radio host Pete Santilli that she became suspicious that the bombing was staged after noticing in video footage that a victim whose legs were blown off was not "screaming in agony."

"In my heart," she said, "something told me there's something wrong here."

Celebrity conspiracy theorist Glenn Beck, meanwhile, claimed that 12 people, including a Saudi national who was briefly described as a person of interest, were involved "and all of the cops know it." Erik Rush, a regular contributor to the far-right Internet tabloid WorldNetDaily, told Fox News in the wake of the bombing that "Islam is,

by its nature, wholly incompatible with Western society" and compared "liberalism," which he said was promoting Islamism, to "Stage 3 cancer in America's body politic."

"[W]e are at war," he said. "Just study the history of Islam."

In Virginia, a Muslim cab driver backed up his assertion that a passenger assaulted him because of his religious affiliation with shocking video evidence. In an 11-minute amateur video shot on his mobile phone on April 26, Mohamed A. Salim, a 39-year-old Iraq war veteran, recorded Ed Dahlberg of Clifton, Va., insisting that all Muslims are terrorists. "Denounce those motherfuckers now!" Dahlberg shouted. "If you're a fucking Muslim flying jets into the fucking World Trade Center then fuck you. I will slice your fucking throat right now." Dahlberg allegedly punched Salim, fracturing his jaw. He has been charged with misdemeanor assault and may face hate crime charges.

On April 15, the day of the bombing, a Bangladeshi man was beaten by an angry crowd of men who allegedly attacked him in The Bronx, N.Y., after one of them shouted, "He's a fucking Arab." And in Fresno, Calif., on May 4,

an 82-year-old Sikh man was hospitalized after being beaten outside of a Sikh temple. Pious Sikh men, who wear turbans, are often mistaken for Muslims and attacked because of it.

HATE CRIMES

DOJ Study: Hate Crimes More Prevalent than Previously Known

More than 250,000 Americans over the age of 12 are victimized each year by hate criminals, and the vast majority of these vicious, mostly violent crimes go unreported, concludes a study released in March by the U.S. Department of Justice.

The new study puts the number of hate crimes committed annually at about 50,000 higher than the best earlier analyses.

The research, carried out by the DOJ's Bureau of Justice Statistics, was based primarily on the annual National Crime Victimization Survey, which employs detailed questionnaires and is widely considered the most accurate measure of U.S. crime available.

Two earlier studies by the same agency found there was an annual average of about 210,000 hate crime victimizations per year in the 2000-2003 period and about 195,000 in 2003-2009. Study authors Lynn Langton and Michael Planty explained to the *Intelligence Report* that they made a number of methodological changes to achieve greater accuracy this time. The most important, they said, was counting a series of up to 10 hate crimes against one victim as individual crimes rather than lumping them together and counting them as one.

In recent years, only about one in three hate crimes was reported to law enforcement officials, according to the study. The percentage of hate crimes reported has dropped significantly — from 46% between 2003-2006 to just 35% between 2007-2011.

Just a decade ago, the only figures available were the FBI's hate crime statistics, complete sets of which have been published annually since 1995. In those reports, the number of hate crimes ranged between about 6,000 and 10,000 each year. But the FBI's system severely undercounts the num-

ber, largely because it relies on voluntary reporting by local jurisdictions. The new study suggests that the real numbers are 25 to 40 times higher than the FBI totals.

Hate crime expert Jack Levin, a professor at Northeastern University, offered several explanations for the underreporting — chief among them, local police jurisdictions' refusal to keep track of hate crimes or to report them to the FBI. In 2011, for example, the entire state of Louisiana reported only five hate crimes; Wyoming reported two; and Arkansas, 11. During the same year, Massachusetts reported 367 hate crimes, and New Jersey reported 508.

Another factor in the underreporting is that "motivation [for a hate crime] is a central element" and "motives are often difficult to prove."

Plus, a majority of victims simply fail to report hate crimes to the police. "Based on a history of animosity, black and Latino victims may see law enforcement as an 'army of occupation'; immigrants may identify police with a tyrannical regime in their home country or be concerned about being deported; and gays and lesbians may perceive, rightly or not, that police officers are generally homophobic," Levin said.

Between 2003-2006, suspects were arrested in just 10% of hate crime cases. For reasons that are not understood, that number dropped to a mere 4% between 2007-2011.

'SOVEREIGN CITIZENS'

'Sovereigns' Squat, Forge, Go to Jail and Get Shot

As the mid-Atlantic braced itself for the swarm of cicadas that blanketed some states this spring, the Southeast found itself dealing with a different, but equally unwelcome, horde of pests. So-called "sovereign citizens," the anti-government extremists who believe themselves immune to most federal laws, were out in full force this spring.

On May 6, a Memphis, Tenn., man pleaded guilty in federal court to three counts of theft of government property stemming from his illegal possession of properties owned by the U.S.

Department of Housing and Urban Development. Devitoe Farmer, 46, had filed bogus quitclaim deeds turning the properties over to himself, changed the locks, and placed tenants in at least two of them. When Memphis police officers asked for proof of ownership, he offered documents declaring himself a sovereign citizen. Farmer, who will be sentenced in August, faces up to 30 years in federal prison and fines of up to \$750,000.

A Kennesaw, Ga., woman who flouted court orders restricting her to her home landed in jail on March 28 after being arrested at the Cobb County courthouse. Police took Susan Weidman, 51, into custody after she allegedly forged a federal judge's signature on a bogus court order. Weidman, who had been under house arrest since her 2011 indictment on racketeering charges for allegedly seizing control of vacant, million-dollar suburban Atlanta homes, had filed numerous suits claiming that various county and state officials had mistreated her and her three alleged co-conspirators, all of whom are currently incarcerated. The order she allegedly forged granted a \$65 million settlement for what she claimed was false arrest and imprisonment, malicious prosecution, and other constitutional violations.

Meanwhile, an in-depth report in the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* revealed a veritable plague of sovereign squatters who have been taking advantage of Florida's protracted housing crisis. Claiming protection under a century-old "adverse possession" law that permits squatters to claim ownership of a property if they can prove they have lived



Beverly Beavers

onsite for seven years and paid property taxes, the squatters have crashed more than 800 foreclosed properties in Polk County alone, the article said. Often, they create false leases and other documents intended to confuse officials who question their presence. The Florida Legislature in 2011 passed a law intended to protect property owners, but according to the *Herald-Tribune*, it has had little effect. In one striking case, a squatter who moved with her horses into a multimillion-dollar South Florida ranch was still residing there on a claim of adverse possession as of the article's March 24 publication date.

Sovereign activity wasn't limited to squatting. On March 20, a federal jury in Knoxville, Tenn., found James Beavers, a Ph.D. engineering consultant and former faculty member at the University of Tennessee, and his wife, Beverly Beavers, a small business owner, guilty of conspiracy to defraud

the United States and illegally collecting nearly \$600,000 in tax returns. The Beavers, who claimed in court to be "divine beneficiaries" of Saint Peter, will be sentenced in August. And on June 14, a Seattle federal judge handed Raymond Leo Jarlik Bell, 70, a veteran sovereign citizen who earned his living preparing bogus tax documents, a sentence of 97 months in prison followed by three years of supervised release, and ordered him to pay \$705,276.

Meanwhile, Florida officials determined that police were justified in using deadly force against Jeffrey A. Wright, a sovereign citizen and counterfeiter who was shot by Santa Rosa County sheriff's deputies after a four-hour standoff on March 8. Wright, who barricaded himself inside his home and told police to "come and get me," was shot and killed after aiming a pistol at SWAT members who came to arrest him.

MISOGYNY AND 'MEN'S RIGHTS'

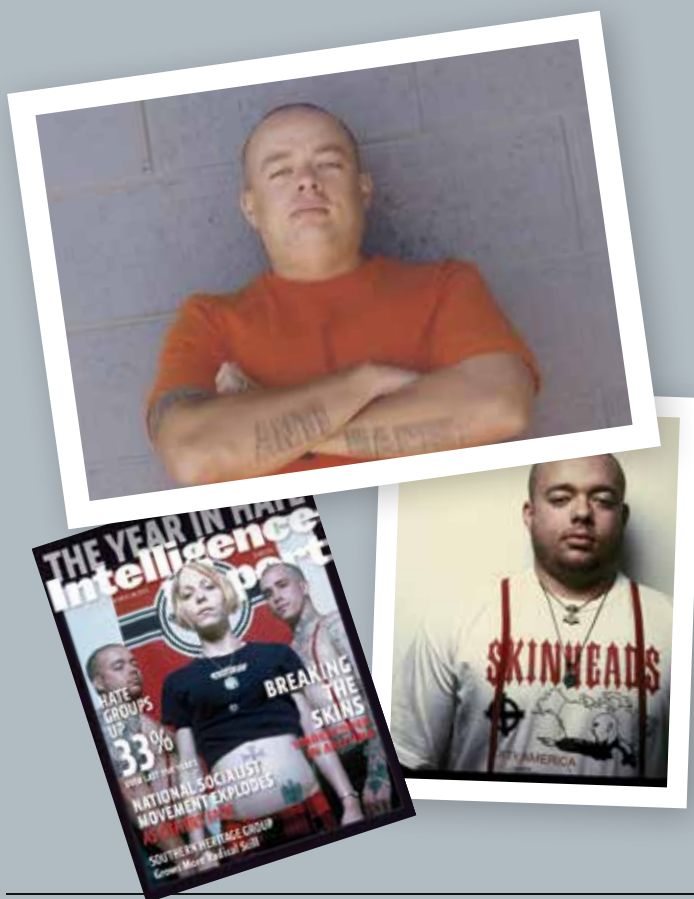
Woman-Bashers Blame 'War on Men' for Canadian's Suicide

April was a difficult month for Earl Silverman. Beset by financial difficulties, he shut the doors of the shelter for battered men that he had operated out of his home in Alberta, Canada, for three years. Then he sold the house, packed his belongings, and hung himself in his garage — a victim, wrote Harry Crouch of the U.S.-based National Coalition for Men, of "murder by disinterest by the Feminist State of Canada."

Silverman, who in 1991 started a self-help group for abused men, was himself a victim of domestic violence. His abusive wife fled to a women's shelter after he "hit her back," he said, but he was unable to find equivalent refuge for himself. For years, he filed complaints

MAY 28, 2013 • BUCKEYE, ARIZ

Even before he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 25 years in prison for his role in a gruesome 2002 Phoenix torture-murder, neo-Nazi skinhead Sean Gaines had second thoughts about his violent past and racist ideology. He wrote a letter to an anti-racist magazine. He disparaged white supremacists in a Court TV documentary. In 2008, before his plea, he sat down for a lengthy interview with the *Intelligence Report* in which he detailed his sad and violent upbringing, emphatically renounced racism, and promised to work against the white supremacist movement. But the article noted that it wasn't clear if Gaines was for real or simply angling to avoid a possible death penalty — something that has bothered him ever since. This May, Gaines wrote to the *Report* and enclosed a photo of himself with a new tattoo: the words "Anti" and "Racist" emblazoned on his forearms. Pointing out that he has nothing to gain this time, with no appeals or clemency petitions outstanding, he asked only that the magazine staff take him at his word. He recounted opposing neo-Nazis who he met in prison, though only with words ("hate begets hate & violence begets violence," he wrote). "I'm hoping to gain your belief in my sincere change," he wrote, "and be it now or any time in the future I would like to be of help in any way I can." Gaines, now 32, is scheduled for release in 2028, at age 47.



SPECIAL (GAINES). KEVIN SCANLON (GAINES SKINHEAD SHIRT)

Updates on Extremism and The Law

MAY 10 A senior member of the white supremacist prison gang **Aryan Brotherhood of Texas** pleaded guilty to one count of racketeering conspiracy. One of 35 defendants, Charles Lee Roberts, 67, of **Beaumont, Texas**, is the fifth to admit carrying out murders, attempted murders, arsons, assaults, kidnappings, robberies, and drug offenses as part of an enterprise that goes back to at least 1993.

MAY 15 A federal grand jury in **Texas** indicted Phillip Monroe Ballard, 71, on charges of soliciting the murder of a federal judge. Ballard, an antigovernment “sovereign citizen,” was in a **Fort Worth** jail awaiting trial for filing false tax returns when he allegedly offered to pay a fellow inmate to kill the judge in his case.

MAY 24 A federal judge in **Seattle** sentenced “sovereign citizen” David Carroll Stephenson, 57, of **Tacoma, Wash.**, and Kenneth Wayne Leaming, 57, of **Spanaway, Wash.**, to 10- and 8-year sentences, respectively, for filing false liens against prison officials. The pair were affiliated with the **County Rangers**, an armed, badge-wearing group of antigovernment extremists who believe they are exempt from most taxes and laws.



David Lynch

MAY 28 **Racist skin-head** Charles Gilbert Demar III was sentenced to 75 years to life, plus nine years, by a **Sacramento, Calif.**, Superior

Court judge after he was convicted of manufacturing and distributing meth-

amphetamine for the **Sacramento Skins**, one of the nation’s oldest skinhead gangs. Around the same time, police in **Citrus Heights, Calif.**, said Demar was a “person of interest” in the 2011 slaying of the gang’s leader, David Lynch.

MAY 30 A **Massachusetts** Superior Court judge sentenced Keith



Keith Luke

Luke, 26, to two consecutive life sentences after he was convicted of killing two black people he didn’t know and raping and wounding a third during a violent spree in **Brockton** the day after President Obama’s 2009 inauguration. Luke, who carved a swastika into his own forehead with a jailhouse razor prior to his first court appearance, told police he acted because he had learned on the Internet that white people were being subjected to “genocide.”

JUNE 4 Dennis James, 47, of **San Pablo, Calif.**, and Jesse Ray Delgado, 47, of **Boise, Idaho**, became the latest members of the **Aryan Knights**, a white supremacist gang that operated a major methamphetamine ring, to be sentenced in **Idaho** to federal prison. All 23 defendants in the drug case have pleaded guilty, and 17 have been sentenced.

JUNE 6 The 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in **St. Louis, Mo.**, upheld the conviction of Chevie Kehoe, the **Colville, Wash.**, founder of the **Aryan Peoples Republic** terrorist gang who was convicted of the 1999 torture-murder of an **Arkansas** gun dealer, his

wife and her 8-year-old daughter as part of a plot to overthrow the government. Kehoe had argued his lawyer was ineffective because he selected a mostly black jury in the belief that it would be more skeptical of prosecutors’ claims.

JUNE 19 Two men were arraigned in an **Albany, N.Y.**, federal court on charges of plotting to build a mobile radiation gun to kill Muslims and others. Glendon Scott Crawford, 49, a member of the **United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan** from **Galway, N.Y.**, and Eric J. Feight, 54, of **Hudson**, were charged with conspiracy to provide material support for terrorism after allegedly trying to sell the weapon to Jewish groups and obtain financing from the **Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**.



Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer

JUNE 25 British authorities informed Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, co-founders of the anti-Muslim hate group **Stop Islamization of America**, that they may not enter the island nation. The Americans had planned to attend a rally organized by the **English Defence League**, a thuggish anti-Muslim group whose leader has been denied entry to the U.S. due to his extremism.

with the provincial government, arguing that its failure to provide equal funding for battered men was a violation of basic human rights. Exploiting activists' suicides to inflame their misogynistic base is nothing new for the men's rights movement. In 2011, Thomas James Ball, a leader of the Worcester, Mass.-based Fatherhood Coalition, doused himself with gasoline and set himself on fire outside the Cheshire County, N.H., courthouse, where for nearly a decade he had been involved in a legal battle with his ex-wife over domestic violence, child abuse, and child support payments. In a letter that arrived posthumously at the *Keene Sentinel*, he claimed that the federal government had "declared war on men" and suggested they retaliate with violence.

Sympathetic bloggers celebrated Ball as a martyr and proclaimed as "evil" anyone who dared criticize his words or actions. They reacted similarly to Silverman's suicide and singled out as a target of their rage Salon's Mary Elizabeth Williams, who wrote, "There are male victims" but that Silverman, who claimed men and women are abused at equal rates (in fact, men are victimized far less frequently), appeared to have succumbed to "demons" that "had long plagued him."

"Williams stood on Earl's carcass," fumed Paul Elam at A Voice For Men, one of the movement's most prominent and vicious websites. "Yes, he did have demons. ... The only thing she forgot to mention is that the demons were her and those of her repugnant ilk."

Elam's readers could not have agreed more. "EVERY FEMINIST is a little bit to blame for Earls [sic] death, just as they are more than a little to blame for the grossly disproportionate male suicide rate in general," opined one. Wrote another, "Factoring in the broader, systemic factors, I have no doubt whatsoever that feminism killed Earl Silverman, as surely as it is killing men every day."

ANTIGOVERNMENT EXTREMISM

'Sheriff of the Year' Says Government is Greater Threat than Terrorists

A Wisconsin sheriff who says the federal government is a greater threat than terrorists has been named "Sheriff of the Year" by the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA), an antigovernment "Patriot" group whose members have vowed to stand up to the federal government if it attempts to restrict gun rights.

Sheriff David Clarke of Milwaukee County, Wis., made headlines this January when he released a public service announcement calling on his constituents to arm themselves. Safety, he said, is "no longer a spectator sport. ... You have a duty to protect yourself and your family."

In a second ad, Clarke said Milwaukee residents were endangered by a court system that is "soft on crime" and puts violent offenders back on the streets. "Are you the next victim? You don't have to be, but that's your call," he said.

Clarke's taxpayer-funded ads, released in the midst of a national debate over gun control, were music to the ears of the

CSPOA, whose members suggest that the federal government plans to confiscate privately owned firearms and institute a totalitarian regime.

Founded in 2011, CSPOA is the brainchild of former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack, who became a hero to the radical right in the 1990s when he successfully challenged certain provisions of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act. Mack, who says he has persuaded more than 470 of the nation's 3,080 sheriffs and sheriffs' associations in 18 states to sign a pledge to "oppose and disallow" new gun measures, has said that the "greatest threat we face today is not terrorists; it is our own federal government."

Clarke agrees with Mack's assessment, he said in an interview with Milwaukee's WISN 12 News in May. Noting the low odds of being killed by terrorists — and mentioning the IRS' singling out of conservative groups for extra scrutiny, government wiretaps on Associated Press writers, the national debt, and other issues that have recently animated the right — Clarke said, "[O]n an everyday basis, to me, federal government is a bigger threat. I could make the case, and I think I just did."

Riding high: Milwaukee County, Wis., Sheriff David Clark was honored by a radical law enforcement group after he urged citizens to arm themselves in the face of a court system he described as "soft on crime."



This Time, Writer Who Disparaged Latinos is Marginalized by GOP

In a widely quoted comment published in the Republican National Committee's election postmortem earlier this year, arch-conservative politician Dick Armey had this to say about the GOP's approach to immigration issues: "You can't call someone ugly and expect them to go to the prom with you. We've chased the Hispanic voter out of his natural home" in the party.

Armey is one of many prominent Republicans — former President George W. Bush, his brother Jeb Bush, and Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal among them — who say Latinos are natural-born Republicans and who have called on conservatives to change their tune on immigration or risk permanently marginalizing the GOP.

Much of the mainstream right, it appears, has been listening. In an extraordinary rejection of the white nationalist rhetoric once broadly accepted within right-wing circles, mainstream conservative politicians and pundits were nearly unanimous in condemning a recent report by the conservative Heritage Foundation that claimed, contrary to predictions by researchers associated with both sides of the aisle, that immigration reform will cost the country trillions of dollars.

Criticism of the report went far beyond its assertions, soon settling on inquiries into the motives and beliefs of one of its two authors, Jason Richwine.

Soon after the report was released, it emerged that Richwine, who became a Heritage Foundation fellow in 2010, had claimed in his 2009 doctoral dissertation at Harvard that there are deep and persistent differences in intelligence between the races. "No one knows whether Hispanics will ever reach IQ parity with whites, but the prediction that new Hispanic immigrants will have low-IQ children and grandchildren is hard to argue against," he wrote. To deal with this

supposed problem, Richwine argued for testing potential immigrants' IQs and excluding those with lower scores.

Richwine resigned from the Heritage Foundation soon after his dissertation was made public, and many mainstream conservative scrambled to distance themselves from him.

But Richwine did not rise to prominence in a vacuum, and some well-placed fellow travelers who share his ultra-nativist point of view were still quick to defend him. Chief among them was Charles Murray, a scholar at the conservative American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and co-author of *The Bell Curve*, a controversial 1994 book that argues that blacks and Latinos have lower IQs than whites and that most social welfare programs are doomed to fail as a result. Murray, who reviewed Richwine's dissertation before it was finalized and who worked with Richwine when the latter was a fellow at AEI in 2008-09, published a full-throated defense of his former protégé in the conservative National Review Online on May 15, claiming that Richwine's fall from grace is "emblematic of a corruption that has spread throughout American intellectual discourse."

George Borjas, a Harvard economist who sat on Richwine's dissertation committee, also defended Richwine's



Heritage Foundation fellow Jason Richwine (left), author of a dubious report alleging that immigration reform will cost trillions of dollars, resigned after it was disclosed that he had written earlier that Latinos are less intelligent than others. Although Richwine retained a few backers, his claims flew in the face of mainstream conservatives like Dick Armey, who said the GOP must reach out to Latinos to remain viable.

work as "sound." A longtime opponent of immigration, Borjas in 2007 granted a lengthy and friendly interview to Peter Brimelow, a white nationalist pundit who argues that most immigrants admitted into the country should be white and that those who think otherwise are traitors who "hate our traditional culture and ... see immigration as a weapon to help destroy it."

Meanwhile, other prominent right-wing figures continued to beat the drum for Richwine's arguments even without mentioning his name. In a WorldNetDaily column published less than two weeks after Richwine's resignation from the Heritage Foundation, frequent Fox News commentator Ann Coulter raged against immigration reform, contending that lawmakers "are working feverishly to turn the country into Mexico" and yearning for the days when some immigrants were "rejected right off the boat for being sick, crippled or idiots."

"When," she wondered, "did we vote to become Mexico?" ▲



Touring the Third Reich

Sharkhunters International, run by a ‘nonpolitical’ Floridian, takes its members to see all the glories of the Nazi era

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

When Americans plan their vacations to foreign lands, they may think of some tropical paradise like Fiji. Or how about taking in some European castles? Perhaps a look at the splendors of China’s Forbidden City? But there are other options if you want to go international. In particular, what about a 10-day tour of southern Germany that hits all of Adolf Hitler’s favorite spots, like the famous Eagle’s Nest built by the führer’s private secretary, Martin Bormann, for his 50th birthday?

If a pro-Hitler itinerary like that is to your liking, then a Sharkhunters

International tour is for you. The Hernando, Fla.-based outfit, which you can join for a fee in return for certain benefits, fetishizes the Nazis and U-boat history, taking its travelers to the hidden gems of the Third Reich.

To advertise its southern Germany tour, Sharkhunters says: “Adolf Hitler really loved the Bavarian Alps and eventually, under the direction of Martin Bormann, an entire sicherheitsdienst-zone (security zone) was constructed atop the Obersalzberg [a mountainside Nazi retreat near Berchtesgaden].” If you join the Sharkhunters tour, you get to see where Nazi high officials — Bormann,

Hitler, Albert Speer (who was an architect who designed several prominent Nazi buildings), and others — “had nice homes built.” The tour also takes you to “the very tunnel where Hermann Göring, chief of the Luftwaffe and a high-ranking member of the Third Reich, hid his train filled with art treasures and who knows what else in preparation for his escape to Salzburg.” You’ll even get a look at Hitler’s favorite rock in the Obersee.

Professing a love of U-boats and World War II history, Harry Cooper (inset) says that he’s no anti-Semite and his tours do not glorify Nazism. His actions, associations, group memberships and other evidence suggest otherwise.



AP IMAGES (HITLER); SPECIAL COOPER

If Bavaria doesn't suit your Hitlerian interests, there's always the Sharkhunters tours to northern Germany. There, visitors get to take in such sights as the Wolf's Lair, which was Hitler's Eastern Front military headquarters, the place where the invasion of Russia was planned. And you get to see Nazi minister of propaganda Joseph Goebbels' former home. Or maybe you would rather take a gander at what Argentina has in store for a Nazi-lover because, as the Sharkhunters website says, South America "had a love affair with the Third Reich." That Sharkhunters trip will take you to the places where prominent Nazis supposedly hid out after the war.

Who, exactly, are these Sharkhunters?

Harry Cooper, now 70, started the group in 1983, professing a love of U-boats and World War II history, and it has been offering tours since 1987. It sells all kinds of Nazi-related memorabilia — like Hitler girlfriend Eva Braun's home movies — and publishes a newsletter, *KTG Magazine*, that reports on submarine research. Today, the organization claims 7,700 members in 76 countries.

Cooper denies that Sharkhunters glorifies the Nazis or is driven by anti-Semitism. "We're nonpolitical," he insisted in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, adding, without a trace of irony, that his best friend is Jewish. When asked why his tours and website are so focused on Nazi history from the Nazi point of view, Cooper said, "It's a field that I'm interested in, the warfare." He added, "Now if I was studying the history of the Romans, would you call me a Roman?"

But the evidence contradicts his claims.

Advertisements for Sharkhunters tours have run regularly in wildly pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic publications. Cooper has counted prominent neo-Nazis, leading anti-Semites, Holocaust deniers, foreign extremist leaders, and even unrepentant members of the Third Reich among his friends, associates and members. His advisory board includes a prominent former member of a leading American neo-Nazi group. He's enjoyed a friendly dinner with neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke, and spoken at a major Holocaust denial conference.



A favorite destination for Sharkhunters International tours is the heavily fortified Wolfsschanze, or Wolf's Lair, that was a key Hitler headquarters during the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Visiting sites like this—where Hitler was nearly killed in a July 20, 1944, bombing by disgruntled German Army officers—Sharkhunters chief Harry Cooper has been spotted wearing a ring emblazoned with a Nazi swastika and other symbols.





Among those who have gone on Harry Cooper's Nazi-themed tours are U.S. neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke (above), who joined Cooper for dinner in 2009. Even more remarkably, Cooper speaks of frequently visiting the home of Manfred Roeder, a Holocaust denier classified as a terrorist by the German government because of attacks on immigrants in the 1980s.

Harry Cooper, the “nonpolitical” tour guide of Nazi Germany, even wears a ring emblazoned with a swastika.

Race Cars and Racists

Cooper's biography on his website reads as if he's angling for the title of “Most Interesting Man in the World,” like the bearded man in the Dos Equis beer commercial. It's filled with an array of impressive-looking medals and honors, obscure and dubious-sounding though they may be.

His story, according to him, began when he joined the Air Force fresh out of high school, hoping to become a fighter pilot. After serving four years, he worked for large corporations. Then he became an accomplished racecar driver. In drag racing, Cooper claims to have set “a number of national records,” spent time in “Figure 8” racing, short-track stock car racing and “spending Sunday afternoons at 190 mph on the super-speedways.” He was an editor for *Stock Car Racing Magazine*, and had monthly columns in *Australian Speedway News* and an American racing magazine that is now out of business. For a short time, Cooper was a Chicago newscaster on “Motorsports International,” which covered stock car events.

Sometime in the early 1980s, he

retired and moved onto a sailboat in the Bahamas, where he dreamed up the idea for Sharkhunters after hearing “rumors passed on by local inhabitants about U-Boats.” After that, Cooper joined the U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary and started picking up some bizarre credentials. His bio lists him as being a commissar of the Soviet Union for the Peace of the Oceans (whatever that is), an honorary submarine officer of the Russian Navy and recipient of the “Grand Ulrichsberg badge.” It is unclear what that badge is, but Ulrichsberg, Austria, is where an always-controversial annual reunion is held for veterans of the Wehrmacht and Waffen SS. According to one media report, Cooper took 20 of his Sharkhunters members there in 2011, and a couple of them had drinks with former SS members after the event. Cooper also claims to have been named an ambassador to Ulrichsberg (he has taken Sharkhunters tour groups to Ulrichsberg more than once). Once, he says, he received a medal from the mayor of Redipuglia, Italy, after visiting the battlefield “where young Erwin Rommel earned his Pour l'Merit [Prussia's highest order of merit].”

Cooper also touts his “Man of the Year 2011” award, issued by the American Biographical Institute (ABI), for

“accomplishments in your field.” But that achievement may be a little less grand than it seems. The Raleigh, N.C.-based ABI is a vanity publisher that invites individuals to pay a fee to be included in its “Who's Who” books. Its “awards” have been widely denounced as scams.

Great White Sharks

Despite his claim that Sharkhunters has nothing to do with anti-Semitism, Cooper isn't shy about soliciting anti-Semites for his tours. Starting in the early 1990s, Sharkhunters events were advertised in publications like *National Christian News*, whose tagline was “Talmudism is Treason!” and whose publisher viewed Hitler as the savior of Christian Germans against a global Jewish conspiracy. In a 1994 ad there, Sharkhunters suggested that members could “re-live the history of the German U-boats” by sending their name and address to *National Christian News* so they could receive a discount for joining Sharkhunters.

GANPAC Brief, long run by the now-deceased former SS member Hans Schmidt, a Holocaust denier and naturalized American, is another venue where Sharkhunters' wares were advertised (when the author of this piece signed up for Sharkhunters, she received a picture of Schmidt from his SS days). In 1991,

the *Brief* plumped for a Sharkhunters convention. In 1995, the *Brief* advised that its readers should consider a “very unique opportunity” to travel with the Sharkhunters to Russia and Ukraine so that they can “visit places no average tourist would ever be permitted to see.” Cooper also ran ads in *The Spotlight*, like one in 1997 for his 10th anniversary convention. That tabloid was frequently anti-Semitic and run by longtime Holocaust denier Willis Carto, a close ally of Cooper’s to this day.

Sharkhunters has long celebrated several members with notorious extremist pasts. In 1993, Nazi fan and filmmaker Leni Reifenstahl, who is described as an “extraordinary woman!” on the website, signed on. Her most famous film was *Triumph of the Will*, a dramatically pro-Nazi propaganda film made at the 1934 Nazi Party congress in Nuremberg for which Hitler served as unofficial executive producer. Reifenstahl’s prominence in the Third Reich, along with her personal association with Hitler, destroyed her film career following Germany’s defeat in World War II, after which she was arrested but eventually released without any charges. Those associations didn’t stop Cooper from repeatedly visiting Reifenstahl at her home in Munich and selling her memoirs.

Also a member was Leon DeGrelle, a Belgian who joined the SS and whom the Sharkhunter’s website says “met both Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler” as his pre-war anti-Communist activities were funded by these men. Sharkhunters doesn’t mention that DeGrelle was an ardent Nazi who said at one point that Hitler had told him, “If I had a son, I wish he’d resemble you.” DeGrelle was involved in extremist politics until he died in 1994. He was granted Spanish citizenship by the fascist Francisco Franco regime.

A lifetime member of Sharkhunters is Manfred Roeder, a prominent German Holocaust denier who forged ties with the far-right political scene in Germany and abroad, including the Ku Klux Klan. In 1980, the German Action Group, a neo-Nazi organization founded by Roeder, carried out attacks against buildings that housed foreign workers and asylum

seekers. Roeder was classified as a terrorist by German legal authorities as a result of these activities. Cooper says on his website that he has visited Roeder’s home several times, and he provides the pictures to prove it. Other foreign members are former Hitler youth and German World War II veterans from different service branches, in particular U-boat commanders.

The Sharkhunters advisory board currently includes at least one notable extremist — Dr. Charles Ellis, for a long time a psychologist for the state of Alaska.

Today, the organization claims 7,700 members in 76 countries.

Ellis was also for many years a prominent member of the National Alliance, the most important neo-Nazi group in America during the 1990s and early 2000s. He attended one of that group’s leadership conferences, which are open only to high-ranking members, in 2002. The Sharkhunters website has pictures of Ellis on a tour traipsing through Nazi tunnels in Southern Bavaria in 2009. Ellis has been on at least two German tours as well as one to Argentina, to which he brought his daughters.

Another pal of Cooper’s appears to be David Duke, the longtime Klansman and neo-Nazi who was once a Louisiana state senator. Duke joined up with the group in 2009 for the same tour Ellis took in Bavaria. A photo of Duke and Cooper having dinner together is on the site.

Cooper has a long history with Austrian extremist Jorg Haider, the late head of the Austrian Freedom Party and governor of the state of Carinthia. Haider has said that he

met Cooper during a 1990 tour and they became “friends.” Haider was a controversial figure within Austria and abroad for comments that were widely condemned as praising Nazi policies and soldiers, some of which were made at Ulrichsberg in 2000. Haider, who also harbored anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic views, was killed in a car crash after leaving a gay bar in 2008. But that account does not sit well with Cooper. As is his conspiratorial wont, Cooper thinks there is a government plot behind the crash and that Haider

actually may have been assassinated. According to various E-mails in 2012, Cooper circulated a secret report about the death to members of the Sharkhunters.

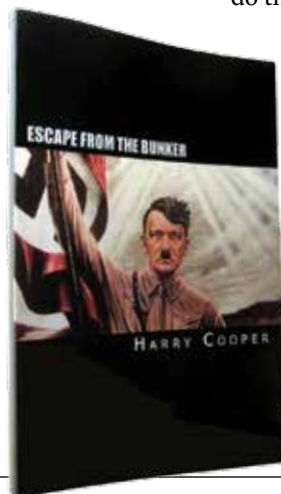
The group apparently also claims to have had some high-powered members who were very much part of the political mainstream. Cooper told the *Report* that former President Ronald Reagan was a member in the late 1980s. Other notables listed as members on the Sharkhunters site include the Texas billionaire and former presidential candidate H. Ross Perot, broadcaster Hugh Downs and CNN founder Ted Turner. Most likely, these men had no idea of Cooper’s Nazi interests but rather saw the group as a place to learn about the history of German U-boats.

‘Nazi Lover’?

Cooper’s extremist connections flatly contradict his claim to be apolitical. Many of his apparent opinions seem to do the very same thing.

In 1996, Cooper spoke at a conference put on by *The Barnes Review*, a leading Holocaust-denial publication named after Henry Elmer Barnes and run by Carto, who has been a

Harry Cooper has been obsessed for years with the theory, unsupported by historical evidence, that Adolf Hitler escaped from his Berlin bunker as the Nazi regime went down in flames in 1945. He has repeatedly spoken on the topic and even self-published a book making these claims.





Harry Cooper's unusual biography includes four years in the Air Force and, decades later, drinking steins of beer with friends in Europe.

Sharkhunters member since 1989. Cooper has served on that publication's board of contributing editors since at least 2003. One of the *Review's* most outlandish covers came the next year, in 2004, when a picture of Hitler was accompanied by the eyebrow-raising headline, "Hitler: Neglected Nobel Peace Prize Winner?"

At *The Barnes Review* conference, Cooper's speech addressed whether Hitler and Bormann actually escaped the Berlin bunker in which Hitler and Eva Braun were said to have committed suicide in April 1945. Cooper is obsessed with the topic and has self-published a book about it. In a 2007 issue of the *Review*, he returned to this favorite topic, reporting on a letter he says was obtained by alleged Spanish spy Don Angel Alcazar de Velasco that claimed that Bormann drugged Hitler at the end of the war and the two then escaped to South America. His other contribution came in 2012, when the *Review* published a two-part article reprinting a declassified U.S. document Cooper had provided that details the interrogation of Herman Goering by American officials. The document reads like an apologia for Goering's actions.

Cooper wears a ring that sports a death's head with a rune on the left and a swastika on the right. The same ring is sold by pzg.biz, a Nazi memorabilia website that is linked to on the Sharkhunters website. And that kind of Nazi-love apparently runs in the family. Cooper told a reporter in 2011 that his wife believes that Nazi Reinhard Heydrich — who chaired the 1942 Wannsee Conference that finalized plans for the extermination of Europe's Jews — was "the greatest guy."

When pushed on his extremist connections, Cooper dissimilated. He

claimed, for example, that he just realized a year ago that he was on *The Barnes Review* board. That explanation doesn't square, however, with his presence at the publication's 2006 conference.

Despite all this, Cooper is sometimes able to share his views in mainstream venues. In July 2012, he gave two talks at the famed Adventurers Club in Chicago. A lifetime member of that private club, Cooper finds himself among illustrious ranks. The club was founded in 1911 by General W. Robert Foran, an Associated Press correspondent who was attached to Teddy Roosevelt's big game expedition of 1909-1910. Other members have included adventurers Thor Heyerdahl and Sir Edmund Hillary.



The late Leni Reifenstahl, who once described herself as a "confirmed National Socialist" and made films glorifying Nazi Germany, wrote affectionate words to Harry Cooper in the 1990s. On the Sharkhunters website, Cooper returns the favor, describing Reifenstahl as an "extraordinary woman!"

What Cooper brought to the club was a speech on "How Adolf Hitler Escaped from the Bunker." He gave the speech twice, over two sold-out nights, and by all accounts Cooper regaled his audience with this controversial topic. It wasn't the first time he impressed the club. In the September 2008 club newsletter, a story on Cooper is titled, "The Real Indiana Jones?"

Cooper made other Nazi-related claims in Chicago. He argued that long-time Argentine First Lady Eva Peron offered Nazi fugitives — "wanted for so-called war crimes," as he put it — safe haven in Argentina in exchange for gold. And that Adolf Eichmann, a key organizer of the Holocaust, was an unimportant low-level Nazi operative who was "thrown to the wolves" to protect more important targets.

Cooper was scheduled to take this show to the Los Angeles Adventurers Club, but that event was canceled. He claimed the club's manager told him it was nixed due to "childish actions by their Board of Directors." Another organization that has had it with Cooper is the uboat.net forum, where serious historians and aficionados trade information about submarines. The forum specifically bans posts about Sharkhunters because "these posts generally contain obnoxious remarks and are attempts to recruit new members." A comment posted on the site offers a conclusion that many others would agree with: "They are a bunch of unsympathetic Nazi lovers." ▲

For background on the neo-Nazi movement, see sp.lc/intel-neo

DANGEROUS LIAISONS

Losing at home, U.S. religious-right groups
are working furiously to keep gay sex criminalized
in Belize and beyond

BY HEIDI BEIRICH





BELIZE CITY, Belize—The air in the tropical lowlands of Belize is alive with wild parrot squawks and the briny scent of the country's aqua Caribbean waters. Known to most Americans only as a humid cruise ship stopover, Belize is most often visited for its stunning coral reefs. But what tourists likely don't know is that this tiny country has become Ground Zero in the latest international battle over the criminalization of LGBT sexual relationships.

For three years, a ferocious legal battle has been waged in this nation of some 356,000 people over a criminal statute that can land men and women in prison for engaging in private acts between consenting adults of the same sex. What's more, the fight over the constitutionality of Section 53 of Belize's criminal code, which prescribes a 10-year sentence for "carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any person or animal," has been joined by hard-line U.S. religious-right groups seeking to keep gay sex illegal in as many countries as possible.

This legal contest is only the latest in a wider struggle that is simultaneously being waged in Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America and elsewhere. But it is a key battle, and the stakes are



high. Overturning Section 53 in Belize could lead to the upending of similar statutes in a dozen countries that also belong to the Commonwealth of former British colonies, particularly those in the Caribbean, where several countries are part of a single legal system that culminates in the Caribbean Court of Justice. It is also part of an even larger international battle, with the United Nations increasingly pressuring nations including Belize to live up to commitments under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a treaty that took effect in 1976 and outlaws discrimination of many kinds.

But the exact meaning of that treaty remains in dispute — it does not specifically mention sexual orientation or gender identity — and anti-gay religious groups are fighting hard to deny any "special" rights to LGBT people. A large number of these groups are based in the United States, where the Christian Right is increasingly losing its battle against gay rights, especially since the 2003 *Lawrence v. Texas* Supreme Court case decriminalized gay sex. As discriminatory policies in the U.S. military and elsewhere are discarded and a rapidly increasing number of states legalize same-sex marriage, disheartened U.S. activists are taking their battle against the "homosexual agenda" to places where anti-gay hatred thrives.

And Belize is just such a place. The government is blatantly hostile to LGBT people and is vigorously defending Section 53 in court. Violence aimed at gay people is endemic, according to reports, including one issued this March that also charged that much of that violence comes from police. The country's immigration code specifically bars LGBT people, along with prostitutes and the mentally ill. The editor of the country's largest newspaper recently editorialized that he could think of "no more obscene, disgusting, wicked or perverted act" than male gay sex.

The Orozco case is part of “an orchestrated plan of demonic darkness to dethrone God from our constitution and open massive gateways to demonic influence and destruction.”



The situation is so bad that Caleb Orozco, the LGBT activist who formed the United Belize Advocacy Movement (UNIBAM) and is the plaintiff in the Section 53 case, lives and works out of a fortified office. At a court appearance in May, he was protected by armed guards hired with funds provided by foreign sympathizers. On the road, his car is met with shouts of “faggot” and a hail of garbage, and he has been threatened with death and assaulted in the streets. He is so vulnerable, in fact, that his lawyers worry openly about having Orozco as the only plaintiff in their civil case — they need a back-up in the very possible event of his assassination.

The Case

The challenge to Section 53 was filed on behalf of Caleb Orozco and UNIBAM by the University of the West Indies Rights Advocacy Project, with the support of the International Commission of Jurists, the Commonwealth Lawyers Association and the London-based Human Dignity Trust, in September 2010 in the Supreme Court of Judicature, Belize’s highest national court. Orozco’s lawyers argue that Section 53 violates provisions of the Belizean Constitution that recognize individual rights to human dignity, to not

be subject to arbitrary or unlawful interference with one’s privacy, and to equal protection under the law.

In the May hearing before Belize’s chief justice, one of Orozco’s lawyers, Trinidadian Christopher Hamel-Smith, argued that Section 53 presents a man like Orozco with “an intolerable choice, which no citizen should ever have to make, to live



Since filing a legal challenge to Section 53, the Belize law criminalizing gay sex, Caleb Orozco has faced relentless harassment and has been violently attacked. He fears for his life.

Texas-born evangelical Scott Stirm heads Belize Action, one of the country’s fiercest opponents of the push to decriminalize gay sex. He has alleged that LGBT people want to “go into schools and teach our kids their lifestyle.”

as a law-abiding citizen by suppressing his sexuality, or abandon all hope of ever living as a law-abiding citizen.” Orozco and his lawyers also have argued that Belize’s anti-LGBT laws are simply leftovers from the laws against “buggery” (anal sex) that were imposed by the British. In essence, they are saying that anti-gay legislation is a remnant of colonialism unrelated to Belize’s native culture.

On the other side is the government, including both the prime minister and the attorney general, and an alliance called Church Interested Parties (CIP). CIP includes the Roman Catholic Church in Belize, the Belize Church of England Corporate Body and the local Evangelical Association of Churches.

Ranged alongside those pro-criminalization forces are U.S. groups and individuals that have rushed to join the fight. A local group, Belize Action, is headed by Waco, Texas-born Christian missionary Scott Stirm, who has railed against the “unacceptable” gay lifestyle, attacked alleged LGBT efforts to “go into

the schools and teach our kids their life-style,” and claimed that gay tourists come to Belize for “a new exotic location in which to corrupt local youth for a dollar or two.”

Belize Action’s website links to various American anti-gay groups. Most remarkable is its citation of U.S. “researcher” Paul Cameron, who has produced a series of defamatory and entirely bogus “studies” that purport to show the depravity, violence and disease associated with homosexuality.

Another U.S. group, Extreme Prophetic Ministries of Phoenix, lists support for Stirm’s Belize Action as one of its projects. Led by Patricia King, the ministry has been known to pray in mortuaries in an effort to raise the dead. One of its ministers, Caleb Lee Brundridge, reportedly traveled in 2009 to Uganda for an anti-gay conference that helped foment a proposed “kill the gays” law there.

Both groups declined to discuss their activities.

Representing the Haters

Other U.S. groups appear to be taking an even more active role, supporting Section 53 by providing American lawyers. Belize Action’s website has repeatedly said that attorneys supplied by the Scottsdale, Ariz.-based Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) and the New York City- and Washington-based Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute (C-FAM) have joined the court fight. “The Christian Community has obtained the legal services of int’l attorneys Terry McKeegan [of C-FAM], Piero Tozzi and Brian Raum [both of ADF] from CFAM and ADF, International catholic [sic] and evangelical organizations that assist in fighting abortion and homosexuality cases internationally,” said one such post.

ADF and C-FAM did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

But there is plenty to back up Stirm’s claim that the ADF has been active. The ADF sends out regular E-mail “Alliance Alerts” updating the battle in Belize. Last December, it highlighted a rally by Belize Action under the headline, “Christians ‘Stand Firm’ Against



On the road, Orozco’s car is met with shouts of “faggot,” and he has been assaulted in the streets.

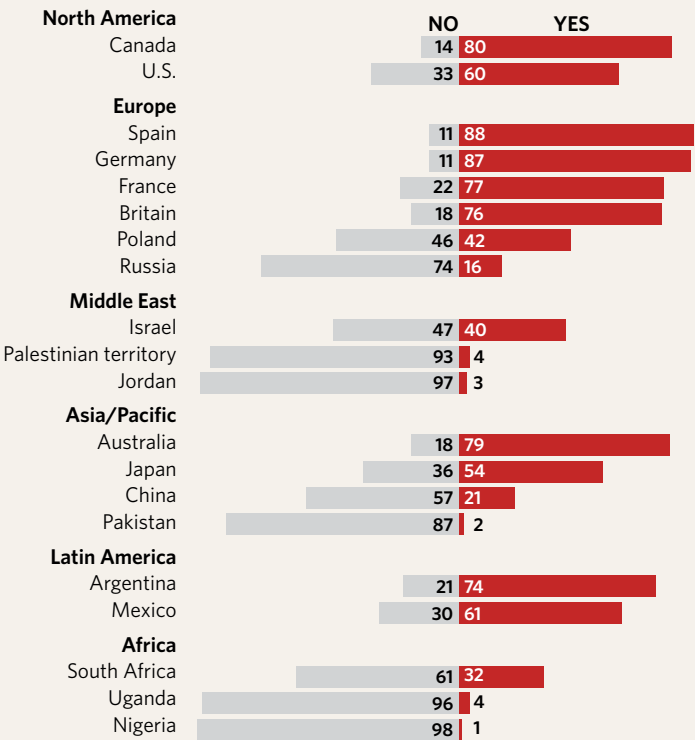
UNIBAM.” On its website, the ADF says it does international work because “radical international allies” of groups like the ACLU are working to foist a “pro-homosexual agenda” on a variety of countries. It complains that these groups are pushing for “radical new ‘rights’ that will advance the homosexual agenda, destroy marriage and undermine religious freedom.” In response, the ADF says, it “coordinates, funds, and litigates impor-

tant cases with our global allies that have the potential to set legal precedents that could silence and punish Christians.” The ADF’s most recent available tax returns show it spent \$65,000 on “human rights legal work” in Central America and the Caribbean in 2009 and 2010.

Moreover, the ADF is on record backing criminalization. It submitted an amicus brief in the 2003 *Lawrence* case supporting the U.S. sodomy laws that

Should Society Accept Homosexuality?

Researchers have found a wide range of attitudes toward homosexuality, ranging from high acceptance in North America and Western Europe to widespread condemnation in countries like Nigeria and Pakistan. A sampling:



Source: Pew Research Center (June 2013)

were ultimately struck down. The same year, ADF President Alan Sears wrote a book, *The Homosexual Agenda: Exposing the Principal Threat to Religious Freedom Today*, that complains that “once one state law protecting marriage and regulating sex is found to be unconstitutional, all others are fair game, such as laws against pedophilia, sex between close relatives, polygamy, bestiality and all other distortions and violations of God’s plan.” It described gay sex as “deviant behavior.”

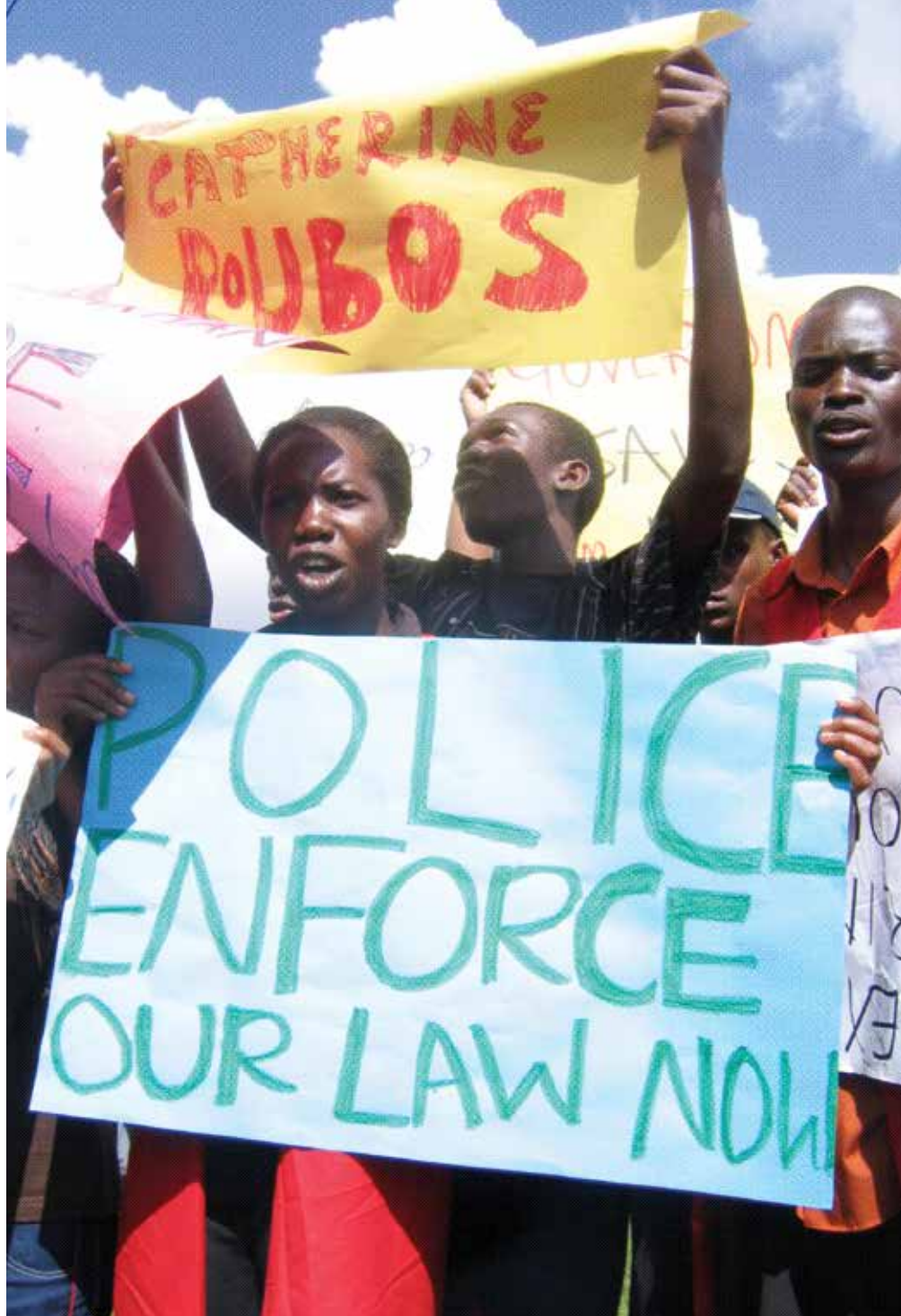
The ADF didn’t change its tune after the *Lawrence* decision. An ADF “Alliance Alert” in 2011 lauded the passage of a Nigerian law that punishes any LGBT advocacy with 10 years in prison.

Like the ADF, C-FAM is heavily focused on global anti-LGBT work, charging that international law is advancing a “radical social agenda” that needs to be stopped. It has claimed that UN efforts to further LGBT rights will lead to “hate crime charges being brought against Christians” who oppose “the homosexual agenda.” In 2012, its president, Austin Ruse, attacked a UN global study of anti-LGBT violence, saying it was a “dishonest” ploy to legitimize homosexuality. The group also has lauded Scott Lively, an American who is infamous for the claim that gay men orchestrated the Holocaust, and who went to Uganda to speak against homosexuality, lending support to the “kill the gays” bill there.

The Echo Chamber

One of the more remarkable aspects of the battle in Belize is how closely the anti-gay rhetoric employed there resembles U.S. activists’ propaganda.

In its amicus brief in the *Lawrence* case, the anti-LGBT American Center for Law and Justice argued there is “an



Like Belize, Uganda is a hotbed of anti-gay hatred, partly the result of propaganda spread by U.S.-based Christian Right groups.

extensively documented health risk of same-sex sodomy” and added that a ban on sodomy “permissibly furthers public morality.” The ADF’s Jordan Lorence, in that group’s brief, said the “true objective” of the plaintiffs in the case was to clear a path to further gay rights, such as adoption. Groups including Liberty Counsel depicted LGBT people as dis-

eased, promiscuous and self-destructive. The Family Research Council and Focus on the Family, two of the largest Christian Right heavyweights in the United States, argued that criminalizing gay sex was a good way to protect marriage. “States may discourage the ‘evils’ ... of sexual acts outside of marriage by means up to and including criminal prohibition,” their joint amicus brief said.

Many of these U.S. groups have also argued that gay sex is essentially the moral equivalent of incest, bestiality, and

In 2011, a newspaper in Uganda published front-page photos and home addresses of gay men, including LGBT activist David Kato, under the words “Hang Them.” Twenty-three days later, Kato was murdered in his home.

pedophilia. They say gay people will live short lives, and that they molest children at rates way out of proportion to their numbers (a particularly egregious, and false, allegation). They claim that school anti-bullying programs are subterfuges for LGBT people to “recruit” new partners. And, basing their argument on the idea that being gay is a choice, they assert that because gay people cannot “reproduce” biologically, they must go out and convert straight people to homosexuality to maintain their numbers.

All of these arguments are alive and well in Belize.

An ad published this May in Belize’s largest newspaper warned that overturning Section 53 would result in moral decadence, same-sex marriage, and the loss freedom of speech and religion. The ad was paid for by the Militia of the Holy Spirit, run by Belizean evangelical and anti-gay activist Louis Wade Jr.

The CIP, the alliance of Belizean churches, has circulated a pamphlet

contending that gay people are “after the kids,” and want to “lower the age of consent” for sexual activity. It also reiterated the longstanding U.S. argument that “homosexuals cannot reproduce; therefore, they must recruit.”

The Rev. Canon Leroy Flowers, president of the local Council of Churches and head of the Anglican church in Belize, made similar arguments at a 2011 forum put on by Belize Action, according to *Amandala*, Belize’s main newspaper. “They’re after the kids,” he said. “The UK [United Kingdom] approved same-sex marriage years ago; now they’re having court battles to lower the age of consent.”

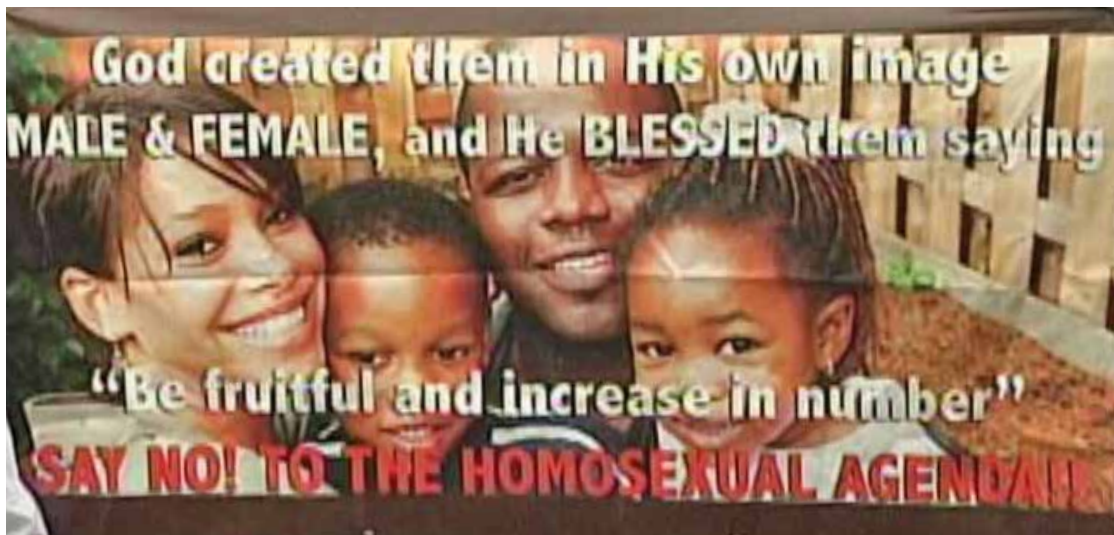
In documents filed in court by the CIP, homosexuality is described as “morally repugnant,” “socially undesirable,” and akin to “incest, prostitution and drug

use.” And then the CIP makes an argument that clearly originated elsewhere — that the whole Section 53 case is part of an assault by “cultural Marxism.”

The irony is rich. The vast majority of Belize’s population is not white. Yet the idea of cultural Marxism was cooked up by American white supremacists to describe a convoluted leftist conspiracy to manipulate white-dominated societies into expanding rights for people of color, women, LGBT people and others.

To some Belizeans, the derivation of this rhetoric is obvious. “This is all a foreign influence,” said the head of a local foundation who did not want to be named. “These arguments are not from here. They start with pedophilia, and then, ‘They are coming after your kids.’ It’s just about instilling fear about gays.”





Billboards are part of Belize Action's fear-mongering anti-LGBT campaign, one that borrows heavily from the rhetoric of U.S. groups.

Fear and Loathing in Belize

The more terrifying fear in Belize is that experienced by LGBT people.

According to a 2011 local news report, almost 90% of “men who have sex with men” say they do not receive equal legal protection. Another report, this one released in March by the Chicago-based Heartland Alliance, found that LGBT people in Belize are routinely subjected to violence, some of it coming from law enforcement officials. It cited the bludgeoning death of an openly gay Guatemalan doctor and the murder of a politician’s gay brother.

The country’s leading newspaper, *Amandala*, has played a particularly noxious role. In May, Editor-in-Chief Russell Vellos wrote that “homosexuals prey on children and teenaged boys” and went on to describe the “evil” acts that “one man could do to another.” “Get up and help fight this evil in our midst,” Vellos said. The paper’s comment section echoed Vellos’ fury at gay people. “Let them burn!” one poster said. “Let the sharks eat their body parts,” said another.

As the latest hearing in the case opened this May, *Amandala* ran a screaming front-page headline that played off UNIBAM’s name: “BAMers go to bat today.” The headline was an ugly joke. The phrase “batty boy” is often used in Caribbean countries as a slur for gay men.

The Internet, too, is alive with calls for Orozco’s assassination and other threats.

The idea that a killing could be provoked by such talk is not so far out.

After all, it happened in Uganda, where a similar battle over the criminalization of homosexuality has been raging for several years. In 2011, a newspaper in Uganda published front-page photos and the home addresses of gay men, including LGBT activist David Kato, under the words “Hang Them.”

Twenty-three days later, Kato was murdered in his home.

There is virtually no sign of official concern for the fate of Orozco or other LGBT people in Belize. Prime Minister Dean Barrow has vowed to defend Section 53 and slammed President Obama for opposing the criminalization of gay sex. There is not a single major political party or political figure that has come out in favor of overturning or even moderating the country’s draconian statute.

The tone of Section 53’s defenders has been hair-raising. Louis Wade Jr., who runs the Militia of the Holy Spirit and is a close ally of Texan Scott Stirm, said in a May video that the case was about opposing the “false god of carnality.” “Mark my words, it starts with one lawsuit... If they get their way ... the final set of mass litigation will be against people who stand up and say that this ... is wrong.” Stirm was blunter, saying the case is part of “an orchestrated plan of demonic darkness to dethrone God from our constitution and open massive gateways to demonic influences and destruction.”

Through it all, the UN has been paying attention. This March, the UN’s Human Rights Committee called on Belize to

review its constitution and legal code “to ensure that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity are prohibited.”

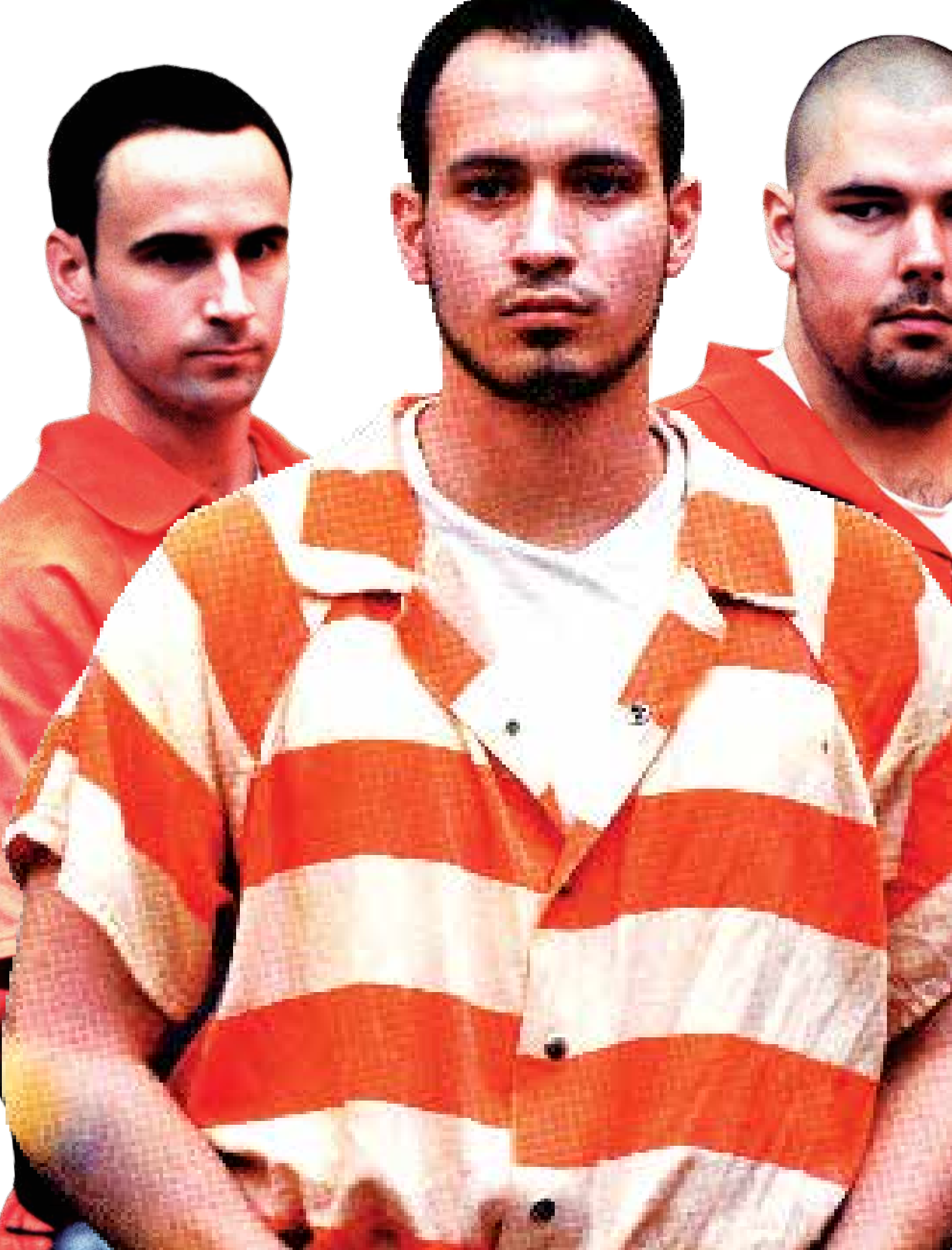
The global debate over the criminalization of gay sex is increasingly splitting U.S. Christians, who as a group say they are espousing a theology of love, not hate. Many Christian groups, like the ADF, are becoming increasingly hard-line, albeit it only out of the public eye. Others have moderated, although even some of those seem torn. Focus of the Family, for instance, has noticeably moderated its anti-gay rhetoric in recent years, and yet the group’s vice president of government and public policy, Tom Minnery, sits on the board of the pro-criminalization ADF.

In Belize, the debate is not academic. Caleb Orozco is hunkering down, awaiting a court ruling that is expected in August, though there is much to suggest that he will lose the case. If so, he says, he and his lawyers intend to appeal it to the next level and, ultimately, to the Caribbean Court of Justice. The hope, perhaps forlorn, is that the Belize case will become a landmark.

“Everyone in the Caribbean is watching the case closely,” Orozco said. “Our LGBT friends want to know how to succeed.” ▲

Evelyn Schlatter contributed to this report.

For information about the prevalence of anti-LGBT hate crimes in America, see sp.lc/ir140-lgbt





After Isaac Aguigui (in stripes) pleaded guilty to the murders of Tiffany York and Michael Roark (insets), Christopher Salmon (far left) and Anthony Peden still face charges of capital murder.



FEAR RISING

The antigovernment plot began with a video game. Soon, two people were dead. In the end, there was only human wreckage

BY DON TERRY

LUDOWICI, Ga. — The suspected leader of a murderous militia of military men was the last to be interrogated that mild Georgia winter evening 18 months ago. Although he was only 20 at the time, United States Army Pvt. Isaac Aguigui played it cool and defiant. “You can go to hell,” he told an agent from the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI). His tough-guy act didn’t last long. Within 20 minutes, Aguigui deserted his rigid military discipline and whimpered, “I’m just going to end up in a jail cell alone for the rest of my life.”

On July 19, his tearful prophecy came true.

The now 22-year-old soldier was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole after pleading guilty to the murder of Tiffany York, 17, and her boyfriend, Michael Roark, 19, a former soldier who served with Aguigui at the Fort Stewart Army base in nearby Hinesville. Georgia state prosecutors say the young sweethearts were shot to death in the woods not far from the sprawling military facility to keep secret Aguigui’s video-game inspired militia and its delusional plans to overthrow the government of the United States through a torrent of bombings, kidnappings and political assassinations.

Aguigui’s guilty plea pushed his co-defendants — Pvt. Christopher Salmon and Sgt. Anthony Peden — closer to the executioner’s needle. In a matter-of-fact voice, Aguigui said Peden killed



York and then Salmon killed Roark, who, Aguigui said, “asked for mercy and forgiveness.”

By then, Aguigui said he told the terrified teenager, “It was too late.”

Peden and Salmon were both in the heavily guarded Long County courtroom for a status hearing on their cases as Aguigui promised to testify against them to avoid the death penalty.

Aguigui and his small band of troubled brothers called themselves FEAR — Forever Enduring, Always Ready. Forever did not last long.

Five days after the murders, on Dec. 10, 2011, Aguigui and three of his comrades from Fort Stewart — Pfc. Michael Burnett, Peden and Salmon — were arrested. One by one, they were brought into the interrogation room for separate interviews, conducted most of the time by the folksy GBI agent who made it clear to the disgraced soldiers that “this is the end of the road” and everyone is “singing like birds,” “crying on the frigging floor,” “blubbering and blubbering,” and using up his box of tissues.

Isaac Aguigui liked to portray the tough guy, and he in fact coolly ordered two close friends to murder a man and his 17-year-old girlfriend as Aguigui watched. But when it was Aguigui’s future that was at stake, it was only minutes before he was whimpering and blubbering about his sorry situation.

Only Salmon, the man called “Phish,” asked for a lawyer and clammed up. The others talked in bloody detail about the murders in the woods. They pointed fingers at each other and tried to cut deals. And they wept for their children and themselves. The *Intelligence Report* has obtained video and audio recordings of the interrogations, and they offer a chilling and raw look at evil at an early age.

“All your family, whatever y’all are, have already made statements to us,” the GBI agent told Aguigui. “While they change a little bit in consistencies, everybody is pretty much putting you in the middle of it, the one behind everything, the mastermind, the head honcho that has ordered them to do this, and is going to take over the United States of America.”

Aguigui and his buddies had been

stockpiling guns and ammo at a frantic pace — \$87,000 worth in just a couple of months — drawing the attention of the Feds even before the murders. The funds all came from Aguigui.

“Is it true?” the GBI agent demanded, his chair rolled up so close to Aguigui’s in that tight interrogation room that the agent was practically sitting in his lap. “Did you send them out? Are they your soldiers and you’re leading your own personal war?”

It wasn’t much longer before Aguigui was weeping.

“You ever think how Dr. Frankenstein thought when Frankenstein ripped his first person in half?” Aguigui asked the agent. “Dear Jesus, what have I created? And all he wants to do is go back to that moment before he brought it to life.”

The agent asked, “What’s the monster?”

Aguigui sobbed. “I think it’s me.”

A is for Aguigui

The strange, sad story of FEAR — Aguigui’s Frankenstein — has dribbled out in bits and pieces, a blend of fact and fantasy. Early reports about the group were sensational and alarming. Led by the homeschooled Aguigui, a private who had been a page at the 2008 Republican National Convention, FEAR was said to be a secret anarchist militia within the military, based at Fort Stewart and plotting, among other acts of terror, to assassinate the president of the United States.

The truth was never so cinematic. FEAR is more right-wing “Patriot” group than anarchist collective, more gang than militia. “Isaac agreed with the Founding Fathers, that there should be a revolution every 10 years,” Heather Salmon, the wife of Christopher Salmon and the only woman charged in the case told the *Intelligence Report* in an exclusive interview in a visiting room in the Brantley County Jail in Georgia, where she has been confined since her arrest in June of 2012. “But I never took the militia talk seriously. There were only five of them.”

Aguigui told the GBI agent that he wanted to start a militia to patrol

the border between his home state of Washington and Canada. He said there is a lot of drug trafficking along the border and he wanted to stop it. He did not mention the \$10,000 to \$15,000 worth of cocaine, marijuana and other narcotics prosecutors say Aguigui purchased in just four weeks shortly before the murders. Sometimes the drugs were delivered to Aguigui at Fort Stewart. "The militia wasn't supposed to go out and burn everything to the ground," Aguigui insisted. "It was supposed to be in defense of the people. It wasn't supposed to turn into this."

Once back in the Northwest, Aguigui said, he wanted to settle his Army buddies, his "family," on 90 acres in rural Washington where they could build a

Wesley Thomas, the stepfather of murder victim Tiffany York, had to be restrained at an August 2012 hearing for one of the 17-year-old girl's alleged killers.

community and raise their children.

"That sounds like a pretty good dream," the agent said. "But how does it end up with Roark and his girl killed along the side of the road?"

"Six ounces of pressure," Aguigui said. "And cock back the hammer."

Aguigui talked a lot about "anarchy" with his troubled family of soldiers, a chaotic state of affairs, Burnett told the GBI agent, that Aguigui lusted after.

"He wanted me to be part of something called 666," Burnett told the GBI agent.

"Do you know what that was?" the agent asked.

"We would go out and cause anarchy," Burnett said. "Kill people. Blow shit up."

Later, Burnett added, "The kid's a terrorist and a psycho."

Several members of the group were inked with the same tattoo — the Greek letters alpha and omega, superimposed on one another. The tattoo was a sign that

they were made members of the family. Burnett had one on his right shoulder. Aguigui designed the tattoo. He pulled up the right sleeve of his Army-issued green T-shirt to show the agent. He explained that alpha and omega meant the first and the last, the beginning and the end, and that was the same concept as Forever Enduring, Always Ready.

"We took the A," he added, "because my last name is Aguigui."

'They Trust Me'

Michael Roark was part of the charismatic Aguigui's tight circle of Army friends, who were on their way to becoming a millennial Manson family. In the few months leading up to the murders of Roark and Tiffany York, a 17-year-old high school junior, the group morphed from a rowdy, macho, violent videogame-obsessed, gun-loving, hard-drinking party crew into a rowdy, macho, violent



The Case Parade

In the prosecution of a major ring of domestic terrorists, defendants have repeatedly turned against their former comrades

HINESVILLE, Ga. — Confession upon confession, guilty plea upon guilty plea, the state of Georgia has methodically built its case against FEAR.

And what a strange case it has been.

Since teenage sweethearts Tiffany York and Michael Roark were found shot to death in a knot of woods near the Fort Stewart Army base here a few weeks before Christmas 2011, 11 people — mostly active-duty and recently discharged soldiers — have been arrested. There have been six guilty pleas to every aspect of the gang's short but violent existence: murder, burglary, drugs, destroying evidence.

There was the guilty plea of Christopher "Jelly" Jenderseck, an Army medic, who built a roaring bonfire the night after the murders. The gang used the flames to consume evidence, including clothes splattered with blood and brain matter. Jenderseck pleaded guilty to tampering with evidence and like everyone else agreed to testify against his former comrades.

There was Timothy Joiner, a recently returned Iraq war veteran and "proud Republican," as he told *The Associated Press* before his arrest.

And there was Randall Blake Dearman, Joiner's civilian partner in crime. Together they broke into houses and cars, stealing guns, television sets, tools, first aid supplies, a GPS device, a military Kevlar vest and a motorcycle helmet.

They did it with the hope of raising enough money to bail Dearman's older brother, Adam, out of jail in northern Georgia, where he was being held for a near-fatal shooting. The elder Dearman is an alleged leader of FEAR but had nothing to do with the murder of the teenagers.

In Iraq, Joiner had been a prison interrogator. Now he was on the other side of the grilling. Isabel Pauley, the prosecutor, told the judge, Robert L. Russell III, that this was Joiner's first offense.

"Well, all I can say" Russell said, "is you made up for lost time, I guess, Mr. Joiner, to do 30, 33 major felonies in a couple of days."

And there was Jeff Roberts, who essentially pleaded guilty to being the personal drug dealer for FEAR. He told the FBI that he provided the gang \$10,000 to \$15,000 worth of cocaine, marijuana and ecstasy in a three- to four-week period not long before the killing in the woods.

He later feared the gang was going to kill him.

"I'm just regretful that I met these people," Roberts told the court. "And I'm going to suffer for it for the rest of my life."

The plea parade began with Pfc. Michael Burnett. He is one of the four active-duty soldiers arrested and charged with the murder of York, 17, and Roark, 19, a recently discharged soldier who served with the men at Fort Stewart.

In shackles and shame, Burnett told the court in the last days of August 2012 how sorry he was that he had gone into the woods with his three buddies and stood by while the two teenagers were slaughtered to keep secret, prosecutors say, FEAR's delusional, megalomaniacal plans for terror and revolution. Roark had once been part of the group.

Burnett told the judge he would have stopped the killing if he could have. Brenda Thomas, the mother of Tiffany York, and Brett Roark, the father of Michael Roark, were in the courtroom that day. The remark outraged them both. Thomas shouted out, "You could have."

"I'm never going to have closure," Thomas told the *Intelligence Report*. "And I'm never going to understand how the military allowed this to happen."

On July 19, the gang's ringleader, Pvt. Isaac Aguigui, became the sixth member to plead guilty. He was sentenced to life without the possibility of parole.

Now there is almost nothing left to FEAR.

—Don Terry

video game-obsessed, gun-loving, hard-drinking, fledging antigovernment militia.

Roark was killed, prosecutors say, because the men were afraid he knew too much about their plans. The girl called Tiff was killed because she happened to be with Roark that night.

All told, 11 people — mostly active-duty or recently discharged soldiers — have been arrested and charged with various offenses in connection with FEAR and the murder in the woods. Six members of the gang have pleaded guilty.

Locked in that interrogation room 18 months ago, Aguigui told the GBI agents he felt like "a bitch" for talking and telling on his comrades.

"They trust me so much," Aguigui cried. "You don't understand. I've never had people trust me like this."

Financing FEAR

As the saga continues to unfold in civilian and military courtrooms, it is increasingly clear that FEAR is not so much a domestic terrorist militia as a small gang of disaffected, heavily armed young soldiers who called themselves "True Patriots" and were caught up in, as the GBI agent put it, a Tom Clancy novel "about the end of the United States and this-is-just-the-first-step kind of crap."

The agent was not far off. The gang members were caught up in a video game, or more precisely, a magazine article about a Tom Clancy video game, yet to be released, called *Rainbow 6: Patriots*. The game is a hyper-violent tale of a band of disaffected young soldiers, seeking to snatch the government from the fat cats and politicians and give it back to the people.

Burnett said Aguigui talked about True Patriots "over and over," adding in disgust, "He got the idea from a fucking video game."

As silly as that sounds, this crew of highly trained killers certified by Uncle Sam could not be taken lightly. While they didn't start a revolution,

Like the stepfather of Tiffany York, Brett Roark, father of murder victim Michael Roark, could scarcely contain his rage when confronted with his son's alleged killers. He was led out of a Georgia courtroom during a 2012 hearing for Sgt. Anthony Peden.

they did wage an extensive crime spree. Besides cold-blooded murder, prosecutors say, FEAR members were involved in at least one other near-fatal shooting, as well as burglaries, car break-ins, insurance fraud schemes and the illegal purchase of weapons. "They're a crime syndicate," Burnett told the GBI agent. "That's what they are, that's what they want to be."

Aguigui's pregnant wife, Sgt. Deirdre Wetzker Aguigui, an Army linguist, was found dead in her home at Fort Stewart on July 17, 2011, around the time FEAR was getting started. She was murdered, military officials now allege, by her husband, who financed his would-be militia with the proceeds of her \$500,000 life insurance policy. But it took more than a year for the Army to charge Aguigui with his wife's death. The initial autopsy performed by military pathologists



The Aguiguis were expecting a boy. "I just want to wake up from this bad dream," Aguigui told the GBI agent. "That's all I want. I want my life back. I want my son back. I want all this money to go away. It's nothing but problems."

Loose Ends

On Dec. 6, 2011, two fishermen found Roark and York shot to death in the woods not far from Fort Stewart. Four

the crime, "lie and lie and lie."

Now, within minutes of being back in the interrogation room, Burnett announced, "I'm willing to tell you everything."

"Who had the guns?" the agent asked.

"We all had guns," Burnett replied. "Isaac bought us all guns."

The group lured Roark and York to a secluded patch of woods near Morgan Lake on the night of Dec. 5, 2011, with

"You ever think how Dr. Frankenstein thought when Frankenstein ripped his first person in half? 'Dear Jesus, what have I created?' And all he wants to do is go back to that moment before he brought it to life."

was inconclusive as to cause of death. Investigators turned to a civil medical examiner to review the results and he ruled the death of the Aguigui's pregnant wife a homicide. She was either choked or smothered. This July, a two-day hearing was held at Fort Stewart to determine whether there is enough evidence to go forward with a court martial. A decision was pending at press time.

days later, Aguigui, Peden, Salmon and Burnett were arrested at Fort Stewart by military authorities who had arranged a phony Saturday morning call-out of their unit. State and federal officials lined up to question them.

A couple of days before they were arrested, Burnett was questioned and followed the agreed-upon FEAR script for covering up the group's involvement in

the promise of some starlight shooting, a popular pastime with the young soldiers.

The couple drove to the lake in Roark's black 2006 Nissan Altima. The four men followed in Aguigui's tan Jeep. Peden drove, Burnett was sitting in the front passenger seat, with Salmon and Aguigui in the back. Burnett told the GBI agent that Roark was targeted to die because he knew too much about the group's crimi-



Early reports about the FEAR conspiracy suggested the defendants were anarchists, apparently because a tattoo that several wore resembled the circled A anarchist symbol. But FEAR's tattoo actually represented the Greek letters alpha and omega, meaning the first and the last, the beginning and the end.

nal plans, including “how Isaac wants to take over the drug cartel in Washington” and set up a security company “so they could launder money from the drugs through the security company.”

But the “biggest reason” Roark was killed was money, Burnett told the agents. “It was a revenge killing,” he said. “He stole money from Isaac.”

During the ride to the lake, the four men discussed what should happen to Tiffany York, the high school junior who loved the cartoon character Hello Kitty. “I think it was more like, ‘Shit, she’s here,’” Burnett said. “If he goes, she’s going to have to go. If he goes, she’s going to the police, ‘My boyfriend’s missing.’”

Burnett said he was asked to kill her but refused. Once in the woods, the end came quickly, at least for York. Before the teenager could get out of the car, she was shot in the head with a pistol called a Judge that fires either .45-caliber bullets or .410 shotgun shells. Burnett reluctantly fingered Peden as the shooter. “He’s my best friend,” he sighed.

After sobbing that he did not kill anyone that night, Peden eventually admitted to shooting York in the head,

but only after Aguigui threatened to kill his 3-year-old son if he did not. “I know I’m going to burn in hell for the things I’ve done in my life,” Peden said. “The only thing I can hope for is my son has a better life than I ever could.”

Twelve days later, according to a GBI report, Peden contacted investigators and recanted his confession, stating “he had been thinking about his future and didn’t want to go down for something he didn’t do.”

Burnett said that using the same gun that Peden used to kill York, Salmon then allegedly shot Roark twice in the head. Burnett said Aguigui just watched and smiled.

The men left the teenagers where they fell and drove straight back to Fort Stewart and the Salmons’ house. Aguigui lived with the Salmons, moving in after his wife died. “Isaac was like an uncle to my kids,” Heather Salmon said. Burnett would often spend the night there, too, and that is what he did after the murders in the woods. He curled up on the sofa, as his son slept upstairs. “I was afraid to close my eyes,” he told the agents. “I was a witness. Loose ends. That’s what they kept talking about. Loose ends. Loose ends.”

‘We Will Rise’

Before Aguigui’s interrogation began, he sat alone in the boxy room and angrily stared up at the camera for several seconds.

“I want the truth about what happened on the road that night,” the GBI agent said, “so I can go to that little girl’s

mom and dad and say this is how your daughter died.”

Instead, Aguigui talked about his own suffering, about how he had been in a “cold ass” holding cell for 12 hours and was hungry and unable to sleep.

“I got humiliated in front of my unit for something I didn’t do,” he said. “I got slapped into zip ties that cut my wrists open. I got a tuberculosis shot that started bleeding and got infected. If you think I haven’t been punished, you can go to hell.”

The agent and Aguigui went back and forth.

“I just want to know what this was all about,” the agent said.

“And I want to go home,” Aguigui shot back. “But sometimes we just don’t get what we want because we put ourselves in that situation.”

Slowly, tearfully, Aguigui began to provide his version of events. “Mike didn’t shoot them and I didn’t shoot them,” he said. “Two separate shooters. Same weapon.”

The FEAR four were charged with murder and went back to their “cold ass” cells. It was from jail that Aguigui tried to get a letter to Christopher Salmon, his locked-up best friend. Jail officials intercepted the letter in early January.

“I love you, bro,” Aguigui wrote. “Yes, this all sucks but we have got to keep it together. Yes, they’ve got us this time. But walls cannot contain a cause as strong as ours for long. One day we will all be free again together, and mark my words, my brother, we shall have our just revenge.”

He asked if Salmon’s wife, Heather, who was not arrested and charged with the murders of Roark and York until months later, could get him a copy of “The Article,” presumably the one about the Patriots video game.

“I could use the motivation,” he said, adding, “I love you, man. Keep your head up always. Remember, one day We Will Rise.” ▲

For more details on antigovernment plots since 1995, see sp.ic/pub-tr



Video blogger
and Internet sensation
Ramzpaul delights white
nationalists and racists
but calls himself
a satirist

The
Smiling
Nationalist

BY DON TERRY

R

amzpaul is the funniest white nationalist in the room.

Admittedly, there's not a lot of competition for the title. That is precisely why he should be taken seriously. He's blazing a trail. With a small camera and a big grin, the lanky, bespectacled, 50-year-old father of two from suburban Tulsa, Okla., has emerged as the hottest right-wing video blogger this side of former Klansman David Duke.

His real name is Paul Ray Ramsey and his hundreds of snarky YouTube videos — “mostly mocking the establishment’s religion of Cultural Marxism” — have racked up nearly 5 million views in the last four years. He has his own YouTube channel, boasting advertising and almost 13,000 subscribers. He has become a hero to many on the radical right. His liberal-loathing, feminist-bashing, racial separatist-supporting videos, typically three to five minutes long, have become a weekly staple on major white supremacist websites, including Vanguard News Network and Stormfront.

“Ramzpaul is smarter than most of the other white pride types on YouTube,” Canadian marketing consultant Sarah Welstead, who blogs about marketing and pop culture, wrote last year after discovering him when she “fell down one of those YouTube rabbit holes.”

“He positions himself as a ‘satirist,’ doesn’t spew hate speech indiscriminately, and has closed down the comments on most of his 481 videos,” Welstead continued, “so it takes a few minutes to figure out that he is in fact a racist who is quite popular on Stormfront discussion boards where they like the fact that his pro-white message is subtle enough to reach his fellow nationalists

without us non-racists getting upset.”

Ramsey is now up to more than 600 videos or vlogs — the name for a video blog. “I wrote the blog post because I was kind of shocked that YouTube was actually running ads on his stuff,” Welstead said in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*.

Ramsey declined to talk to the *Report*. In a recent video, he said the Southern



Birds of a feather: Although his presentations are almost always delivered in a satirical voice, Paul Ray Ramsey is most frequently compared to Jared Taylor (above), a fellow white nationalist who runs the *American Renaissance* journal and likes to sound like an academic.

Poverty Law Center, its publisher, was “basically a domestic left-wing terrorist organization.” He guards information about his personal and professional life closely. “I get some mean letters,” he told a right-wing radio host. He said he doesn’t want his family to be collateral damage. When another far-right interviewer introduced him by his real name, Ramsey quickly corrected him, saying he prefers to simply go by Ramzpaul. “It’s kind of like a one-word name thing,” he explained, “like Cher, Madonna, Elvis — Satan.”

The Coming-Out Party

Although he advocates seceding from the Union and establishing a new, 90% white nation — a 21st century Fantasy Island he describes as representing traditional American demographics — Ramsey insists he is not a white nationalist or a supremacist. “I don’t call myself a white nationalist,” he told a radio interviewer not long ago. “I call myself a nationalist who is white.”

While he has been making videos for years, his debutant ball was in early April at Montgomery Bell State Park outside of Nashville, Tenn., at Jared Taylor’s *American Renaissance* conference, attended by more than 150 white nationalists, many of whom play the popular white nationalist semantic game: You say racist, I say racialist. Although Ramsey was a first-time speaker at the event, he was given star billing. A photograph of him smoking a fat cigar was featured in conference advertising. His “iconoclastic show,” a flyer declared, “has been described as ‘Pop Culture Meets Nationalism.’”

Ramsey’s talk at the conference, called “Sex and Nationalism,” was essentially an attack on feminism mixed with high school-level racist jokes, delivered with a smile, always with a smile to show he’s just a satirist (so loosen up, he’s just mocking the establishment). Welstead, the marketing expert, said Ramsey seems to be betting that calling himself a satirist “gives him a get-out-of-jail-free card.”

Indeed, he once told a radio host, “If you say you’re *for* something — but not really — it’s a way to get around some of the censors. The censors don’t really know how to deal with it.”

His video called “Support Marriage Equality” is a good example of his bait-and-switch technique. It starts out like a plea for tolerance and acceptance: “Guys, it is time to stop the hate. Just because

someone loves different than you does not give you the right to hate them.” The video quickly turns, however, into a mocking tale of Ken, a “zoo sexual,” who dies after having sex with his partner — a horse.

“What do you think a kid would rather have: a daddy and a mommy, or a daddy and a pony?” Ramsey asks, looking into the camera. “Only daddy can ride the mommy.”

Ramsey told Maggie Roddin, host of the right-wing radio show “Unsolicited Opinion,” that his role models are the TV comedians Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert. “I know they’re left-wing,” he said, sounding apologetic as he quickly added that he admired their style, not their substance. “I try to do the right-wing version of what they do.”

Colbert and Stewart’s jobs are secure. At the *American Renaissance* conference, Ramsey’s biggest joke was: “How do you tell if a white supremacist agrees with you? They say K-K-K.”

As for feminism, Ramsey told the audience, it is “a disease.” This time he was not joking.

“What is the cause?” he asked. “It is the delusion that the sexes are equal. It is the mother of all delusions.”

Although he has an adult daughter, a chemical engineer who he says he is “very proud of,” Ramsey has said in the past that feminism is part of a Cultural Marxist “anti-white, anti-male and anti-Christian” plot and it is turning white men into “wussies” and “wimps.” At the conference, Ramsey essentially said the plot is succeeding. Feminism, he said, has populated America with submissive men who women don’t care to marry or have children with. “We need more growth in white children,” he said, and white “secession.” If not, “Men’s rights will end. Christians will end. White conservatives will end.”

« The Atlantic: Mayor Nutter has disgraced himself
Forum on race relations in Philadelphia »


American Renaissance Conference 2013
19 Mar



Speakers will include:



Roger McGrath — “*The Warrior Heroes of Our Tribe*.” Professor McGrath is a historian of the West, California, and the United States. He is the author of *Gunfighters, Highwaymen, & Vigilantes*, and has appeared as a commentator on documentaries aired on the History Channel, A&E, Discovery, and TNT.



RamZPaul — “*Sex and Nationalism*.” Mr. Paul describes himself as “a sometimes sober guy with a camera who creates videos on YouTube. Mostly mocking the establishment’s religion of Cultural Marxism, his iconoclastic show has been described as “Pop Culture Meets Nationalism.”



Byron Roth — “*Off-shoring, Mass Immigration and American Wage Stagnation: Why Education is No Solution*.” Dr. Roth is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Dowling College. He is the author of *Prescription for Failure: Race Relations in the Age of Social Science*. His latest book is *The Perils of Diversity: Immigration and Human Nature*, which Jared Taylor calls “a brilliant diagnosis of the crisis we face.”

Coming out: Paul Ray Ramsey’s first major white nationalist event came last spring, when he attended the *American Renaissance* conference in Tennessee. Ramsey tried hard to leaven the otherwise deadly serious gathering with juvenile jokes about sex.

Afterward, John Derbyshire, a British-American journalist whose racially charged writing got him fired last year as a contributor to the *National Review*, gushed about how much fun he had at the conference. In a dispatch for Taki’s Magazine, a website published by Greek-born journalist and socialite Taki Theodoracopulos, Derbyshire wrote, “A

disproportionate amount of the fun was provided by vlogger Paul Ramsey, whom I recommend for consideration when your next corporate function, birthday party, or bar mitzvah comes around.”

In an E-mail interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Derbyshire described Ramsey’s work as “often clever, short videos mocking the hypocrisy, dishonesty, and totalitarian ruthlessness of the Cultural Marxist establishment — you know, people like [Southern Poverty Law Center founder] Morris Dees.”

Funny or Degenerate?

Tim Wise, a well-known white, anti-racist activist based in Tennessee, first became aware of Ramsey's work in 2010. Ramsey did a video ridiculing Wise's angry and frustrated response to the Republican Party taking control of the House of Representatives that year. Since then, Wise has watched a "smattering of his videos."

"He's quite a bit funnier than David Duke," Wise told the *Report*. "He doesn't have the neo-Nazi background that Duke has. He's very similar to Jared Taylor."

Wise said Ramsey and Taylor are among the eggheads of the white nationalist movement, particularly Taylor with his master's degree in economics and fluency in French and Japanese. "When it gets down to it," Wise said, "there are a lot of these Nazis who hold the cerebral ones at arm's length and have never trusted them. Taylor is not trusted. He doesn't talk about the Jews."

Ramsey doesn't either, at least not

directly. He told an interviewer that if someone uses the N-word or the J-word on his website, it is deleted.

"I'm not sure Paul is sure who he is trying to appeal to," Wise said. "It looks like he's still trying to figure it out. It's clear, though, he's trying to conform much more to the Jared Taylor style. And if anyone is paying close attention, I don't think there is any doubt that Taylor's methods and approach are the most effective and dangerous."

While Ramsey's videos are indeed popular on Vanguard News Network and Stormfront, ideological purists are always lurking. In one of his videos, Ramsey called an Asian TV actress cute. The blasphemy sparked a Stormfront forum thread that ran on for 26 pages. It was called "Ramzpaul is a degenerate."

Here's a small sampling:

Blaid Drwg: "I just lost respect for him because he's open about an attraction to non-whites. How would you react if a WN [white nationalist] woman said she found black men attractive?"

Haus Drachen: "Personally, I don't think it's natural to find people of another race attractive."

Nachtmahr: "I don't think he's a degenerate, but I think he is gonna lose a lot of his fans if he keeps saying that he finds chinks attractive, especially as he is a WN."

SnowWhiteQueen: "If you white men don't see the obvious problem with a white guy praising the beauty of non-white women then you need to get your head out of your behind."

Rebel Redneck 59: "Talk about 'hot' Nonwhite women HAS NO PLACE ON A WHITE RACIALIST FORUM. None. Don't you realize that such talk implies this forum is full of hypocrites?"

Declaration of Anger

Most of Ramsey's ideas for videos come straight from the headlines. In May 2012, he uploaded a gem to YouTube called "Happy Trayvon Martin Day." It was his sarcastic response to an elementary school in Washington, D.C., that dedi-

Hoodies and white nationalism: While delivered with a relatively light touch, Paul Ray Ramsey's comments veer into clearly racist territory when he discusses such incidents as the killing of Trayvon Martin.



YOUTUBE

cated a day to the slain Florida teenager. Ramsey donned a black hoodie like the one Trayvon was wearing the night he was killed by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch volunteer, or, as Ramsey described him, a “brown, white Hispanic.”

Ramsey, looking into the camera, a large white cross superimposed in the background, says, “God sent his son Trayvon Martin to Florida” so his suffering and death would wash away the sins of white racism and privilege. He recites a prayer, asking Trayvon for forgiveness. Then he crosses himself in the name of “Obama, Trayvon and Al Sharpton” and gives the camera a two-hand middle-finger salute.

Ramsey also keeps a close eye on the headlines and videos coming out of Europe. He seems to have been so impressed by a video produced by a group of young, white, angry French nationalists — Generation Identitaire — that he made his own middle-aged, white, angry version, in an example of white nationalist globalization via YouTube.

The French nationalist video is called “A Declaration of War — From the Generation of National Identity.” The group is militantly anti-Muslim.

“We are the generation of ethnic fracture, total failure of coexistence, and forced mixing of the races. ...

“Our heritage is our land, our blood, our identity. ...

“We will not back down, we will not give in. ...

“Don’t think this is simply a manifesto.

“It is a declaration of war.”

Ramsey’s version is called “A New Declaration of Independence.”

“We are the Americans who get attacked by flash mobs because of our race.

“We are the Americans who have experienced the lies of diversity and forced integration. ...

“We are the Americans who have experienced the damning of our history, of our culture, of our nation.

“We Americans reject the politically correct lies you have placed in our children’s history books.

“We have stopped embracing or celebrating your notion of diversity. ...

“Our nation is our people, our identity, our blood. ...

“We will never back down and we will never give in. ...

“This is our new declaration of independence. ...”



Tim Wise, a well-known anti-racist, became aware of Ramsey’s work in 2010 when Ramsey did a video ridiculing Wise.

“I’m not sure Paul is sure who he is trying to appeal to. It looks like he’s still trying to figure it out. It’s clear, though, he’s trying to conform much more to the Jared Taylor style. And if anyone is paying close attention, I don’t think there is any doubt that Taylor’s methods and approach are the most effective and dangerous.”

The 1%

Ramsey posts new videos to his YouTube channel every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. He told a fellow-traveler interviewer that vlogging allows him to bypass what he said Hillary Clinton called “the gate keepers.” It’s also fun, he said, even though he said he’s making only a few bucks from his videos. “I can say whatever I want — within limits,” he said. “I have to get around the censors.”

He is obsessed with what he calls Cultural Marxists — i.e. liberals, Democrats, black U.S. presidents. Ramsey said he supported Mitt Romney in 2012, because “it would be nice to have an American as president.”

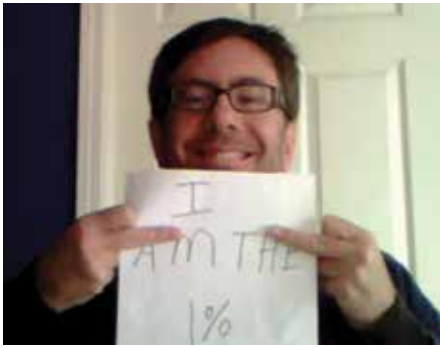
One of the greatest Cultural Marxists of all time, according to Ramsey, is Norman Lear, the creator and producer of, among other television hits, “All in the Family,” the groundbreaking 1970s sitcom about the foolishness of bigotry. In a radio interview, Ramsey said Lear “was able to get Cultural Marxism into the mainstream through shows and comedy and culture, to make things funny.”

“The problem with a lot of nationalists I see,” he continued, “is they’re always serious. They’re intelligent, but they’re not interesting for most people to watch.”

Over the last couple of years, Ramsey has told right-wing interviewers that he has always been conservative. He subscribed to the *National Review* when he was 12. He said he loves books written years ago, such as H.G. Wells’ history of the world, published in the 1920s, “because that was pre-political correctness.” In the 1990s, he joked, he was a member for a short time of a “hate group, the Republican Party.” But he said he always tells people now, “I don’t belong to any movement.”

His nationalist vlogging career began by accident in 2008 when he made a YouTube video for his brother living in California. His brother also makes videos, not about nationalism but about carpentry. Ramsey’s electronic postcard was supposed to be a snarky but personal family update. When Ramsey posted it, however, he forgot to mark it private and several strangers watched it and commented on it. To his “astonishment,” they liked it. And they wanted more.

He said he then started making videos about his take on the news and posted



Twisted meanings: When Paul Ray Ramsey takes on what he sees as political correctness, he often appropriates the language of his enemies as a satirical tool.

them to a website called Liberty Forum, now defunct. Word began to spread about the funny nationalist, or “smiling Nazi” as one anti-racist described him.

He started out using a small, inexpensive Flip camera. He now uses a \$500 camera, but there is nothing flashy about his videos, usually shot, it appears, from an office in his home. Most of the videos are Ramsey simply talking and grinning into the camera. He often begins with a friendly “Hey guys” and ends with “Talk to you guys later.”

“I am the 1%,” he says near the beginning of a video that sums up his put-upon worldview.

“I have paid over a half a million dollars in taxes in my lifetime.

“I am the 1%.

“My ancestors built America from a wilderness into a vast civilization.

“I am the 1%. ...

“I do not apologize for being a man.

“I wish people Merry Christmas, not a Happy Holidays.

“I am the 1%.

“I have never apologized for my race.

“I am the 1%. ...

“I am opposed to Democracy.

“I am the 1%.

“I believe the top 1% of humanity pulled the rest of the 99% of humanity out of caves and darkness. ...

“I am the 1%.

“I accept reality. I don’t believe in the religion of equality.

“I am the 1%. ...” ▲

For more details about Jared Taylor’s *American Renaissance* journal, see sp.lc/intel-ar

YouTube ‘Yoda’ Speaks

Paul Ramsey reveals tidbits about himself and his nationalist views in a social media forum

In addition to his snarky videos, Paul Ramsey spreads the word, along with a few tidbits about himself, when he answers questions from fans and critics on social media websites.

In page after page on Formspring, Ramsey reveals he was raised a Baptist and is a “Native American” because he was born in Illinois. He likes beer over wine, football over baseball. He smokes six cigars a year, rarely watches television, doesn’t call himself a white nationalist, and wonders “why is it wrong for White people to prefer their own race?”

Here is a little window into the world of Ramzpaul, the self-described “Yoda of YouTube,” drawn from conversations on Formspring.

If Marxism is old and dated, why do you seem to always talk about them as if they were a problem today?

Sadly, old and dated notions (such as equality) tend to linger on.

I paraphrase, “Cultural Marxists made it their goal to eliminate white countries.” ... Is that “goal” still true?

Of course. The Cultural Marxists will not be happy until all White countries are eliminated. Then they will not be happy as long as one White person remains. Their goal is genocide.

Is dislike for other races necessarily a part of nationalism?

I would argue the opposite. Only Nationalists have a respect for all races.

Don’t you think if so many nations break up that many countries will be a little small?

And what is wrong with that? I would not mind seeing America broken into 50 separate countries.”

What’s so dangerous about letting the people rule? The Greeks made a mistake, inventing democracy, do you think?

Most people are stupid and unable to govern themselves.

Is there, or has there ever been a “war on Christmas?”

Of course. How often do you hear the phrase “Merry Christmas” in the mainstream media? 30 years ago you never heard the phrase “Happy Holidays.”

Why did you vote for Romney and made [sic] a video when you said you were glad he was getting booed by a bunch of African Americans?

I support secession. To make this a reality it needs to gain a critical mass in the mainstream. As [much] as the Republicans suck, they are considered mainstream.

What do you think about petitions to reform the Confederacy?

I support the break up of the Union.

Is it okay for men to be nurses?

Yes. But, in general, I don’t think women should be doctors.

Were you BORN in Israel?

Yes. I was born in Tel Aviv. I was originally called RAMZSAUL, but I changed my name so I could fool the goyim.

Even though many states voted white, it was only because of white men. White women voted black. Why do more and more white women vote black? At this rate, it doesn’t look like there is going to be another white president.

Most white women voted for Romney. Single White women voted for Obama because the State represents the provider and protector male in their lives.

With the way feminists throw the word around to attack people, do you think “rapist” is the new “racist”?

I think the new slur is “man.” Feminism has morphed into a hatred of men.

— Don Terry



Leaving White Nationalism

In recent months, two former racist activists, one of them well known, have quit the movement. Their stories are instructive

Even as the white nationalist movement continues to grow, a steady trickle of disillusioned former racist activists departs. These men and women have a multitude of reasons for rejecting the racist philosophy they once embraced, not to mention the reasons they joined in the first place. The Intelligence Report has chronicled the tales of many of them in past issues. Below, we present two very different stories. The first is that of Derek Black, the 24-year-old son of Don Black, a former Alabama Klan leader who founded and still heads Stormfront, the largest racist Web forum in the world. The younger Black, after going away to college and seeing the wider world, wrote a lengthy E-mail to the editor of this magazine in July, detailing his thinking about white nationalism and its many problems. (Publication of the E-mail on the Southern Poverty Law Center's blog that month prompted a flood of attacks on Derek Black from still-active white nationalists.) For reasons of space, the E-mail is slightly abridged here. The second is an interview with Corinna Burt, a 34-year-old mother of two, bodybuilder and former porn star who until recently was involved with the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement and, later, the Northwest Front.

Derek Black

A ‘GRADUAL AWAKENING’

I’m writing this letter partly in response to the SPLC’s recent article discussing my [November 2012] message to fellow students and also out of a desire to articulate my thoughts. I have decided to write now after thinking about the implications extensively, and I am requesting that this letter be published and available to the public in full...

A few months ago, the SPLC wrote an exposé about a letter of mine only intended for fellow students. I was not ready for it to go public. A large section of the community I grew up in believes strongly in white nationalism, and members of my family whom I respect greatly, particularly my father, have long been resolute advocates for that cause. From a young age I observed my dad sacrifice dearly for his commitment — a conviction stemming from nowhere else than ardent resolve in the rightness of the cause. I was not prepared to risk driving any wedge in those relationships and I did not believe that was necessary. The number of changes in my beliefs during the past few years, however, has amounted to a shift that I think needs to be addressed. When the SPLC exposed a letter meant only to discourage misconceptions about me among fellow students, I was not prepared then to remark more. I commented and labeled myself as someone who still believed in white nationalism. After a great deal of thought since then, I have resolved that it is in the best interests of everyone involved, directly or indirectly, to be honest about my slow but steady disaffiliation from white nationalism.

Over the past few years, I have been disentangling myself from white nationalism. While the radio show I founded ended in January of 2013, over the course of the prior year I only appeared rarely and typically only when emergency required that someone fill in for the other

hosts. I haven’t posted on Stormfront in 2013, and I only posted once in all of 2012 — then to give a report on my dad’s media appearance. I am closing my Stormfront account. Also, in the last article written about me, the SPLC reported that I attended a “European American Leadership Seminar” in 2012, when in fact I did not. And while I did speak at last year’s Stormfront conference, I am not involved this year at all and will not be attending.

I acknowledge that things I have said



Already, at the tender age of 9, Derek Black was attending racist events like this Nov. 7, 1998, gathering in Jackson, Miss., of the white nationalist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a group that has described black people as a “retrograde species of humanity.” He is pictured here with then-Mississippi Gov. Kirk Fordice, one of the few politicians who was then still willing to be seen at CCC events.

as well as my actions have been harmful to people of color, people of Jewish descent, activists striving for opportunity and fairness for all, and others affected. It was not my intention then, and I will not contribute to any cause that perpetuates this harm in the future. Advocating for redress of the supposed oppression of whites in the West is by its nature damaging to all others because of the privileged position of white people in these societies. Promoting a victim complex for

whites does not recognize the oppressed experiences of others not in the position of a white person in society, and that’s what my efforts have done. For those to whom the white nationalist perspective is alien, I think it’s worth summarizing here:

White nationalism supports the premise that multiculturalism is a failure, and that politicians trapped in a multicultural status quo are oppressing white people in “their own country.” They typically blame the West’s movement toward inclusion on a conspiracy of Jewish power to promote multiculturalism at the expense of whites. White nationalists cite black-on-white crime statistics and the increasing prevalence of “nonwhite” cultures and values in western society, as well as the growing number of legal protections and employment opportunities that a “minority” status now affords. On the other hand, white nationalists consider white people in the US to be ostensibly the victims of an ongoing genocide brought about by immigration and miscegenation, and feel that when they try to speak up about it, they are subjected to a vicious double standard. They observe that Black Nationalism and Zionism are recognized as tolerable, but whites with a similar declaration are vilified as racists. When they attempt to claim an accomplishment or cultural production for the white race that produced it, they are called racists. If they produced their own Malcolm X, the nation as a whole would regurgitate. Thus their own white leaders are victimizing white people — the system has turned its formidable weapons against a white identity. Therefore they think that whites must oppose resistance to racism in order to guarantee the future of white people as a people.

I now consider this belief system principally flawed. Most arguments that



"I acknowledge that things I have said as well as my actions have been harmful to people of color, people of Jewish descent, activists striving for opportunity and fairness for all, and others affected."

racial equity programs disadvantage whites who would otherwise be hired or accepted to academic programs mask underlying anxieties about the growth of non-white social status. It is impossible to argue rationally that in our society, with its overwhelming disparity between white power and that of everyone else, racial equity programs intended to affect the deep-rooted situation represent oppression of whites. More importantly, white nationalism's staunch opposition to the gains in numbers and in influence of non-whites makes it a movement by nature committed to suppressing these people. The advancement of minorities in the US is not insignificant, but has not ended (let alone reversed) their circumstances. Particularly bizarre to me is the determination of Jewish social domination. Though there are plenty of powerful Jewish activist groups pursuing their chosen agendas, it is inaccurate and outrageous to talk about people of Jewish

descent as "the enemy" of anyone, as it is essentializing a large group into a fairy tale antagonist. It has become clear to me that white nationalism is not a movement of positive identity or of asserting cultural values, but of constant antagonism at the betterment of other groups.

A white nationalist party can't function without standing on these disparities between whites and other groups and essentially endorsing them. To say that white people have let the "minority agenda" go too far implies that the relatively insufficient gains they have made are oppressing us. There is no way to advocate for white nationalism but by arguing that minorities pose a threat to our supremacy. It is not enough to say it is opposition to assimilation when the proposed recourse is to expel, suppress, or marginalize these other groups. Advocating for white nationalism means that we are opposed to minority attempts to elevate themselves to a position equal

to our own. It is an advocacy that I cannot support, having grown past my bubble, talked to the people I affected, read more widely, and realized the necessary impact my actions had on people I never wanted to harm.

I believe that a healthy sense of identity and belonging are necessary, and I think being proud of where you came from is important regardless of race or class. I do not believe advocacy against "oppression of whites" exists in any form but an entrenched desire to preserve white power at the expense of others. I am sorry for the damage done by my actions and my past endorsement of white nationalism.

I realize not all will instantly believe me, or may perceive this as a seemingly abrupt change when it has been instead a gradual awakening process. I understand that my words don't suddenly heal all wounds caused by my actions or my encouragement of others. Time, however, will demonstrate my full lack of involvement. To white nationalists, I have remarked that most people face a huge hurdle before they embrace an unpopular opinion, referring to those unwilling to risk being called racist for what I had believed was a just cause. Now I look at it from a new vantage point: I should be the one who calls out what I disagree with. I can't support a movement that tells me I can't be a friend to whomever I wish or that other people's races require me to think about them in a certain way or be suspicious at their advancements. One revelation for me was when I grasped I would be much more likely to help an individual through our legal system towards citizenship than to work towards his or her expulsion. Minorities must have the ability to rise to positions of power, and many supposed "race" issues are in fact issues of structural oppression, poor educational prospects, and limited opportunity. The differences I thought I observed didn't go nearly as deeply as I imagined. I believe we can move beyond the sort of mind-boggling emphasis white nationalism puts on maintaining an oppressive, exclusive sense of identity — oppressive for others and stifling for our society.

Corinna Burt

‘THIS IS THE REAL ENEMY’

What were your parents and your upbringing like, Corinna?

My parents both are very liberal. My father is an electrician and my mother is a bookkeeper and a teacher’s aide. I grew up with my mother in the liberal university town of Eugene, Ore.

I considered myself pretty liberal, but I had little exposure to anyone of another race. It was an almost all-white school district. I really didn’t have exposure to other races until I moved to Portland for school when I was in my late 20s.

Was it a happy childhood?

I think I was always really bored, just restless, and also very sad and angry. I was bouncing back and forth between two parents. They split up when I was like 3 years old, and my dad moved up to Alaska. I would go back and forth between the two of them. Sometimes, it was a summer visit. A lot of times, my parents were just saying, “Okay, I don’t know what to do with you, you’re going back to your mom.” Or, “This isn’t working. You’re going to live with your dad for a while.”

Do you think their split affected you in a serious way?

I don’t know. I was just real angry and antagonistic and always in trouble for real stupid, petty things. I’m sure it must have, though I was only 3. I don’t ever remember living with both parents together. I guess I always had this feeling, you know, that I’m looking for the family I’m really going to stay with.

You married while you were still in Eugene, right?

We got married in 2000, when I was 22, and split up in 2004. We had two daughters.

When was it that you started to star in pornographic movies? Was that before college?

Kind of in between. I dragged college out for a long time. I think it was between 2006 and 2008.

What attracted you to that?

What first drew me into it was morbid curiosity. I wanted to see if I could possibly do something like that. Maybe I



Not so long ago, Corinna Burt could regularly be seen in the Italian fascist-style getup favored by the National Socialist Movement, America’s largest neo-Nazi group. Today, she describes the movement as “a life of absolute blind hatred.”

was just an exhibitionist. Then, later, it was just for financial reasons. I had no idea how expensive it would be to live in Portland.

When was that? You moved there for college, right?

Yes, around 2007. I was going to Mount Hood [Community College] and OSU [Oregon State University] concurrently. I went to OSU for psychology and Mount Hood for mortuary science. I had job at a funeral home.

When did you become attracted to the racist movement?

I didn’t have any personal incident. But I was in the funeral industry and I was seeing a lot of victims of violence, and it stood out for me that the perpetrators were so often black or Mexican. I saw a lot of black homicide victims, usually shot by other blacks. It seemed to me that this was a race of people who were out to destroy each other and they hurt white people along the way. I saw a lot of children who were killed by their mothers’ boyfriends or their stepfathers. I have seen just about everything that there is and every horrible action one person can do to another.

What was your interest in mortuary science to begin with?

I got into that because I had an interest in restoring accident victims or suicides and making them look viewable for their families. I had a younger brother who died in a drowning accident and he was not viewable. He was 20 years old and I was close to him. I think that if I had had that chance for viewing him, it would have brought me a lot of closure.

So how do you come into contact with organized racism?

I began poking around online and discovered [the racist Web forum] Stormfront. That’s what really drew me in. I started reading about anti-immigrant policies, immigrant crime, black crime, and just generally white pride. I started to think, “Well, nothing wrong with being proud of your race. Other races do it all the time, why can’t white people?”

I found a link on Stormfront to the NSM [National Socialist Movement, an explicitly neo-Nazi group]. I was always interested in Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich, so that interest, coupled with finding that link, led me to sign up. The

Corinna Burt started out reading the white nationalist website Stormfront, went on to a uniformed neo-Nazi group, and then teamed up with movement old-timer Harold Covington. In the end, she lost patience and interest in all of them.



NSM was really pushing the immigration issue, which is what drew me in. The Klan pushes a more religious angle, which didn't appeal to me.

Eventually, I grew to hate Jews as well. Just reading about the Holocaust from their side and thinking, "Well, Jews, they're liars. They made up the whole thing."

How long did you stay with NSM, and what did you do next?

I think I officially resigned in 2011. I was really embarrassed about the behavior of the NSM at rallies and I didn't want to be associated with them. I expected dignified marches, you know, against all the horrible things being done to white people. And they were really just shouting matches.

Instead, I got deeply involved with the Northwest Front [an online group run by longtime neo-Nazi Harold Covington]. I felt they were a better use of my time. They really appealed to me because there were no skinheads and drunk, stupid people. And I liked Harold. He was a good writer. And he seemed to be educated, although not formally.

At the time, I didn't think that maybe white supremacy in general was wrong. I just thought that I had joined the wrong group.

How much of a real organization is the Northwest Front?

They have units in every state like the NSM. But I guess it depends on what you consider a member. Some people just send money or read the literature. Some actually go to meetings. I'd say the number of people who actually get together from time to time are maybe 200 or 300 nationwide.

They say, "We're not really an organization. We don't have membership cards or an application." But there was a list made available only to Harold and myself, because I was working for him as an assistant. I moved up there, to his home in Port Orchard, Wash., and was there from 2011 to mid-2012. It amounted to a 40-hour-a-week job.

What did you think of Covington?

I was hooked immediately, although I now think he was pretty much the most horrible person ever. He seemed very much like this poor church mouse who wanted to do nothing but save white people in his remaining years. He was always going on about how he's going to die any day now.

What did he have to say about the movement?

His idea is that he needs to get a thousand alpha Aryan males to move to his neighborhood and then basically just start shooting everyone who isn't white.

Was he interested in you, sexually?

I don't think so. But he did tell me that destiny said I was to be a central part of the revolution. He said that when he was a teenager, he had this vision and some angel told him I would be the one to kick-

start the revolution. I guess he left then, because the angel was about to say that I was going to end up liking black guys.

Any insight into why Covington is always accusing fellow activists of being gay?

I don't know. But I do know that he's called nearly everyone in the movement a homosexual and he has accused various men of having sexual thoughts about him. That's common in the movement, but Harold does it a lot more than anyone else. He goes on and on about how all the black guys secretly want to rape him. If he ends up in prison, that probably is the first thing that will happen. Although he probably secretly wants to end up in prison so he can be the biggest man in the trailer park, so he can whine about how he has this perfect plan, that the revolution was going so well, but then the Jews took him away for his thoughts.

What was Covington's place like?

He was filthy. There were layers of grime all over his apartment, piles of trash in the corners. He would be eating a bowl of oatmeal and it would be spilling out all over his shirt. He would walk around like that all day.

At one point you moved in with April Gaede, the well-known neo-Nazi activist

who lives in Kalispell, Mont.?

I met April and we became friends immediately. She invited me that day to move in with her. She had a kind of Aryan dating service and set me up with a skinhead guy. We went out for a couple of months.

She was the one who had major problems with my porno past. She said I obviously had no idea what white nationalism was all about.

At one point, I remember getting into an argument with her. She wanted to have some white power rally in town, and I just didn't want to have my name out there any more. She started going off, saying, "I'd be willing to give up anything to get our message out. I would give up my own children if I had to. I don't care what happens." Her younger daughter was standing right there listening to this.

Eventually, you left Covington and the movement. Why?

I started realizing that Harold wasn't the great white answer to anything. His whole group is just a scam. It's just Harold basically begging for money from his supporters — he gets in about \$40,000 in donations a year. And he just lives off the money. He doesn't spend it on the revolution like he claims.

I guess I just got disillusioned with white nationalism in general. I realized, okay, no, people of other races have never done anything to me or my children in the way white nationalists have. This is the real enemy.

I realized much too late that this entire movement is a huge waste of life, and people who dedicate their lives to such a cause end up with nothing to show for it but their ruined families, destroyed careers and often a loss of personal freedom. I'm glad I got out when I did and I know there are others who want out. Look at the stories of people who have left and who have renounced their beliefs; consider that maybe they had compelling reasons for doing so, when to do so often means putting yourself at great personal risk. I decided that risk was worth it if it meant escape from a life of absolute blind hatred with no end in sight. ▲

Interview conducted by Mark Potok and Laurie Wood.

"I realized much too late that this entire movement is a huge waste of life, and people who dedicate their lives to such a cause end up with nothing to show for it but their ruined families, destroyed careers and often a loss of personal freedom."



JORDAN STEAD



Following the **White Rabbit**

Tim Murdock sits atop an online cult,
spreading fears of 'white genocide' that
have fueled violence and terrorism

BY RYAN LENZ

F

or the past three years, a mysterious figure calling himself Horus the Avenger has operated

White Rabbit Radio, an online community of racists dedicated to spreading a message called the “Mantra” far and wide.

The 221-word Mantra, written by a curmudgeonly segregationist with a history of drug abuse named Robert Whitaker, is an attack on multiculturalism that largely blames immigration for a “genocide” facing white people. This notion has, apparently, motivated far-right extremists to commit heinous acts of violence, including the 2011 terrorist attack in Norway that left 77 people dead.

“Anti-racist is code word for anti-white,” the Mantra reads in part. Its widespread presence on the Internet is due to a small but highly dedicated group of activists who call themselves the “swarm” and furiously propagate it online. In essence, they comprise an online flash mob, spending hours posting the Mantra in the comments section of YouTube videos, tagging it to news articles on race, and reprinting the Mantra in full on most white nationalist websites of note.

But until now, little was known about the energetic propagandist known as Horus. He has had no known membership in any racist group and has gone to great lengths to hide his identity. In his first podcast, in 2009, he boasted, “You don’t know who I am. You’re never going to know.”

That ended in June, when an investigation by the *Intelligence Report* uncovered the identity of Horus the Avenger.

His real name is Timothy Gallaher Murdock, 43, of Dearborn Heights, Mich., though he sometimes appears online and in radio interviews as Tom Worth. An avowed anti-Semite and one-time day trader, he is single and lives in the basement of his parents’ home, where, he says, he cares for his terminally ill mother and dedicates his time to building up “Horus the Avenger’s Follow the White Rabbit,” an online allegory designed to expose “white genocide” and patterned after Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*.

The basic idea of the Mantra and its



The “Mantra” equating anti-racism with the “genocide” of the white race was originally penned by Robert Whitaker, a segregationist and one-time Reagan appointee. But its most energetic promoter has been Timothy Gallaher Murdock of Michigan, who calls himself “Horus The Avenger.”

proponents — that white people, far from ruling most of the developed world, are actually being subjected to a genocide that will ultimately wipe out their race — is not new. It has been developing since the racist right essentially lost the civil rights battles of the 1960s, and racist writers like Wilmot Robertson began adopting the language of the civil rights movement to depict whites as increasingly “dispossessed.” In the last 20 years, the idea that the white race is facing mortal attack has become the norm on the extreme right, with the neo-Nazi National Alliance, for instance, repeatedly describing whites as “Earth’s Most Endangered Species.” Such fears have picked up speed in recent years thanks in large part to the U.S. Census Bureau, which has predicted that non-Hispanic whites in this country will lose their majority by about 2043.

Murdock, Whitaker and the “swarm” of their enthusiasts have reduced their message of fear to a few sentences and sent it out to the world via thousands of web postings.

Over several hours of cordial interviews with the *Report*, Murdock

acknowledged his identity and elaborated at great length about the Mantra, how he entered the radical right and what he hopes to achieve.

“What I am is a provocateur,” Murdock said. “My job is to provoke a conversation using the very charged concept of white genocide to create a paradigm change. I’m not interested in creating a national socialist state.” He added, “I’m doing things intentionally to provoke a reaction.”

And provoke a reaction he has. Since Murdock’s appearance in the movement, lines from the Mantra have proliferated across the racist right. His website features a subscription podcast called Endgame Exotica that provides commentary on the news, as well as a host of animated cartoon shorts to point out the supposed contradictions of multiculturalism. He has also become a galvanizing figure in the movement. He appeared last year at the Practical Politics Seminar conference hosted by Stormfront, the largest white supremacist online forum, where he talked about controlling the message about race. His allegiances

in that message management lie undoubtedly with the Mantra and Whitaker, his partner in the messaging effort. “I’ve always been interested in Bob’s particular writings,” Murdock said. “I think he’s the future.”

If the future is with Whitaker and his Mantra, it is a future envisioned by a recovering drug addict who once claimed to have had an amphetamine habit that dropped his IQ below 100.

A Mantra is Born

Though he claims on his blog to have been the message man in the Reagan administration responsible for crushing communism, bringing down the Berlin Wall and saving the Hubble Space Telescope, Whitaker is seen by many in the movement as a hard-drinking though

“What I am is a provocateur. My job is to provoke a conversation using the very charged concept of white genocide to create a paradigm change.”

—Timothy Gallaher Murdock

harmless, grandfatherly Forrest Gump.

James Edwards, host of the racist “Political Cesspool” radio show, wrote, “The next time anyone talks with Bob, ask him about the time we closed down that bar in Charleston.” To his disciples, though, Whitaker is nothing short of a propaganda “genius,” a word that can be found more than 600 times on his blog.

“There is not a modest bone in my body,” Whitaker wrote in 2004. “I AM a genius. I was born with one hell of a brain, and I scare our enemies because I am so smart I can laugh them to shame. I am at so high a level that a PhD or a big-time news anchor doesn’t mean a thing to me.”

A far-right propagandist for more than a half-century, the former economics professor and Reagan appointee to the Office of Personnel Management has been linked to radical, often racist, populist campaigns for most of his career. He once claimed to have a swastika poster on his wall when he was young to protest desegregation. In fact, his advocacy of segregation and racist ideology seems rooted in his opposition to America’s early civil rights struggles.

According to Whitaker’s followers, he’s a former clandestine CIA agent and a mercenary in Rhodesia who helped craft the propaganda message that ended the Soviet Union — claims for which there is no known historical record.

The Mantra first appeared in 2006 on Whitaker’s blog and on the Internet forum for National Vanguard, a breakaway group from the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Unlike David Lane’s succinct “14 words” (“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White Children.”), the Mantra reads like a rambling tirade on U.S. immigration policy.

In part, it reads: “Everybody says there is this race problem.

Everybody says this race problem will be solved when the third world pours into every white country and only into white countries. ... Everybody says the final solution to this race problem is for every white country and only white countries to ‘assimilate,’ i.e., intermarry, with all those non-whites. ... But if I tell that obvious truth about the ongoing program of genocide against my race, the white race, Liberals and respectable conservatives agree that I am a nazihowantstokill-sixmillionjews [sic].” The Mantra ends with its most often quoted phrase: “They say they are anti-racist. What they are is anti-white. Anti-racist is a code word for anti-white.”

Whitaker, who spoke several times with the *Report*, claimed to have crafted the message “over years and years and years of arguing with anti-Whites.” While he claimed to have no working relationship with Murdock — in fact, he seemed upset at the suggestion that the two worked in concert — he remains proud of his Mantra.

“I’ve been in this business for 55 years, but I just got a little tired of the usual line,” Whitaker said. “I wanted to concentrate on the actual point, which is when the anti-whites talk about mixing races, it’s only in white countries.”

Down the Rabbit Hole

Murdock went further than Whitaker could have imagined in spreading the Mantra. With a weekly podcast and an onslaught of racist cartoons, his White Rabbit project is slick and professional — glossy racism that pulls liberally from Egyptian mythology. (Horus is the Egyptian god of war.)

Murdock and his animators created



Animating Aryanism: Tim Murdock has developed a whole world of cartoon characters — Pink Rabbits (clockwise from upper left), White Rabbits, The Green Goddess and Red Hippos — to represent white people and their purported enemies.

an allegorical cast of characters meant to reduce the modern world to racial archetypes. In fact, a large part of his appeal with younger racists lies in the iconography and detailed storyline of characters, each meant to symbolize a particular aspect of the “race problem.”

“White Rabbits,” which Murdock has said represent genetic perfection, are people of European descent and are depicted as vicious-looking creatures with Nazi lightning bolts in their eyes and crooked, dangling ears. “Red Hippos” represent Jews, or evil in the world. And “Pink Rabbits” are white rabbits infected by the Red Hippos. (Pink Rabbits, according to the allegory, are actually soaked in the blood of Red Hippos.) The cast of characters goes on, and Murdock’s website displays pictures of sneering White Rabbits swinging sledgehammers emblazoned with the words “The Mantra” at Pink Rabbits.

While Murdock has repeatedly said he dismisses violence as a tactic that will work in “illuminating” whites as to the state of race relations, the same cannot be said for all of those who carry the Mantra and fears of “white genocide” onward.

Murdock’s work, for example, attracted the attention of Anders Breivik, the Norwegian terrorist who slaughtered 77 people two years ago in his home country.



James Edwards



Mass murderer Anders Breivik

In Breivik's manifesto, he complains about "blood thirsty genocide committed by hate-filled, anti-white, racist immigrants" and seems particularly obsessed with the word "genocide." He mentions it frequently in his manifesto, as he does the terms "anti-white" and "anti-racist." Breivik sent his manifesto to Murdock and more than 1,000 others the day of the attack.

There are others, too, who have acted violently, seemingly animated by the fear of white genocide.

In 2009, on the day after Barack Obama was inaugurated as the country's first black president, a man named Keith Luke murdered two black people in Brockton, Mass., and raped a third before shooting and wounding her. After police captured him, Luke reportedly told them that he acted because he had been studying Internet pages and learned that whites were being subjected to a genocide.

In September 2011, eight months before he was accused of torturing and dismembering a Chinese immigrant in Canada, an act caught on film, Canadian model Luka Rocco Magnotta wrote about his white nationalist beliefs on racist message boards under several pseudonyms. "[E]very country in the world was able to have their heritage protected, blacks get their own countries, chinese [sic] get their own countries. ... However if white people want their own countries then we are denied that right."

It was more than a petty gripe penned by a racist. The idea of a white homeland has long been a pipe dream of the racist right.

The Rabbit Unmasked

Murdock's entire purpose, he said, is to raise awareness of white genocide in any way possible. But will he continue now that his anonymity is gone?

"Sure. Why not?" he said. "I held to that model as long as possible. ... But if you have 30 million people wearing the Guy Fawkes mask [a symbol adopted by a number of populist movements], it doesn't

matter if they wear the mask anymore."

Murdock may seem cavalier about the loss of anonymity, but the fact remains that he has gone to great pains to protect it.

Along with Whitaker's acolytes — they call themselves BUGSers, because they are part of what is called "Bob's Underground Graduate Seminar" — Murdock has played a cat-and-mouse game with Internet service providers and website administrators, hoping to slip the racist Mantra as deeply into the public sphere as possible.

For example, last March, according to Whitaker's website administrators, the Mantra was posted 7,187 times across the Web, up more than 100% from the previous month, when the Mantra was posted 3,565 times. The people posting it include racist ideologues such as Michael Rudolph, aka "Beefcake," who runs online seminars on how to spread the Mantra, and Albert Durette, 72, of Berkeley, Calif., who has started a White House petition asking that the Mantra be taught in schools as part of core education standards.

Murdock said he plans to release more animated content, including a 3-D version of every character in the cast, as well as a second part to his wildly popular video "How Whites Took Over America," which reimagines the history of the European explorers who "discovered" the Americas.

Perhaps his most famous animated cartoon yet is the "Anti-Racist Hitler," in which Adolf Hitler returns from Argentina, where he has been hiding since the end of the war — except this time he is working as an anti-racist.

In the 10-minute animation, which has been viewed about 180,000 times on YouTube, Hitler arrives in Israel, arguing that it is racist for the Jews to want to preserve their homeland to the exclusion of others. When a Jewish man stops Hitler on the streets and says, "I think we have a right to preserve our culture, and our



Timothy Murdock and friends have created a series of animated propaganda cartoons with titles like "Down With Pink Rabbits," "Anti-Racist Hitler" and "Woolwich Terror Attack."

people," Hitler responds, "So you believe you are God's chosen people? Some kind of master race? That just reminds me of the brown shirts in the '30s."

Murdock laughed when mentioning the video. "Every single thing Hitler says to the Israelis has been said basically to someone white," he said.

The video was released on April 20, Hitler's birthday, a deliberate appeal to racists and white nationalists who revere the day. With that, it is impossible for Murdock to claim he is not working with the hardline racist right.

Not that he makes much of an effort to deny that anyway.

"The message is up for grabs regarding race," Murdock said. "I'm doing what has been done for decades, from a verbal perspective. White people have to be able to defend themselves somehow verbally when called a racist." ▲



Keith Luke

FOR THE RECORD

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES LISTED HERE ARE DRAWN primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 195,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2011 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occurred annually between 2003 and 2009. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the fourth quarter of 2012. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website at splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents.

ALABAMA

Dothan • May 27, 2013

Ku Klux Klan fliers were distributed in a neighborhood.

CALIFORNIA

Agoura Hills • May 15, 2013

Racist graffiti targeting black students was painted on the walls of a high school.

Davis • May 12, 2013

Two men driving on the University of California-Davis campus yelled anti-gay slurs at two other men, one of whom was then reportedly beaten.

Fresno • May 5, 2013

An elderly Sikh man was attacked outside a temple by a man wielding an iron bar. Gilbert Garcia, 29, was charged with assault with a deadly weapon.

Palm Springs • April 1, 2013

A racial slur was scratched into a store window.

Sacramento • May 1, 2013

Charles Gilbert Demar, 38, a member of the racist Sacramento Skinheads, was sentenced to 75 years to life on two counts of manufacturing, transporting and possessing methamphetamine for sale.



Demar

Van Nuys • June 21, 2013

Nicol Shakhnazaryan, 21, was charged with suspicion of felony

battery after he and three other men allegedly attacked a transgender woman on May 31.

COLORADO

Security-Widefield • June 2, 2013

Ku Klux Klan recruiting fliers were taped to mailboxes at several residences.

FLORIDA

Gainesville • April 2, 2013

The Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed fliers.

Key West • June 23, 2013

A man yelled anti-gay slurs,



Salim

then attacked a man working security at a gay club. Christopher Salim, 18, was charged with suspicion of felony battery using a deadly weapon and felony hate crime.

Orlando • May 13, 2013

A flier from the Fort Christmas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was left on a black family's doorstep.

Tampa • April 9, 2013

Tavares Spencer, 16, was charged with attempted murder, robbery and aggravated battery with a deadly weapon after he allegedly shot a cross-dressing man.

GEORGIA

Alpharetta • May 27, 2013

The phrases "London Justice" and "Where is Justice??" were spray-painted on an Islamic center. Police were investigating if the vandalism was done in response to the murder a week earlier of a British soldier in London by Islamic radicals.

Atlanta • April 18, 2013

Christopher Cain and Dorian Moragne pleaded guilty to federal hate crime charges for the beating of a gay man in February 2012.

ILLINOIS

Mokena • June 8, 2013

A man allegedly made racial slurs and used a knife to threaten two black men who were moving next door to him, then assaulted one of the men and vandalized his car. Richard M. Cyplik, 28, was charged with a hate crime, aggravated assault, aggravated battery and vandalism.

St. Charles • June 9, 2013

A man yelled ethnic slurs at a man and woman, dented their car door and pushed the man.

INDIANA

West Lafayette • April 23, 2013

A racial slur and a drawing of a figure hanging from a tree were drawn on a placard on display at a building on the Purdue University campus.

MICHIGAN

Lansing • May 25, 2013

Pablo Espinoza, 58, was arrested for allegedly spray-painting at least six swastikas on community grounds since May 15.

MISSISSIPPI

Meridian • April 25, 2013

A stuffed animal hanging from a noose was left outside the office of a black mayoral candidate.

MISSOURI

Clinton • June 20, 2013

Fliers from the Traditionalist

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in the driveways of several residences.

MONTANA

Bozeman • April 7, 2013

Hate messages were spray-painted on the walls of a Catholic church that was also vandalized.

NEW JERSEY

Elizabeth • May 5, 2013

Swastikas and the numbers "666" were spray-painted on a van of a day care center owned by a black family.

Medford Township • April 14, 2013

Fliers from the white supremacist group Advanced White Society were left in the driveways of at least 80 residences.

Woolwich Township • May 5, 2013

A racial epithet was left scrawled on a sign outside of a predominantly black church.

NEW YORK

Bronx • April 15, 2013

A man from Bangladesh was attacked outside of a restaurant by a group of men who thought the man was Arab.

Brooklyn • April 8, 2013

Eleven mezuzahs, which hold parchments bearing verses from the Torah, were set afire as they hung on doorframes outside Jewish residents' apartments on Holocaust Remembrance Day. Another burned mezuzah was



Ubiles

found inside an apartment building next door. Ruben Ubiles, 35, was charged with 12 counts of arson as a hate crime, 12 counts of burglary as a hate crime and 12 counts of criminal mischief as a hate crime.

Brooklyn • May 29, 2013

A gay man was attacked by a group who yelled anti-gay slurs. Five men, ranging in age from 16 to 21, were charged with assault as a hate crime.

Hammond • April 29, 2013

A black man was called a racial slur and threatened by a white man, who then burned a cross in his own yard, in view of the victim. Ryann A. Wilson, 28, was charged with setting a cross on fire in public view.

Long Beach • April 9, 2013

Two black men were threatened on a golf course by a white man who yelled racial slurs. Grant Smith, 48, was charged with assault, assault as a hate crime and two counts of menacing as a hate crime.

Manhattan • May 5, 2013

Two gay men were beaten by five men who yelled anti-gay slurs. Asllan Berisha and Brian Ramirez, both 21, were charged with felony assault as a hate crime.

Manhattan • May 5, 2013

An Asian student at Columbia University was called racial slurs and threatened by another student. Chad Washington, 19, was charged with aggravated harassment.

Manhattan • May 18, 2013

Elliot Morales, 33, was charged with murder as a hate crime in the fatal shooting of Mark Carson, 32. Morales, who allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs at the victim, was also charged with criminal possession of a weapon and menacing.

Manhattan • May 20, 2013

A gay man at a rally to protest the recent killing of a gay man was beaten by a man who yelled anti-gay slurs. Gornell Roman, 39, was

charged with second- and third-degree assault as a hate crime.

Manhattan • May 21, 2013

Two men yelled anti-gay slurs at two other men and punched one of them in the face. Fabian Ortiz, 32, and Pedro Jimenez, 23, were charged with assault as a hate crime.

Manhattan • May 25, 2013

A gay-rights activist protesting a recent spate of bias attacks was punched by a man who yelled anti-gay slurs. Manuel Riquelme, 19, was charged with second-degree aggravated harassment as a hate crime.

Queens • April 12, 2013

A man wielding a gun made anti-Muslim statements and threatened to kill a man leaving a mosque.

NORTH CAROLINA

Kings Mountain • May 29, 2013

Fliers from the Christian Knights of the KKK were left in the driveways of residences throughout the county.

Zebulon • May 18, 2013

A black man was called racial



Poole

slurs and threatened by a white man with a billy club. Richard Eugene Poole, 69, was charged with ethnic intimidation.

OHIO

Mansfield • May 12, 2013

Bibles with racial slurs written

inside were left at the homes of 16 black people.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City • April 27, 2013

A racial slur, a Satanic message and profanity were spray-painted on a mosque.

Oklahoma City • June 27, 2013

Two vehicles were burned and a racial slur written at a Vietnamese-American family's residence.

OREGON

Salem • April 28, 2013

Swastikas, racial slurs and obscenities were spray-painted on a middle school.

PENNSYLVANIA

Lancaster • May 23, 2013

Terry L. Reber, 40, was charged with ethnic intimidation and three counts of harassment after he allegedly punched a woman and shoved a man to the ground while yelling racial slurs at them.

Quarryville • May 23, 2013

Kevin Bryant Grove, 31, was charged with felony ethnic intimidation and making terroristic threats for allegedly using racial slurs and threatening a Guatemalan man at a bar.

TENNESSEE

Cowan • April 8, 2013

Todd E. Dalton, 25, and John Cory Lanier, 26, were charged with first-degree murder in the beating death of Corey Matthews, 26, around March 24. Dalton, Lanier and the victim all were allegedly members of a faction of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and authorities reportedly theorize that Matthews' death was the result of a dispute



Dalton



Lanier

over the group's beliefs. Another reported Aryan Nations member, Coty Keith Holmes, 26, was arrested in Florida on April 16 in connection with the murder. David Gordon Jenkins, 46, who reportedly had ties to the racist prison gang Aryan Brotherhood, remains at large.

Nashville • May 14, 2013

Dakota Carlderhead, 20, and Kristian Mathis, 19, pleaded guilty to painting swastikas and hanging nooses at black residences.

TEXAS

McKinney • June 2, 2013

Two dozen paintballs were fired at a mosque.

VIRGINIA

Fairfax • April 26, 2013

A Muslim cab driver was beaten by a passenger who threatened him and accused him of being a terrorist. Ed Dahlberg was charged with misdemeanor assault.

WASHINGTON

Lyle • May 15, 2013

Stephen L. Campbell, 22, and Jaret T. Duddles, 28, were charged with second-degree assault and malicious harassment for allegedly using racial slurs and aiming a loaded crossbow at a group of Native Americans.

Seattle • May 28, 2013

A black man was beaten by five white men who yelled racial and anti-gay slurs. Trey Amberson and Justin Echols, both 22, and Aaron Nelson, William Berger, and Zachary Kocikhill, all 21, were charged with malicious harassment.

WISCONSIN

Appleton • June 3, 2013

Tom Pruett, 49, was charged with substantial battery with a hate crime enhancer and disorderly conduct with a hate crime enhancer after he allegedly beat another man who was wearing makeup and identifies as a woman. ▲

RETURN OF THE GERMAN

Andreas Strassmeir was once a giant figure in U.S. conspiracy theorists' circles. Now he's back, but this time in miniature

BY MARK POTOK

Once upon a time, the man known as "Andy the German" was at the top of every conspiracy theorist in America's list.

He was a spy working for the American and German intelligence services, sent to the States to keep track of the radical right. He was the partner of Timothy McVeigh, the "head of security" at a remote white supremacist compound who secretly collaborated in the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.

He worked for the FBI.

He worked for the CIA.

He worked for the Anti-Defamation League, or the Southern Poverty Law Center, or perhaps the Israeli Mossad.

Or he didn't.

In the end, it was learned that Andreas Karl Strassmeir really *did* meet Oklahoma mass murderer McVeigh, at a 1993 gun show in Tulsa. McVeigh did try to call him once, according to the best evidence, while Strassmeir was living at the Elohim City compound in far eastern rural Oklahoma, just two weeks before the bombing and immediately after contacting the Ryder rental firm where he would later obtain the truck used to build his deadly bomb. And Strassmeir did come from a German family known for its right-wing nationalist sympathies.

That's where the evidence ran out.

Strassmeir slipped out of the country in 1996, aided by white supremacist friends who ferried him quietly to Mexico, as various theories about his possible role in America's worst domestic terrorist attack ever proliferated. The FBI, after failing to interview him while he was in the country despite his dealings with Oklahoma radicals, only talked to him by phone nine months after the bombing.

After that, the world didn't hear much about Andreas Strassmeir, a former lieutenant in the German Army, at least until

1997, when he spoke with *Der Spiegel*, a respected magazine with a circulation of more than 1 million.

He emphatically denied any involvement in the bombing, which, in truth, was not linked to him by any solid evidence. Then he pretty much disappeared.



One theory about "Andy the German" asserts that he was "John Doe 2" in the Oklahoma City bombing. Investigators have concluded there probably never was such a person.

Now, the enigmatic German is back.

Andreas Strassmeir, the man who so many once believed helped orchestrate the mass murder of 168 men, women and children, is in Berlin, but he doesn't seem to be running any top-secret international operations.

He's selling dolls.

Not just any dolls, but white metal figurines, "historically accurate miniatures of the highest quality made in Germany!" Thorsberg Authentic Historical Miniatures, run by Strassmeir and partner Stefan Loewe, "a qualified model maker," specializes in Nordic chieftains, officers of the Roman Empire, mythical Germanic heroes and, a bit bizarrely, American Indians in traditional garb.

The firm's site, Thorsberg-miniatures.de, makes no mention of its founder's notori-

ous past. Strassmeir is described merely as a "Museology graduate."

It's not clear what his degree contributed to Thorsberg's version of Helen of Troy, which the firm concedes did involve some "artistic license." The adulterous Greek is depicted almost entirely nude and with an anatomically improbable bosom, a sassy hand resting on her impudent hip, while the face that launched a thousand ships is embellished with purple eye shadow and heavy rouge.

Are there any politics reflected here?

Well, it's certainly true that white supremacists in Europe as well as the United States have an inordinate interest in early European whites, particularly the kind that spent their years fighting bloody battles against the first Christians and, later, invading Muslim "infidels." These are seen as exemplars of real white men, brutish warriors ready to make mincemeat of anyone who threatened their race.

But there's no obvious sign of that at the Thorsberg site.

There is, however, a possible clue. Thorsberg's logo is described on its site as a "triskel or triskelion. This ancient symbol has been known to many peoples since the Neolithic age. ... In Germanic mythology the three swirling arms of the sign also symbolize the unification of past, present and future."

All true, as far as it goes. But there's something more.

Versions of the triskelion, also known as the "three sevens" or "three legs," were used by the Nazi 27th SS Volunteer Langemarck, the South African white supremacist paramilitary group Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and, most recently, many neo-Nazi skinheads. And that's enough to provide grist for the mill of another entire generation of Andreas Strassmeir conspiracy theories. ▲

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



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