

# Intelligence Report

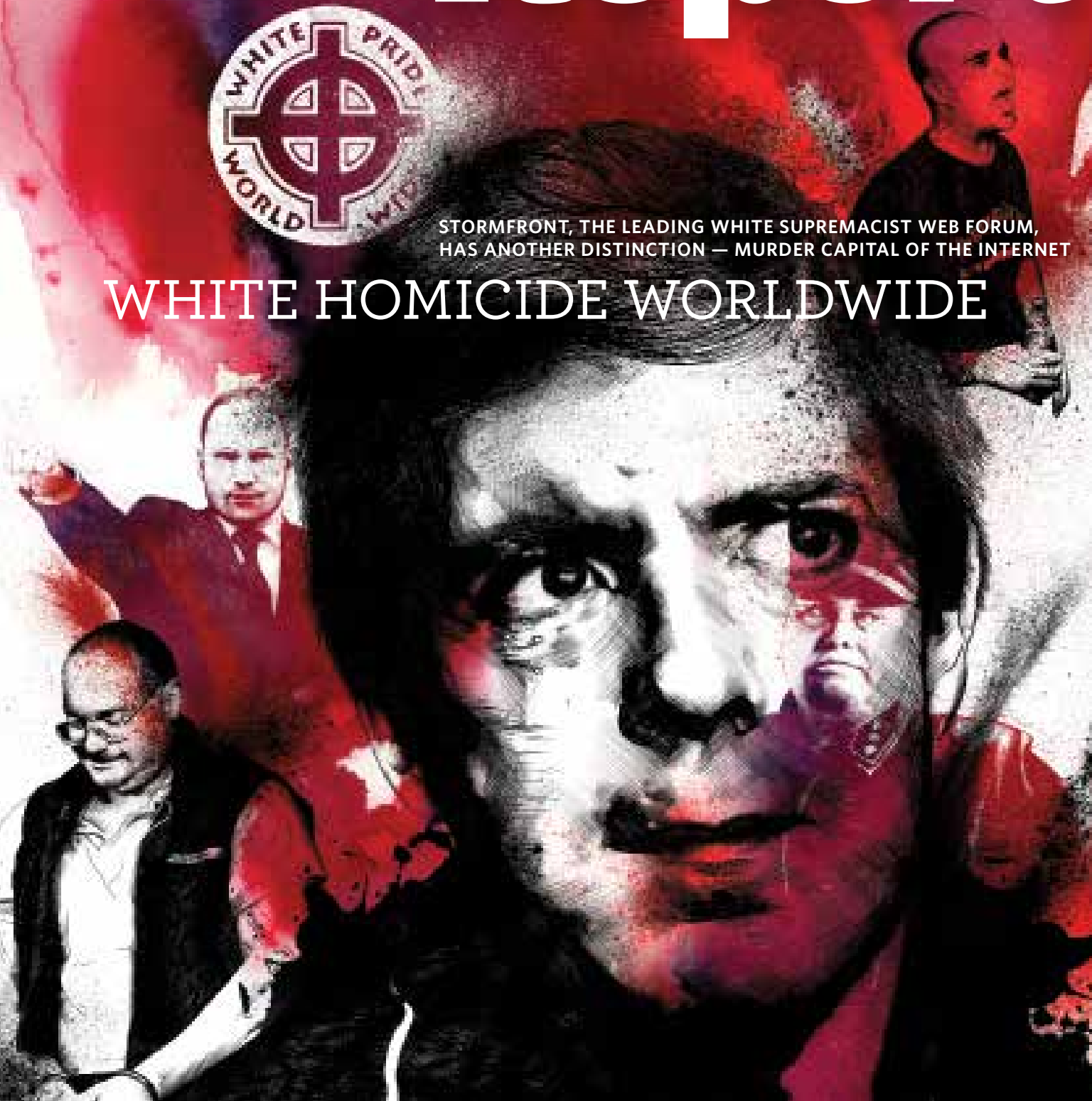
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STORMFRONT, THE LEADING WHITE SUPREMACIST WEB FORUM,  
HAS ANOTHER DISTINCTION — MURDER CAPITAL OF THE INTERNET

## WHITE HOMICIDE WORLDWIDE



# Frazier Glenn Cross, Murder and the Internet

BY MARK POTOK

When neo-Nazi Frazier Glenn Cross stormed on to the grounds of two Jewish institutions in Kansas and allegedly shot three strangers to death in April, it was only the latest reminder that the United States faces its own homegrown terrorists.

Although the news coverage implied that this was a uniquely horrific attack, the reality is that it was one of a long, ugly series in recent years. Other known neo-

Nazis murdered a guard at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, killed six Sikhs in a Wisconsin temple, tried to slaughter hundreds in a Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade in Spokane, Wash., gunned down black people near Boston, and more.

The Overland Park, Kan., rampage, whose victims ironically all turned out to be Christians, came just

six days before the 19th anniversary of Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, another grim reminder of the savagery of the government-hating radical right. That bomb stole away the lives of 168 Americans, including 19 small children in a day care center.

Like Cross, McVeigh was one of ours. Although many rushed to declare that the 1995 bombing bore all the hallmarks of an attack by foreign Muslim jihadists, they were quickly shown to be completely wrong. McVeigh was a U.S.-born white man, what the Ku Klux Klan of old liked to call a "100% American," and he was not alone. According to the New America Foundation, domestic right-wing extremists have slain 34 people in the United States for political reasons since 9/11, while terrorists motivated by Al Qaeda's ideology have killed 21. That's not to diminish the jihadist threat, but merely to point out that there are others, too.

For a moment after the Oklahoma City bombing, it seemed the lesson was learned. Law enforcement officials, many of whom had been skeptical of the whole notion of domestic terrorists, came to see that there was a dangerous underbelly to American society, a world of radical-right activists who were willing to kill. Plot after plot was dismantled as the militia movement coursed through the country. But then came the Al Qaeda attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and it appeared that the lesson had once again been lost.

Despite McVeigh, Cross and all the other compelling evidence of the threat from the domestic radical right, the Department of Homeland Security, tasked with developing intelligence about such perils, seems to have taken its eye off the ball. Since 2009, when then-DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano pulled back a DHS report that soberly

assessed the threat because certain conservatives were offended by its perfectly accurate observations, the DHS unit that once handled analysis of domestic non-Islamic terrorism has been gutted. Most members quit the agency, disgusted by Napolitano's political cowardice and their own shabby treatment.

The work that DHS used to do is needed. As the Southern Poverty Law Center has documented, the last five years have seen an enormous expansion of the radical right, largely driven by the demographic "browning" of the population and predictions of the loss of a white majority in the next 30 years. Anger at the dramatic changes occurring in our society is real, and it is steeped in blood.

One thing DHS might consider examining is the role of the Internet in breeding men like Frazier Glenn Cross. As pointed out by Jeffrey Simon, a scholar of so-called "lone wolf" terrorism, all today's lone terrorists need is provided by the Internet, where both technical information about bombs and other weapons is freely available, and where a chorus of moral support can be found.

In this issue, our investigative cover story, some two years in the making, explores the role of an enormous racist Web forum called Stormfront that is run by a former Alabama Klan leader named Don Black. It found that in the last five years alone — since the election of the nation's first black president — registered members of Stormfront (an incredible 286,000 people, though many are inactive) have been responsible for the murders of close to 100 people.

The killers had certain commonalities. They were frustrated, unemployed white men living with their mothers or an estranged spouse or girlfriend. And they typically posted for years before beginning to kill, drawing sustenance and support from their fellow racists and anti-Semites.

Cross, too, was nurtured by the Internet — in his case, by a rival neo-Nazi Web forum known as Vanguard News Network. In recent years, the former North Carolina Klan leader posted there more than 12,000 times.

These forums cannot be banned or shut down under American free speech doctrines. But they can provide a rich font of information about those racists and anti-Semites who seek to make change at the point of a gun. It is even conceivable that early clues about forum posters' violent plans may be found.

The threat from the homegrown white supremacist movement in America is real. We shouldn't need yet another bloodbath to face that sobering reality, much as many on the political right would like to deny it. Men like Frazier Glenn Cross, who once plotted to assassinate SPLC co-founder Morris Dees because the civil rights group had sued him for racist harassment, make that only too plain. ▲



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The Al Qaeda English-language magazine *Inspire* is a key online breeding ground for Islamic terrorists. The equivalent for radical racists is Stormfront, the largest white supremacist Web forum in the world. A two-year investigation by the *Intelligence Report* finds that in the five years since Barack Obama was elected as our first black president, registered members of Stormfront have murdered close to 100 people.



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# Intelligence Report

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### LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

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





## [DOMESTIC TERRORISM]

## Neo-Nazi Frazier Glenn Cross Charged with Capital Murder in Kansas Shootings

In many ways, it was the tragic culmination of a life defined by seething racist and anti-Semitic hate.

Yet when Frazier Glenn Cross, a well-known neo-Nazi who changed his last name from Miller after testifying against fellow racists in 1988, strode on to the grounds of a Jewish community center in a suburb of Kansas City, Kan., and allegedly killed two people before moving on to a Jewish retirement home and killing another, it came as a complete surprise.

Despite almost five decades as a violent white supremacist, Cross, 73, had given out no obvious signal of his alleged intentions before the April 13 slaughter.

Cross, of Aurora, Mo., was charged with capital murder for the killing of a 14-year-old

boy and his grandfather and one count of first-degree, premeditated murder for the death of a woman visiting her aged mother. He was captured almost immediately at a nearby school without resistance, yelling “Heil Hitler” minutes later as he sat handcuffed in the back seat of a police car.

As it turned out, all three victims were Christians.

Cross had been involved with racist groups since his early twenties, and founded the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1980. He was sued by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) for harassing African Americans and operating a paramilitary organization and eventually agreed to desist. But he violated that court

agreement by receiving stolen arms and military training from active-duty soldiers and Marines from Fort Bragg and Camp Lejeune and was found in criminal contempt as a result. He was sentenced to a year in prison, with six months suspended, but apparently feared additional charges.

Cross went underground while his conviction was under appeal but the FBI captured him months later hiding out with other Klansmen and a major weapons cache in Missouri. Although he was initially charged with conspiracy for plotting robberies and the assassination of SPLC co-founder Morris Dees and could have faced decades in prison, he wound up serving only three years after agreeing to testify against

Frazier Glenn Cross was apprehended only minutes after allegedly murdering three people, including a 14-year-old boy, who he apparently mistakenly believed were Jewish. Earlier in his nearly six decades as a white supremacist, Miller led a paramilitary group called the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and plotted to assassinate Morris Dees, the co-founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Visit [intelligencereport.org](http://intelligencereport.org) for more information on the state of hate in America.

Ray Adams (left) and Samuel Crump were convicted in January of plotting to attack government facilities in four cities with the deadly biological toxin ricin. They face up to life in prison.

other racist leaders in a 1988 seditious trial in Fort Smith, Ark. That proceeding ended with all 14 defendants acquitted of all charges.

While he remained an enemy to many white supremacists because of his testimony, Cross in recent years became one of the largest financial backers behind Alex Linder's anti-Semitic Vanguard News Network, where he has posted more than 12,000 times using the name "Rounder." He also printed and distributed Linder's neo-Nazi newsletter, The Aryan Alternative.

There was no clear explanation for why Cross allegedly decided to act on his hatred of Jews. It may be that he was old and suffering from emphysema and wanted to go out in a blaze of glory. He may have wanted to finally prove to fellow racists that he wasn't a snitch and was willing to kill for the movement. He may have been paying tribute to Joseph Paul Franklin, a Cross friend and racist serial killer who was put to death in November. The day of the Kansas killing spree would have been Franklin's 64th birthday.

But none of that is certain. And Cross has offered no clues beyond his well-known hatred.

Last fall, Cross spoke several times by telephone to Heidi Beirich, director of the SPLC's Intelligence Project, boasting of beating up "nigger faggots" and accusing her of supporting "anti-white genocide." When Beirich told him that the SPLC was trying "to stop people like you who want to kill Jews," he responded with apparent incredulity: "Who the hell is killing Jews? Who's exterminating Jews?"



#### [RADICAL MILITIAS]

## Georgia Men Accused in Bomb Plot to Provoke Martial Law

Three antigovernment activists appeared in a Rome, Ga., federal court in late February, accused of planning a coordinated terror campaign intended to cause mass hysteria and force the declaration of martial law, "therefore triggering other militias to join the fight."

According to a nine-page federal criminal complaint, Brian Cannon, 37, Cory Williamson, 28, and Terry Peace, 45, all of whom shared an address in Rome, plotted "in online chat discussions, which were monitored by [the] FBI, during which they chatted about carrying out an operation against the government."

During one online chat in late January, the complaint alleges, Peace urged militia members to "review guerilla warfare tactics, small unit tactics, accumulate supplies, and prepare family" for an attack set for February. The "primary targets" were to include the Transportation

Security Administration, the Department of Homeland Security and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

The men were caught with help from two confidential human sources whose work supplemented the FBI monitoring that captured their online interactions.

On Feb. 8, authorities recorded a telephone call between a confidential source and Peace, who told the source that he wanted 12 pipe bombs constructed for "maximum fragmentation." A week later, the three men loaded rifles into a truck and drove to Cartersville, Ga., where they were set to meet the source, who authorities had supplied with inert decoys including pipe bombs and two thermite devices. When the militia members took possession of the supposed explosives, the FBI arrested them.

"This case is a stark reminder of the threat we face not just from abroad, but from within our own borders from our own citizens," U.S. Attorney Sally Quillian Yates said in a press release.

It is not the only one. On Jan. 17, a federal jury in Gainesville, Ga., convicted two men of plotting to produce the deadly poison ricin and use it "to attack government



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buildings and kill government employees.” Samuel Crump Jr., 70, and Ray Adams, 57, were among four suspects arrested in 2011 after FBI informants recorded them plotting to disperse deadly ricin powder in Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Jacksonville, Fla., and New Orleans. It’s not clear what they expected to accomplish, but they talked about “saving the Constitution” by killing people.

Two of the men, Frederick Thomas, 73, and Emory Roberts, 67, entered guilty pleas in April 2012, and were sentenced to five years in prison. Crump and Adams face up to life in prison when they are sentenced.

Aspiring domestic terrorists were not limited to the Peach State: On Jan. 8, police arrested three Littlerock, Calif., men., after Los Angeles County sheriff’s deputies found a soundproof bunker hidden underneath a house. The bunker was filled with guns, ammunition and white supremacist paraphernalia, and outfitted with a 25-yard shooting range. Royce Gresham, 33, Todd Hunt, 54, and Larry Finnell, 62, were charged with weapons violations and arraigned at the Antelope Valley courthouse.

#### [LAW ENFORCEMENT EXTREMISM]

## Virginia Sheriff Retains Bigoted Trainer Despite Criticism

In general, an FBI agent who resigns in disgrace after sleeping with a government witness under his protection should not expect much in the way of respect from the law enforcement community.

But that hasn’t turned out to be the case for John Guandolo, a Muslim-basher and conspiracy theorist who left the bureau in 2008 before he could be

investigated for misconduct. Despite the ex-agent’s tarnished reputation, Sheriff Scott Jenkins of Culpeper County, Va., sponsored a Feb. 25-27 training run by Guandolo, who claims that the director of the CIA is a double agent for the Saudi government and that American Muslims “do not have a First Amendment right to do anything.”

Numerous progressive and civil rights groups, including the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which publishes *Intelligence Report*, called on Jenkins to withdraw his sponsorship of the training, but the sheriff stood his ground. Downplaying the possibility that Guandolo’s bigotry and conspiracy theorizing could negatively affect trainees’ ability to do their jobs, Jenkins told the Fredericksburg, Va., *Free Lance-Star*, “We’ve got sense enough not to take anything we might not agree with at face value.”

They’ll have their work cut out for them. Guandolo seemingly believes that only he and a handful of allies understand geopolitics, terrorism, and Islam. At a 2010 training in Columbus, Ohio, he falsely accused Omar al-Omari, a college professor, of having ties to terrorism. He’s since gone after bigger fish, including CIA director John Brennan — who, he claims, has “brought known Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood leaders into the government.” President Obama is also accused of having helped with a “significant effort to protect known members of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood inside this government.”

Having investigated Guandolo in the wake of warnings from the SPLC and elsewhere, some groups had second thoughts about the Culpeper training. Notably, Virginia’s Rappahannock Regional Criminal Justice Academy withdrew its sponsorship on Feb. 24. But the show went on without accreditation: Local deputies

attended closed portions of the 3-day seminar, and a Feb. 26 public session on “The Muslim Brotherhood/Jihadi Threat to America and Virginia” reportedly drew more than 100 people.

While Culpeper sheriff’s deputies were being inculcated in the ways of bigotry, law enforcement officers in other parts of the country demonstrated that they already knew the ropes.



**Teaching bigotry:** Disgraced former FBI agent John Guandolo believes that President Obama and CIA director John Brennan are working to help the Muslim Brotherhood and that Muslims in America have no First Amendment rights. Despite that, some law enforcement officials have actually paid Guandolo to train their officers on the jihadist threat.

In early March, federal prosecutors alleged that Alamance County, N.C., sheriff’s deputies had shared links to a video game whose object was to shoot undocumented immigrants, including pregnant women and children, as they crossed the border. The sheriff, Terry S. Johnson, is accused of illegally singling out Latino drivers, who he reportedly referred to as “taco eaters” with criminal tendencies.

And in late January, following a years-long investigation and 20-day trial, former East Haven, Conn., police officer Dennis Spaulding was sentenced to five years in prison for violating the civil rights of the city’s Latino residents, who he and a group of police companions dubbed “bullies with badges” harassed through wrongful arrests and racial profiling.



Richard Belzer insists that nearly 50 people were murdered to hide the truth about the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

## [CONSPIRACY THEORIES]

### TV Actor Defends Claim About Deaths of JFK Witnesses

Richard Belzer, the TV actor who famously played Detective John Munch on NBC's "Law and Order: Special Victims Unit" and other shows for some 20 years, is standing by his claim that nearly 50 people were murdered to hush up the facts about the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

In an E-mail to the *Intelligence Report*, which late last year published an article examining Belzer's conspiracy theories and his appearance as a guest on the radio show of conspiracist Alex Jones, a representative for Belzer provided a response in Belzer's own words. In that response, Belzer insisted that "[n]o one who examines the facts thoroughly can doubt the murders of witnesses about to testify before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, not to mention the dizzyingly astronomical odds of so many people dying mysteriously (yes, mysteriously) who were involved in one way or another."

However, as the *Report* story said, the people who were allegedly murdered typically had their deaths officially attributed to illness, accidents and suicide. In addition, the story pointed out that a large number of people who did testify to the committee have had normal life-spans, just as many reporters who were skeptical of the Warren Commission account of the assassination were not murdered.

Belzer also criticized the *Report's* citation of Gerald Posner, who wrote a critically acclaimed knockdown of JFK conspiracy theories entitled *Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK*, saying Posner's "false scholarship has

been eviscerated by scholars, journalists and historians."

Regarding Jones, Belzer noted that he "graciously allow[ed] my books to be sold through his website." Belzer continued: "The New York Times won't review my books and yet they make their best sellers list. If not for The Alex Jones Show, ironically, my books would not have made their list." Belzer said that he and Jones "don't agree on everything but I believe he loves his country as I do and we are both disappointed in some of the more than questionable acts that the military industrial complex President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned us about and that President John F. Kennedy took more than seriously."

Jones is known for using his radio show and two websites to promote a series of baseless claims about government involvement in the Oklahoma City bombing, the attacks on the World Trade Center, the Boston Marathon bombing and any number of other terrorist events. Jones has also pushed the theory, central to the antigovernment "Patriot" movement, that the Federal Emergency Management Agency has secretly built a complex of concentration camps in America.

The *Report* repeatedly sought comment from Belzer when it was preparing the story, but Belzer's press representative, after initially promising to see about an interview, stopped responding to the magazine's telephone messages. Through a representative, Belzer contacted the *Report* more than two months after the story was published in November.

Belzer also was bothered by the fact that the story about him, together with his photograph, was presented above the masthead on the cover of the *Report*, because the cover also presented a separate story below the masthead that used the image of a crumbling swastika. He wrote: "As a Jewish person

whose grandfather represented Israel at the United Nations before it was a state and an uncle who, as a member of the Resistance, fought the Nazis in World War Two, I am deeply hurt and offended."

Mark Potok, editor of the *Report*, said, "I have to disagree that the crumbling swastika used on our cover in connection with a story about the neo-Nazi group Volksfront was or appeared to be in any way connected to the headline about the Belzer story. The two stories were clearly separate and distinct."

## [RACIST RELIGION]

### Tennessee Pastor Thunders Against Interracial Relationships

Proponents of so-called "religious freedom" bills, devised to enable businesses to refuse service to same-sex couples on religious grounds, have in recent months pooh-poohed comparisons between these proposed laws and the Jim Crow laws that allowed businesses to refuse service to blacks. "Protecting religious liberty and the rights of conscience does not infringe on anyone's sexual freedoms," wrote Heritage Foundation fellow Ryan Anderson in a National Review Online column headlined "'Homosexual Jim Crow Laws'? Get Real."

The theology of Donny Reagan, pastor of Tennessee's Happy Valley Church of Jesus Christ, should inspire Anderson to think again. "If corn was raised in a certain way, yellow corn, don't mix it with white corn. If you do your mixing, you can't bring yourself back again," Reagan warned in a sermon recorded last year at his 600-member church in Johnson City, Tenn. Claiming that black athletic stars choose white wives

in a willful attempt to make their offspring lighter, Reagan declared, "It's another defiance of God's law, it's a worldly way."

Reagan also had some choice words for fellow ministers who perform interracial marriages. "Some of the men in pulpits should have a pantywaist instead of a preacher coat on!"

Reagan is not alone in this interpretation of the Bible. He is a follower of the theology of William Branham, a breakaway Pentecostal religious leader and faith healer whose followers translate his teachings into a biblical ban on interracial marriage.

Branham, a U.S. preacher who died in 1965, identified with the Pentecostal movement until the late 1950s, when he began to reject core aspects of traditional Christianity, preaching that original sin stemmed not from Eve biting the fruit and gaining forbidden knowledge, but from her sexual intercourse with the serpent, which resulted in the conception of Cain. Cain's bloodline, through Noah and his son Ham, led to a race of human beings descended from the evil serpent.

Branham never made the identity of this race explicit, "but it's not that far a stretch to begin to interpret it in a racist way," says James Walker, president of The Watchman Fellowship, a Texas-based evangelical ministry that researches cults and new religious movements. "Any church that teaches this 'serpentism' is going to have a tendency to be racist, because it separates people by DNA and bloodline."

According to Michael Barkun, political scientist and author of *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*, Branham's theology was also a precursor to the virulently racist and anti-Semitic Christian Identity movement. That movement posits that Eve mated with Satan and began the lineage of the biologically Satanic people who became today's Jews, and that



"If you had any intelligence, you wouldn't be a Christian."

—California-based, Afghan-born Muslim cleric **SHEIK HASSAN ALLAHYARI**, in a 2012 comment publicized by the Anti-Defamation League on **Jan. 8**, to an Iranian Christian who called into his globally broadcast show on San Diego-based Ahl-e-Bait satellite TV



"Have you ever seen a Muslim do anything that contributes positively to the American way of life?"

—Michigan Republican National Committee member **DAVE AGEMA**, in a widely condemned **Jan. 17** Facebook comment that led to calls for his resignation



"[S]ubhuman mongrel."

—Rocker-cum-right-wing pundit **TED NUGENT**, characterizing President Obama in a **Jan. 18** interview with Guns.com for which he later offered a half-hearted apology



"Why does the media want a gay player to succeed?"

—Radio host **RUSH LIMBAUGH**, reacting on his Premiere Radio Networks show **Feb. 11** to NFL draft prospect Michael Sam's announcement that he is gay



"These immigrants, legal and illegal, coming in don't really understand our country and will probably vote Democratic."

—**PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY**, founder of the ultraconservative Eagle Forum, in a **Feb. 14** comment on the Internet's Dove TV



"[O]nce a child does exist in your womb, I'm not going to assume a right to kill it just because the child's host (some refer to them as mothers) doesn't want it to remain alive."

—Virginia state Sen. **STEVE MARTIN** (R), who later changed "host" to "bearer of the child," in a **Feb. 17** Facebook post defending his anti-choice views



"[M]y Dogs are mixed in color, unemployed, lazy, can't speak English and have no frigging clue who the r [sic] Daddys are. ... My dogs get their first checks Friday."

—A 2010 E-mail, first made public **Feb. 19**, to Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker's then-Deputy Chief of Staff **KELLY RINDFLEISCH**, who described the comparison of dogs and welfare recipients as "hilarious" and "so true"



"Family violence is so, so overrated."

—**LOYD WAYNE OLIVER**, Democratic candidate for district attorney of Harris County, Texas, which has that state's highest domestic violence rate, defending his call for drastically decreasing efforts to prosecute such cases on **Feb. 19**



"Suppose we repealed the civil rights laws and fired the bureaucrats enforcing these laws."

—White nationalist pundit **PAT BUCHANAN**, in a **Feb. 25** column for Townhall magazine in which he described civil rights protections as Orwellian



## Florence, Ky.

**MARCH 15, 2014**

When white nationalist Kyle Hunt organized the national “White Man’s March,” he promised reporters that “thousands” of protesters would appear in New York City and at numerous satellite demonstrations, including one in Florence. This massive display, “an international day for independent pro-White activism,” would show America that whites were tired of being “mocked, displaced and violently attacked” and weren’t going to take it anymore. In the event, groups that generally numbered no more than 10 briefly displayed red-and-white banners reading “Diversity=White Genocide” and a few hand-lettered signs in New York; Florence; Tempe, Ariz.; Birmingham, Ala.; Branson, Mo.; and Olympia, Wash. In Florence, organizer Robert Ransdell, a former leader in the neo-Nazi National Alliance, seemed to live in an alternate universe, telling reporters his rally was “really a sight to behold, White people in large numbers” — which is to say, nine of them. The Florence micro-rally was fairly typical of the others, drawing a couple of robed Klansmen and movement thugs like Richard Kidd (with “White Pride” sign), president of the Supreme White Alliance and formerly with the Imperial Klans of America (IKA), and Jarred Hensley (far right), another former IKA member who served three years in prison for brutally assaulting a 16-year-old he mistook for a Latino. For his part, Hunt, who runs an Internet radio station called Renegade Broadcasting, was equally oblivious to the march’s abject failure, telling an interviewer he might well be America’s president by 2020. A month later, Hunt resigned even though he planned future marches, citing “the incredible amount of attacks” by supposed comrades in the movement.

people of color are soulless “beasts of the field.”

“Christian Identity has it all worked out who’s the lower people. Branham was not quite there,” Barkun told the *Intelligence Report*.

Not all Branham churches are racist or embrace the anti-race-mixing position Reagan promotes, Walker says, but the theology clearly invites racism. These churches, Walker says, are scattered across the U.S. — including in Arizona, where in February legislators passed a “religious freedom” bill that would have allowed businesses to refuse service to LGBT people and others on religious grounds.

Gov. Jan Brewer vetoed the bill. Had she not, it’s easy to imagine Arizona’s Branham devotees invoking sincerely held religious belief in denying service or accommodations to interracial couples — exactly as National Review Online’s Anderson insists they never would.

### [RADICAL ISLAM]

## Two American Converts to Jihadism Sentenced in Separate Cases

An American convert to radical Islam pleaded guilty on Feb. 19 to terrorism charges in connection with his plot to blow up various targets in New York City, including the George Washington Bridge. José Pimental, 29, will serve 16 years in prison for attempted criminal possession of a weapon as a crime of terrorism.

Pimental, who was under police surveillance for more than two years, had nearly completed three bombs when he was arrested in

November 2011. During a news conference held shortly after the arrest, former New York City Police Commissioner Ray Kelly said Pimental “talked about killing U.S. military personnel returning home from Iraq and Afghanistan,” as well as bombing post offices, police cars, and larger targets to let “the public know there were mujahedeen in the city to fight jihad here.”

A naturalized American citizen from the Dominican Republic who spent much of his life in New York, Pimental was reportedly an admirer of Anwar Al-Awlaki, a radical, American-born jihadist who was killed in 2011 by a U.S. drone strike in Yemen. However, former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg in 2011 described Pimental as a “total lone wolf” with neither contacts abroad nor co-conspirators at home. Pimental reportedly considered taking the name “Osama Hussein” before settling on the less flashy moniker of “Muhammad Yusef.”

Earlier, on Jan. 6, a Pennsylvania federal judge sentenced another American convert to Islam to 10 years in prison. Colleen LaRose — or “Jihad Jane,” as she styled herself online — pleaded guilty in 2011 to plotting the murder of a cartoonist who drew the Prophet Muhammad as a dog. LaRose, who used online forums to recruit allies and solicit financial support for international jihadist activities, reportedly relished the ease with which her

blonde hair and blue eyes allowed her to “blend in with many people,” as she conspired unsuccessfully to assassinate Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks, whose 2007 drawings depicting the Prophet Muhammad as a dog inspired more than one

violent attack.

When she wasn’t trolling jihadist message boards for potential



recruits, LaRose found time to post Web comments describing Jews as “cancer to the world as a whole” and wishing “Hitler would have finished the job.” She was indicted in March 2010 and is said to have cooperated with the government.

One of her co-defendants, Mohammad Hassan Khalid, a Pakistani citizen and legal permanent U.S. resident, pleaded guilty in 2012 to providing material support to terrorists. Because he cooperated substantially with the government’s investigator, prosecutors intend to ask that he spend less than 10 years in prison when he is sentenced this spring. A second co-defendant, Colorado native Jamie Paulin-Ramirez, was sentenced to eight years in prison in January.

#### [EXTREMIST CRIME]

## Would-Be Führer of Leith, N.D., Pleads To Felony Terrorizing

Things have continued to fall apart for Craig Cobb, the feckless white supremacist who once dreamed of making the tiny town of Leith, N.D., his own personal lebensraum, the Nazis’ word for Aryan “living space.”

On Feb. 27, Cobb, 62, pleaded guilty to one count of felony terrorizing and five counts of misdemeanor menacing in connection with his Nov. 16 “safety patrol,” a profanity-laced hate parade that consisted of Cobb and roommate Kynan Dutton, 29, marching around Leith with rifles and hurling threats and insults at astonished townspeople.

Even the folks on Stormfront, the Internet’s most prominent white nationalist forum, disapproved of Cobb’s stunt. “It seems to me like this was not a very smart use of firearms even if it was legal. It gives the advantage

to the enemy,” wrote forum member “TrojanCowboy.”

That’s for sure. Cobb and Dutton were arrested that very evening, charged, and imprisoned at the Mercer County Jail, where Cobb commenced a hunger strike that he described as the first step



Craig Cobb's splashy effort to create a white supremacist community ended on the ash heap of history.

in a spiritual journey that would end in his death.

It ended instead with a psychological evaluation at a state mental hospital, after which Cobb was returned to jail. Days after Christmas, a judge set Cobb’s bond at \$1 million, citing public safety concerns and the fact that Cobb is wanted in Canada on criminal hate speech charges. Unsurprisingly, the white supremacist — who at one point offered to leave North Dakota forever if the district attorney agreed to drop charges (that didn’t happen) — was unable to pay. That bond was later reduced, but Cobb was still unable to get out.

At press time, a plea agreement calling for time served and four years of probation was in the works, pending the results of a presentence investigation ordered by the judge. Dutton, who pleaded guilty in January to several charges of menacing and disorderly conduct, was given a suspended sentence and time served after agreeing to testify against Cobb.

Meanwhile, in early March,

Leith Mayor Ryan Schock (who Cobb had planned to unseat) told The Associated Press that Cobb had formally divested himself of Leith, deeding six properties that remained in his possession back to the town at no charge.

Other properties remain in the hands of Cobb’s white supremacist pals, including National Socialist Movement Commander Jeff Schoep, White Aryan Resistance founder Tom Metzger, and neo-Nazi Web activist Alex Linder, none of whom has shown any inclination to move to Leith.

At the same time, Dutton and his girlfriend Deborah Henderson moved to a rental house in Underwood, N.D., about 125 miles north of Leith. When rumors started that they were again planning a white supremacist takeover, Henderson immediately went public, saying they just wanted to be “left alone.”

#### [‘SOVEREIGN CITIZENS’]

## Antigovernment Extremist Sentenced in Judge Assassination Plot

So fearful was Phillip Monroe Ballard that U.S. District Judge John McBryde would sentence him to prison for filing false federal income tax returns that the self-described “sovereign citizen” decided the judge needed to die.

In jail, the 72-year-old antigovernment extremist came up with a plan, drew a map, and arranged for a \$5,000 down payment on the \$100,000 he offered to pay an assassin to shoot McBryde with a high-powered rifle as he entered the courthouse in Fort Worth, Texas. If that plan failed, Ballard



Ohio authorities serving eviction papers on Mark Kulis found his house booby-trapped with explosive devices and adorned with often senseless scribbles. The local sheriff said Kulis was an antigovernment “sovereign citizen,” but he may have been simply mentally ill.

wanted McBryde’s car bombed, court documents allege.

Fortunately, one of Ballard’s fellow inmates told prison officials about the scheme, saying that Ballard, like other so-called sovereign citizens, described himself as “immune from all laws of the United States.” In December, a Fort Worth federal jury convicted Ballard of solicitation to commit murder, and on March 17, a visiting judge from Louisiana sentenced him to 20 years in

prison — ironically, the same amount of time Ballard reportedly feared he’d receive on the original tax charges.

Ballard was hardly the only apparent sovereign citizen willing to resort to violence. On Jan. 15, sheriff’s deputies in Franklin County, Ohio, received a nasty surprise when they tried to deliver eviction papers to the home of Mark Kulis. Having been warned that Kulis, 55, could be dangerous, the deputies picked a time when he was known to be out of the house. On arrival, they found the oven and bedroom booby-trapped with explosive devices. Sheriff Zach Scott told the *Intelligence Report* that Kulis was a sovereign citizen, but the evidence on that was mixed and he may have been simply mentally ill.

A bomb squad safely disposed of the explosive devices, and Kulis, who was carrying a handgun when police arrested him near his home, was taken to jail. *The Columbus Dispatch* reported that he was charged with two

felonies: carrying a concealed weapon and manufacturing dangerous ordnance.

Meanwhile, on Feb. 7, three men connected to the Republic for the United States of America, the largest and most organized sovereign group active today, were found guilty of mail fraud. James Chappell Dew, 59, of North Myrtle Beach, S.C., Jerry Elmo Hartsoe, 57, of West Columbia, S.C., and Mark Shannon, 49, of Franklin, Tenn., each face up to 30 years in prison and fines of \$250,000 for telling victims they had access to secret government accounts and would, for a fee, pay off mortgages, credit cards and other types of debt.

Instead, they pocketed the money and sent banks fancily worded but ultimately meaningless documents “designed,” according to an FBI affidavit, “to confuse, delay or otherwise obstruct the lawful role of the IRS, the United States Bankruptcy Trustee and the banks.” Many of the men’s “clients” lost their homes to foreclosure.

HATEWATCH PHOTO (KULIS HOUSE); FROM CREW AT FACEBOOK

## BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

**DEC. 19** A Toledo, Ohio, federal judge sentenced neo-Nazi Richard Schmidt, 48, to six years in prison for amassing 18 guns and 40,000 rounds of ammunition despite his 1989 felony conviction for manslaughter. Prosecutors also alleged that Schmidt had drawn up an assassination list of Detroit-area civil rights leaders, but the judge ruled that there was insufficient evidence to show that Schmidt intended to act on the list.

**DEC. 19** A federal judge in Abingdon, Va., sentenced Michael Lee Fullmore, a 30-year-old Georgia member of the Knight Riders, Knights of

the Ku Klux Klan, to 52 months in prison after he pleaded guilty to providing an AR-15 and an AK-47 assault rifle to a convicted felon. Officials said Fullmore was trying to raise money to start a terrorist group to attack minorities and bomb a Catholic church.

**DEC. 20** Four members of the white supremacist prison gang Aryan Skins Kindred and a female accomplice were arraigned in Tacoma, Wash., for second-degree murder and conspiracy to commit second-degree murder. Jeffrey Allen Cooke, 32, Melissa Ann Bourgault, 33, Mark Michael Stredicke, 37, Eric Michael

Elliser, 33, and Shane McKittrick, 32, are charged with stabbing to death a fellow gang member they accused of having an affair with Stredicke’s wife and associating with a rival gang.

**JAN. 10** Buford “Bucky” Rogers, 25, of Montevideo, Minn., pleaded guilty to illegal possession of a firearm and an unregistered explosive device. Prosecutors alleged that Rogers, who was connected to the antigovernment Black Snake Militia, planned to blow up the Montevideo police station, raid an armory, and cut off communications to Minneapolis. In exchange for his plea, prosecutors dropped

other explosives charges, but Buford could still face over five years in prison.

**JAN. 29** A Buffalo County, Neb., jury acquitted Jonathan M. “Monster” Schmidt, 29, of felony first-degree assault in the brutal beating of a man in Kearney, Neb., despite the victim picking the heavily tattooed Schmidt out of a photo lineup. The July 2013 attack came just months after Schmidt, a former member of the Aryan Terror Brigade, started a neo-Nazi



## [HATE CRIMES]

# Man Arrested in Apparent Anti-Gay Arson Targeting Hundreds

Police in Seattle have arrested a Libyan immigrant, who reportedly made anti-gay remarks to a friend, in a New Year's Eve arson that could have killed hundreds at an iconic gay bar in the city's Capitol Hill neighborhood.

The swift action of patrons of Neighbours, who managed to douse the worst of the fire, pull an alarm and set off sprinklers, averted an inferno that might have ended the lives of over 750 people — more than four times as many victims as the 168 killed in the April 19, 1995, terrorist attack on Oklahoma City's Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.

On Feb. 1, police arrested Musab Masmari, a 30-year-old identified from video footage as

the likely arsonist who spilled gasoline down Neighbours' staircase and set it aflame during the first minutes of 2014.

Masmari, who had lived in Capitol Hill for years, was attempting to flee the country at the time of his arrest. He has been charged with attempted arson, with bail set at \$1 million. The FBI, meanwhile, has announced that it is investigating the case as a possible hate crime — a probe that is likely to bear fruit if, as a friend of his reportedly told FBI agents, Masmari believes that “homosexuals should be exterminated.”

According to Seattle's KIRO-TV, the friend, who met Masmari at a café near the mosque both attended, told authorities that Masmari had talked at length about his hatred of LGBT people, adding that it seemed he might have been planning other terrorist attacks.

Neighbours has been targeted before. In 1990, three members of the Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi hate group, went to prison on charges connected with their plot to set off

pipe bombs at the popular hangout in an attempt to reignite a 1983-84 campaign of terror carried out by a different Aryan Nations-derived group, The Order, against perceived enemies. With help from an informant, the 1990 plotters were stopped by the FBI and convicted on conspiracy, bomb-possession and firearms charges.

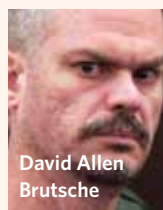
Not surprisingly, this year's attack unsettled Seattle's LGBT community. “I think a lot of people suspect a real malicious intent here,” George Bakan, editor of *Seattle Gay News*, told the *Intelligence Report* shortly after the attack.

Though the LGBT rights movement has seen major advances in recent years, LGBT people remain the most victimized minority in America by violent hate crime. In 2010, an analysis by the *Report* of 14 years of federal hate crime data showed that they were more than twice as likely to be attacked in a violent hate crime as Jews or blacks; more than four times as likely as Muslims; and 14 times as likely as Latinos. ▲

skinhead group called **Crew 41**, or **Die Auserwählten** (German for “the chosen few”). That same weekend, two South Carolina members of the group allegedly murdered a registered sex offender and his wife.

## FEB. 3

David Allen Brutsche, an antigovernment “sovereign citizen” who plotted to abduct and execute Las Vegas police officers, pleaded guilty in **Clark County, Nev.**, to felony conspiracy to commit kidnapping. Brutsche, 43, who eventually renounced his belief that he was immune to federal laws, was later sentenced to 364 days in jail for failing to reg-



David Allen Brutsche

ister as a sex offender. Officials said he is expected to receive up to five years of probation when he

is sentenced in the kidnapping conspiracy.

## FEB. 5

Steven Joshua Dinkle, former “exalted cyclops” (leader) of the **Ozark, Ala.**, chapter of the **International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**, pleaded guilty in **Montgomery** federal court to burning a cross in a black neighborhood in 2009 to intimidate its residents.

Charged with one count of conspiracy to violate housing rights, one count of criminal interference with the right to fair housing, and two counts of obstruction of justice, Dinkle faces up to 35 years in prison.

## FEB. 19

Longtime racist activist August Byron Kreis III, 59, who once led a faction of the neo-Nazi **Aryan Nations** and is an adherent of the wildly anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity, was charged with six felony counts of sexually abusing children in **Richland County, S.C.** The counts included sexual conduct with a minor under 16 and disseminating obscene

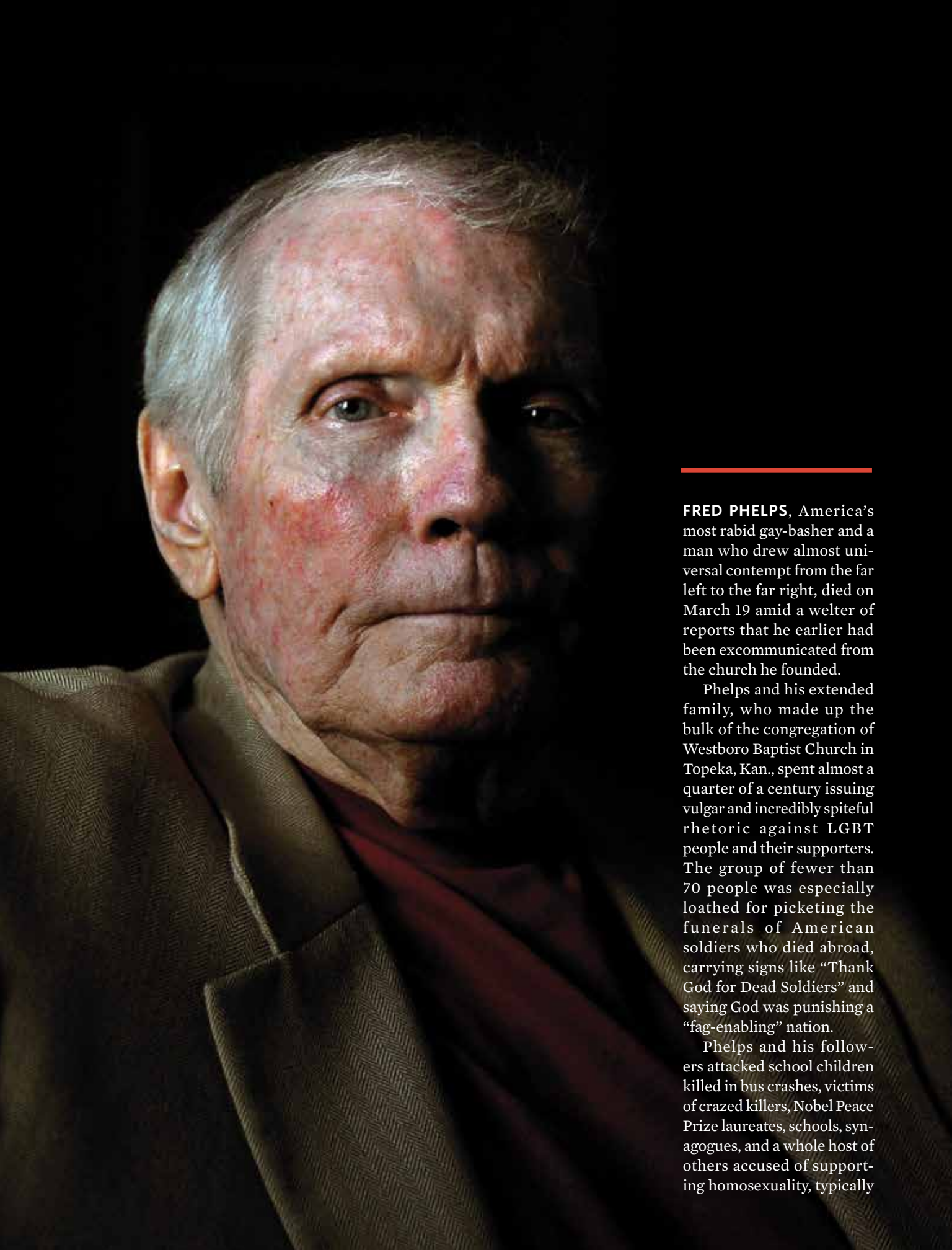
material to a minor 12 years old or younger.

**FEB. 28** Two members of an infamous racist family, Kirby Kehoe, 65, and his son Cheyne, 37, each pleaded guilty to being felons in possession of firearms in an **Arizona** federal court. The two were arrested in October 2013 after federal agents raided their well-armed marijuana growing operation in a remote part of the state. Cheyne Kehoe was already notorious for his participation in the **Aryan Peoples Republic** terrorist gang headed by his brother, Chevie. All three men are Christian Identity adherents.

# PASSING THE STONE

Fred Phelps, the nation's most vicious anti-LGBT activist, is dead. He may have helped his enemies more than anyone

BY MARK POTOK



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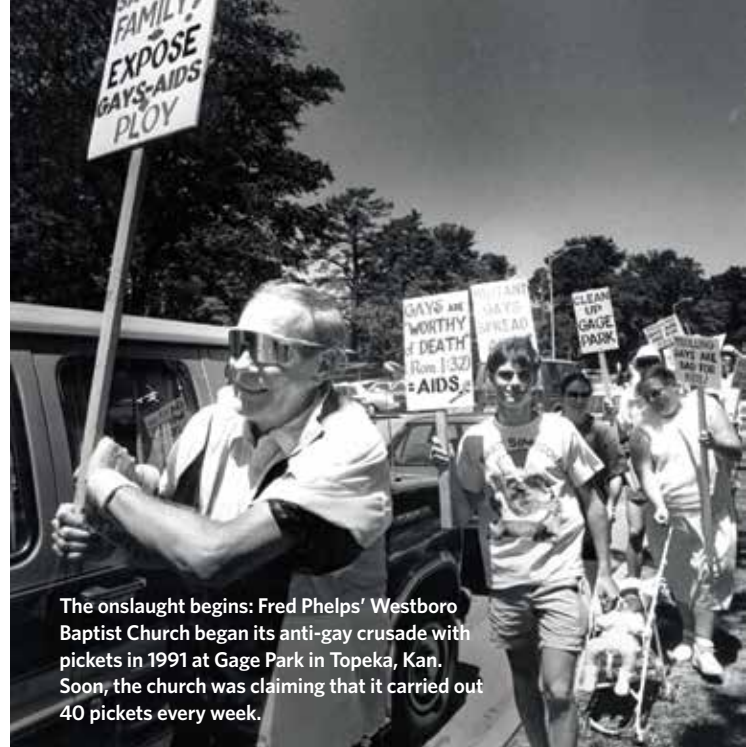
**FRED PHELPS**, America's most rabid gay-basher and a man who drew almost universal contempt from the far left to the far right, died on March 19 amid a welter of reports that he earlier had been excommunicated from the church he founded.

Phelps and his extended family, who made up the bulk of the congregation of Westboro Baptist Church in Topeka, Kan., spent almost a quarter of a century issuing vulgar and incredibly spiteful rhetoric against LGBT people and their supporters. The group of fewer than 70 people was especially loathed for picketing the funerals of American soldiers who died abroad, carrying signs like "Thank God for Dead Soldiers" and saying God was punishing a "fag-enabling" nation.

Phelps and his followers attacked school children killed in bus crashes, victims of crazed killers, Nobel Peace Prize laureates, schools, synagogues, and a whole host of others accused of supporting homosexuality, typically

“YOU CAN’T BELIEVE THE BIBLE WITHOUT BELIEVING THAT GOD HATES PEOPLE. IT’S PURE NONSENSE TO SAY THAT GOD LOVES THE SINNER BUT HATES THE SIN. HE HATES THE SIN, AND HE HATES THE SINNER.”

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The onslaught begins: Fred Phelps' Westboro Baptist Church began its anti-gay crusade with pickets in 1991 at Gage Park in Topeka, Kan. Soon, the church was claiming that it carried out 40 pickets every week.

in the most tangential of ways. When Al Qaeda attacked the United States in 2001, Phelps' response was to savage the murdered pilot of one of the downed airliners as “the filthy face of fag evil,” among other things. In recent years, he also attacked Jews, picketing synagogues and saying Jews’ “vermin ancestors” had killed Christ.

Phelps' death at age 84 came amid reports, based on statements from one of his estranged sons, that he had been excommunicated last fall from the church he founded in 1955. The reports claimed that others in the church had formed an all-male board of elders, dethroned longtime spokeswoman and heir apparent Shirley Phelps-Roper, and tossed Phelps out of his own church because he said that he thought congregants should be kinder to one another.

If true, it was an exceedingly ironic end for a vitriolic man who was not known for kindness of any sort.

Phelps' crusade against gay people began in earnest in 1991, when he and his followers began picketing a Topeka park supposedly known as a meeting place for gay men. It rapidly picked up steam over the following years, with Phelps claiming to picket more than 40 places a week and his starting of a website called “God Hates Fags.” In 1998, Phelps came to widespread national attention when he picketed the funeral of Matthew Shepard, a gay man murdered in a notorious attack in Wyoming. Around 2005, he began picketing the funerals of soldiers killed in Afghanistan and Iraq, leading to global infamy. A British documentary even labeled Phelps and his offspring, with considerable justification, “the most hated family in America.”

Westboro's picketing, which typically involved unbelievably cruel placards including some depicting anal sex, sparked a wide array of legal responses. Phelps' attempts to rally in Canada resulted in that country's first

hate crime law, informally known as the “Fred Phelps Law.” In the United States, his picketing of soldiers' funerals sparked the 2006 federal Fallen Heroes Act, which outlawed protests within 300 feet of any national cemetery from 60 minutes before to 60 minutes after any funeral. At least 40 states passed similar laws, and a large number of municipalities, including Phelps' hometown of Topeka, also enacted comparable ordinances.

“I'm so sick of people calling him an ‘anti-gay activist,’” one Topeka resident who had numerous conflicts with Phelps over the years told the *Intelligence Report* in 2001. “He's not an anti-gay activist. He's a human abuse machine.”

But Phelps never seemed to waver in his view of God as a cruel ruler animated by hatred. “You can't believe the Bible without believing that God hates people,” he told the *Houston Chronicle* in 1998. “It's pure nonsense to say that God loves the sinner but hates the sin. He hates the sin, and he hates the sinner.”

Phelps was a man obsessed by sex and human sexuality for at least six decades. In 1951, *Time* magazine profiled Phelps' California street ministry against dirty jokes and sexual petting.

Later, Phelps became the man who seemed to think more about the graphic details of gay sex than any other American, an



Westboro's gay-hating congregants specialized in particularly vulgar and loathsome placards, taking hate propaganda to new lows.



For years, Shirley Phelps-Roper was the main voice of Westboro Baptist Church and the heir apparent of her father. But shortly before Fred Phelps' death, his daughter was reportedly dethroned in favor of a male spokesman.

observation that caused many to wonder just what was really going on inside his head.

Phelps' estranged children — four of his 13 offspring broke with him and have had nothing to do with him or the church in subsequent years — described a harrowing childhood, saying that he beat some of them with a mattock handle, forced them to sell candy in the streets to raise money, and made them do extended daily runs. At least one said that Phelps, who at one point claimed to be a civil rights attorney, represented several black litigants, and even received an NAACP award, commonly used the word “nigger” and other slurs when they were young.

Phelps, who earned his law degree nine years after starting his church, was an incredibly litigious lawyer, filing some 400 lawsuits before he was disbarred in Kansas in 1979 and agreeing, in 1989, to give up his license to practice in federal court as well. The reasons had to do with his filing of frivolous lawsuits and complaints against a whole array of enemies, including one court reporter he accused of being late with a document. At one point, Phelps sued Sears over the late delivery of a television set. After six years of litigation, Phelps settled, with Sears paying him \$126 — about \$60 less than the cost of the TV, which he never received.

Over the years, police in Topeka took reports from people who said they were battered, harassed, stalked and spat on by Westboro congregants. One mainstream preacher said a Phelps follower accused him of “drink[ing] blood at the altar of the sphincter.” But many of Phelps' children were also lawyers, and they managed to fight off most of these criminal complaints. They also won many First Amendment cases brought against communities that sought to prevent his harangues. Those cases and the children's unrelated legal work brought in most of Westboro's income.

The church won a major victory in 2011, when the Supreme Court ruled that Phelps' funeral protests, as ugly as they were, were protected free speech under the First Amendment. The high court affirmed an appeals court decision striking down a \$5 million verdict awarded to the father of soldier whose funeral was picketed by Westboro. “As a nation, we have chosen ... to protect even hurtful speech on public issues to ensure we do not stifle public debate,” Chief Justice John Roberts wrote.

Even so, Phelps and his followers probably did more harm to their cause than almost anyone else. Their funeral protests brought together groups that had little in common — from LGBT activists and their friends to the relatively conservative motorcycle club riders who

made up the Patriot Guard, which was formed to drown out Westboro's rants at funerals with the roar of their engines. In a blog post entitled “Thank God for Fred Phelps,” Mark Silk, a professor of religion in public life at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., wrote that Phelps' “gift to American society” was that “he made religious hostility to homosexuality repulsive.”

As Phelps neared his end, the leaders of Westboro fudged the truth, telling reporters that he “had a couple of things going on” with his health, but was not in danger of dying, despite the fact that he was already in a hospice. “The source that says he is near death is not well informed,” spokesman Steve Drain claimed.

As the news of Phelps' death spread, a variety of LGBT groups and their supporters shunned the idea of disrupting any funeral for the man who had done them such harm over the decades, often at funerals of their friends. Despite the church's record, they seemed to agree that it was only right to allow Phelps' family to bury their patriarch in peace. The family, however, apparently didn't trust that, deciding instead to allow the death of Phelps to go unmarked by any funeral. ▲



# THE GODFATHER

Armed with cash and savvy, David Horowitz holds pride of place in the Islamophobic world of anti-Muslim ‘experts’

BY RYAN LENZ

For David Horowitz, the godfather of the modern anti-Muslim movement, the culture war that began when he was young never ended. Only the target has changed.

As one of the founding Marxist intellectuals of the New Left in the 1960s, Horowitz was a self-professed political radical — a pugnacious advocate of civil rights and equality. Now, a half-century later, he has undergone an about-face and set his sights on Muslims.

For Horowitz, Muslim Student Associations “are arms of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is the fountainhead of the terrorist jihad against the West.” Hillary Clinton adviser and Muslim Huma

Abedin is a “Muslim Brotherhood operative” who is “worse than Alger Hiss.” And the Palestinians, all of them, are even worse.

“No people have shown themselves as so morally sick as the Palestinians,” Horowitz said. “In the history of all mankind, there was never a people who strapped bombs on their bodies and killed innocent people. No other people has sunk so low as the Palestinians, and everyone is afraid to say it.”

In the last decade, Horowitz has become a respected elder of a growing movement of hawkish neoconservatives, conspiracy theorists and former federal officials united in their twisted fears

that Islam is on the march — a movement he describes in Orwellian terms as a “counterjihad.”

Through his David Horowitz Freedom Center, a wealthy nonprofit based in Sherman Oaks, Calif., he has financed leading Islamophobes driving public opinion and attacked universities as leftist “indoctrination” programs. He leads several conservative publications, all dedicated to tenaciously defending Israel and viciously attacking Islam as a religion of “hate, violence and racism.”

A report from the liberal think tank Center for American Progress, “Fear, Inc.,” exposed Horowitz as a prominent member of a “small network [that]

produces talking points and messages relied upon and repeated by every segment of this interconnected network of money, grassroots leaders, media talking heads, and elected officials.” The report’s author, Wajahat Ali, chastised Horowitz as a self-serving and toxic presence in a field of anti-Muslim pundits.

Virulent Muslim-basher Robert Spencer, director of the website Jihad Watch, is on his nonprofit’s payroll, and Horowitz’s online FrontPage Magazine publishes the work of Daniel Greenfield and Daniel Pipes, both of whom add to right-wing fears that Muslims are infiltrating the West. Horowitz also works closely with Pamela Geller, collecting money for her anti-Muslim hate group, Stop Islamization of America.

What led Horowitz to this moment, such that he seems to have abandoned his former radicalism for civil rights in favor of blind rage against the left-wing of American politics and now Muslims? At 75, is it merely an overcorrection to views he held as a young man? Or, as his parents were communists, is it as the *New York Times Magazine* described, a “fierce Oedipal struggle entwined with radicalism”?

“He’s a person who is, first and foremost, a self-promoter, who has used his name to champion political causes and used the guise of media and freedom and democracy and free speech to actually inject poison into the pluralist racial and religious dynamic of America,” Ali told the *Intelligence Report*.

### Red Diaper Baby

For a man who was raised in the heart of the Communist Party, who saw his parents targeted by McCarthyism, it seems needless to point out the irony of Horowitz’s worry that radical Islamists have infiltrated the halls of American power with nefarious plans to tear down constitutional freedoms.

David Joel Horowitz was born on Jan. 10, 1939, in Forest Hills, N.Y., a neighborhood in Queens, to parents who were both schoolteachers and members of the Communist Party USA. It was an exciting childhood, filled with intrigue.

“Underneath the ordinary surfaces of

their lives, my parents and their friends thought of themselves as secret agents. ... Even if we never encountered a Soviet agent or engaged in a single illegal act, each of us knew that our commitment to



David Horowitz works closely with a circle of Islamaphobes that includes (clockwise from upper left) Daniel Pipes, Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer.

socialism implied the obligation to commit treason, too,” Horowitz recounted in his 1998 memoir, *Radical Son*.

His family eventually broke from the party after Soviet General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev delivered his 1956 speech “On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences,” which outlined violations of human rights under Joseph Stalin. It was also that year that Horowitz graduated from Columbia University with a degree in English and left for London to work at the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, returning home in 1968 to lead *Ramparts*, the political and literary magazine of the “New Left” — a movement of liberal activists seeking to drastically reform the cultural landscape with a wide range of social reforms.

The magazine was shuttered in 1975, but by that time Horowitz was already in the Bay Area working for the Black Panthers and quickly became a confidant of the group’s co-founder, Huey P. Newton. It wasn’t long before that rela-

tionship began to sour, beginning with the murder of Betty Van Patter, a bookkeeper at *Ramparts* who Horowitz had brought to the Panthers. On Dec. 13, 1974, she disappeared from the Berkeley

Square tavern in Berkeley. Her body was found in San Francisco Bay.

As fate would have it, it was then, as the wave of left-wing activism born in the 1960s began to break, that Horowitz felt the first rumblings of doubt regarding his political views.

Horowitz was convinced that Van Patter’s murder led directly to the Panthers, and her death plunged him into a depressive episode revolving around his inability to marry his political convictions with what he feared was a harsher reality — that the very people he thought were the answer to the world’s injustice had carried out her murder. “It was inconceivable to me that the Panthers would kill Betty Van Patter,” he wrote, despite coming to believe exactly that.

The Black Panthers were never officially tied to Van Patter’s death, but the event proved to be decisive in guiding Horowitz’s political future.



Human rights activists have regularly protested appearances by David Horowitz, including a 2007 event at Columbia University, his alma mater. Horowitz was at the New York university as part of the “Islamofascism Awareness Week” he sponsors at colleges around the nation.

Spurred by his doubts and perhaps the prevailing political winds, Horowitz leaned increasingly right on issues such as sexual promiscuity in the gay community and LGBT rights, U.S. foreign policy, the question of racial equality and affirmative action. But it wasn’t until 1985 that Horowitz would make an entrance as a major player on the conservative right.

That year, Horowitz publicly announced that he had voted for Ronald Reagan in the presidential election, an act of political treason to his allies.

In a coming-out essay titled, “Goodbye to All That” and published in *The Washington Post*, Horowitz and his writing partner Peter Collier chastised the Left and set out to break ranks, once and for all, with all they knew. “Casting our ballots for Ronald Reagan was indeed a way of saying goodbye to all that — to the self-aggrandizing romance with corrupt Third Worldism; to the casual indulgence of Soviet totalitarianism; to the hypocritical mainstream politics,” the pair wrote.

Horowitz had changed.

### Enemies Everywhere

Fueled by a bitter sense of betrayal, and a hunger to correct the errors of his own personal politics, Horowitz carried the bare-knuckled activism he practiced in the tumultuous 1960s into the heart of the modern conservative movement.

In 1988, he formed the Center for the Study of Popular Culture (CSPC) in Los Angeles, hoping, according to the group’s website, to “establish a conservative

presence in Hollywood and show how popular culture had become a political battleground.” He had minor successes, including getting PBS to broadcast a documentary about the horrors of communist Cuba.

Then Horowitz turned his attention to targeting “tenured radicals” at American universities. He went after them with a fevered intensity, publishing the tabloid “Heterodoxy” to present conservative interests to university students who, he feared, were being indoctrinated by the entrenched Left. He began tracking the activities of liberal professors — an effort designed, more honestly, to target intellectuals with views at odds with his own.

He was prolific. He published wild tracts and pamphlets, including “Hating Whitey,” which argued that modern black leaders had squandered the legacy of the civil rights movement by restructuring “the civil rights agenda as a radical cause.” In a book of that same title, published in 1999, he made white nationalist claims about black-on-white crime, voicing criticisms of affirmative action that would last through the election of President Obama, who he called a communist with a “curious background.” Horowitz went on a crusade against reparations for slavery. He has attacked minority “demands for special treatment” as “only necessary because some blacks can’t seem to locate the ladder of opportunity within reach of others,” rejecting the idea that they could be the victims of lingering racism.

“The fact is that it is not tolerable in

America to hate blacks, but it is okay in our politically correct culture to hate white people,” he wrote in “Hating Whitey.”

“Of course, the leftist academy has a ready answer for every question about black racism: Only whites can be racist.”

But it wasn’t until after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks that Horowitz discovered a new enemy in “radical Islam.” In 2006, the CSPC was rebranded as the David Horowitz Freedom Center, focusing its attention on “the efforts of the radical left and its Islamist allies to destroy American values.” Horowitz began financing Jihad Watch, a quasi-academic blog that spreads misinformation about Islam.

Directed by Robert Spencer, a Catholic, the blog aims to “track the attempts of radical Islam to subvert Western Culture.” It is popular among those who see the mere presence of Muslims outside the Middle East as a threat to freedom. His ideas have appealed to people such as Anders Breivik, the Norwegian who killed 76 people as a political statement against immigration. Breivik’s 1,500-page manifesto attacking multiculturalism, and especially Muslims, mentioned Spencer 162 times.

Since 2007, the Freedom Center has held annual Islamofascism Awareness Week on multiple college campuses — 119 to date — to “protect students from indoctrination and harassment.” In reality, as with most of Horowitz’s public events, the program is focused on creating controversy, if nothing else.

During one such week in 2010, Horowitz appeared at the University of California-Santa Barbara. Midway through the program, he began to debate a Muslim student wearing a traditional Palestinian keffiyah — what Horowitz called a “terrorist neckerchief.” When the young woman asked Horowitz to clarify the connections he had been

drawing between the Muslim Student Association on campus and radical terrorists, he instead asked the woman to denounce Hamas.

“For it, or against it?” he barked, demanding an answer. It was a trap.

While she would later claim she was thinking unclearly and intimidated, she bashfully replied, “For it.” Horowitz nodded and smiled. It was a rhetorical trick — the kind Horowitz has perfected. If she supported Hamas, Horowitz argued, the Muslim Student Association to which she belonged was actually tied to a terrorist organization, as defined by the State Department.

The video made the rounds on conservative news outlets, seeming to confirm for Horowitz and his followers that his fight with the “radical faith” was on target. Islam was on the move — everywhere.

### Fueling the Fire

To understand the harm caused by Horowitz, it is important to see just how deep his influence goes on the political right. As the GOP becomes increasingly influenced by Tea Party politicians who bring conspiracy theories to the debate, Horowitz and his acolytes have emerged as the experts on radical Islam and its terrifying infiltration into American society and government.

Horowitz has accused anti-tax activist Grover Norquist of being a secret Muslim plant in the federal government. More famously, he has led the charge that Huma Abedin, a long-time aide to former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, is a Muslim Brotherhood agent sent to “penetrate” the U.S. government. Horowitz argues that Abedin, who is married to former U.S. Rep. Anthony Weiner, has “been given a special dispensation to marry a Jew so she can infiltrate our government.”

“If you wondered how it’s possible that Obama and Hillary would not know or would pretend what was happening wasn’t happening in the Middle East, or how they could turn over Egypt as they have to the Muslim Brotherhood, which is the

fountainhead of Al Qaida and all these terrible Islamic Nazi organizations, the answer is not really hard to find: the chief adviser to the American government on Muslim affairs,” Horowitz said in a 2012 radio interview with Janet Mefferd.

Yet, somehow, Horowitz has mostly avoided charges of racism or bias, often citing First Amendment protections and relying on young audiences of politically conservative college students — where the “leftist offensive is most visible” — to popularize his views and draw support. A gifted rhetorician, his attack on Islam is often couched in a defense of Israel and civil rights, or defended as necessary for security.

Given his annual salary of more than \$540,000, according to federal tax filings from 2013, Horowitz has not avoided charges of political opportunism — a point made clear in his wildly vacillating history of political views.

In 1991, Fred Gardner, a former colleague at *Ramparts*, said Horowitz and his writing partner Peter Collier “were never radicals for a minute.” “Their goal was and is personal success. It’s no coincidence that they were ‘left’ in the ‘60s and ‘right’ in the ‘80s,” Gardner said.

Neither Horowitz, nor a representative from the Freedom Center, responded to multiple requests for interviews. But it’s no surprise his rise comes as anti-Muslim sentiment finds a home on the far right of American politics, where Muslims are often decried and where Tea Party activists and xenophobic conservatives happily count Horowitz as their friends. Tea Party favorites Texas Gov. Rick Perry, U.S. Rep. Louie Gohmert and U.S.

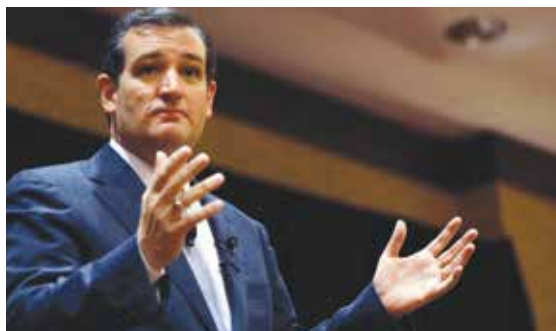
Sen. Ted Cruz are all regular participants at Horowitz’s annual, lavish Restoration Weekend, summits appealingly held in five-star hotels that bring together influential Islamophobes and public officials to exchange ideas.

Is it any wonder that Cruz has ranted that “Shariah law is an enormous problem” or that Gohmert has said, “This administration has so many Muslim Brotherhood members that have influence that they just are making wrong decisions for America”?

It is these connections to powerful politicians that are concerning, ensuring that Horowitz’s toxic activities affect the mainstream — and the lives of American Muslims.

“He hires the Luca Brasis of the anti-Islam movement,” Ali said, comparing Robert Spencer to Mario Puzo’s famed hitman from *The Godfather*. “He subsidizes. He gives them a platform. He enables and supports people who share his ideological vision. And what’s more dangerous than that?” ▲

Among those who regularly participate in David Horowitz events are (clockwise from top) U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Texas), Texas Gov. Rick Perry and U.S. Rep. Louie Gohmert (R-Texas).



**A DIRTY DOZEN OF POLITICAL CANDIDATES WITH EXTREMIST IDEAS  
ARE RUNNING FOR OFFICE THIS YEAR**

# ELECTORAL EXTREMISM

**BY EVELYN SCHLATTER**

Election years in the United States always bring out a spate of candidates from very different ideological corners, but over the past few years, electoral politics in this country have succumbed to a level of polarization only rarely seen in our history. That situation has facilitated the emergence of would-be political leaders who have links to hate groups or engage in promoting extremism based on race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation or antigovernment conspiracy theories. The typically baseless claims of these candidates range from demonizing propaganda about certain minority groups to the promotion of fantastic conspiracy theories about the federal government's allegedly evil machinations. What follows are snapshots of a dozen such candidates, including Democrats, Republicans, Libertarians, independents and others who are running for political office this fall or who ran earlier in the year.



## GREG BRANNON

RUNNING FOR U.S. SENATE  
// NORTH CAROLINA //  
REPUBLICAN PARTY



## LEE BRIGHT

RUNNING FOR U.S. SENATE  
// SOUTH CAROLINA //  
REPUBLICAN PARTY



## ANGELO JOHN GAGE

RUNNING FOR U.S. HOUSE, DISTRICT 7  
// NEW JERSEY //  
AMERICAN FREEDOM PARTY

TEA PARTY-BACKED GREG BRANNON, an anti-abortion obstetrician/gynecologist with no political experience, has pushed the falsehood, common at the extreme end of the anti-abortion movement, that abortion is linked to breast cancer. He serves as the medical director for Hand of Hope (HOH), a nonprofit that operates anti-abortion “pregnancy crisis centers.” He has described food stamps as being comparable to slavery and called for the abolition of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Brannon often lauds the late North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, who never renounced his support for racial segregation, as an important influence and described him as a “modern hero.” Reflecting his view that states do not have to follow federal law, Brannon spoke at a rally in favor of “nullification” — the legally groundless doctrine that states can refuse to abide by federal law that was also espoused by the defenders of slavery and segregation — which was sponsored by the neo-secessionist League of the South, a hate group that seeks a return to “Anglo-Celtic” dominance and a theocratic state. Brannon has derided public education as “Marxist,” dismissed the role of the U.S. Supreme Court in the American legal system and lambasted bipartisanship. In 2009, he launched an organization called Founder’s Truth, whose blog reposted articles steeped in antigovernment conspiracy theories from websites like InfoWars.com (the group’s website is now defunct, but Buzzfeed has screenshots). Brannon has come under fire for allegedly misleading investors in a technology company he co-founded that shut down in 2011, but he is still considered a frontrunner against incumbent Democratic Sen. Kay Hagen.

LEE BRIGHT, CURRENTLY A CONSPIRACIST, Tea Party-supported state senator, is working to unseat veteran Republican U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham, a staunch conservative who is moderate on a few issues. Bright introduced a radical bill in 2013 that would end all abortions in South Carolina and has sponsored others of similarly dubious legality, including one bill that would criminalize the Affordable Care Act and another that would exempt the state from federal gun laws. Bright is also an antigovernment advocate of nullification (the unconstitutional idea that states can refuse to enforce federal laws) who has declared that the federal government is a “scam.” At a 2012 “Day of Resistance Rally” in Greenville, he made the strange claim that the Supreme Court may agree to dissolve the states. He has said immigrants should “self-deport,” asserted that able-bodied people who rely on food stamps “shouldn’t eat,” and accused Graham of being a community organizer for the Muslim Brotherhood. Bright would also like to abolish the Internal Revenue Service, which he claims the Obama administration is training as “Brown Shirts” to enforce the Affordable Care Act. In speeches to supporters, he has promoted the idea of reigniting the Civil War, wisecracking at one point, “If at first you don’t secede, try again.”

ANGELO JOHN GAGE IS A FORMER MARINE WHO SAYS he served two tours of duty in Iraq. An unabashed racist and anti-Semite, he has a radio show on the white nationalist multimedia website The White Voice and he posts similarly themed videos on YouTube. Gage announced his intention to run for Congress on The White Voice and his Facebook page, saying, “I think we need someone just like me out in D.C. tearing these communists apart and exposing them for what they are.” The AFP’s mission statement says “[t]he American Freedom Party is a party that represents the interests and issues of White Americans and all Americans who support our mission” and it bills itself as a nationalist party “that shares the customs and heritage of the European American people.” (The party has cynically tried to downplay its racism, but its leader once promoted an amendment to the Constitution to require the deportation of any American with an “ascertainable trace of Negro blood” and its board includes several of the nation’s leading racist activists.) In 2012, Gage wrote on the racist Web forum Stormfront that he had just recently found out about “the real Jewish question and the whole ww2 and hitler truth.” It was a shock, he said, “but EVERYTHING connects and leads back to the jews — the evil jews.” In October 2013, Gage claimed in a YouTube video that “white genocide” is under way, a result of “massive uncontrolled 3rd world immigration to white countries only.” Gage can also be found blogging at The White Voice on such topics as the evils of synthetic sweeteners, good nutrition, and why womanizing — which he claims to have been a past master at, aided by his “good looks” — is bad for you.



### PHIL HUDOK

RUNNING FOR U.S. SENATE  
// WEST VIRGINIA //  
CONSTITUTION PARTY



### VICTORIA JACKSON

RUNNING FOR WILLIAMSON COUNTY  
COMMISSION, DISTRICT 2  
// TENNESSEE //  
INDEPENDENT



### SCOTT LIVELY

RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR  
// MASSACHUSETTS //  
INDEPENDENT

PHIL HUDOK IS CHAIRMAN OF THE WEST Virginia chapter of the theocratic and anti-LGBT Constitution Party and a former public school teacher with a history of Christian-based activism. In 2008, he and a handful of others successfully petitioned the Department of Motor Vehicles to remove their photos from driver's licenses, saying they violated their religious beliefs because digitized photos contain "the mark of the beast." In 2012, Hudok's daughter was banned from her high school because the family refused to comply with new vaccination requirements. Hudok went to court and the school was ordered to provide home educational services for his daughter, who also was allowed to participate in its commencement ceremony. Hudok manages the website of Call To Decision Ministries, which trafficks in 9/11 conspiracy theories, anti-vaccination myths like the idea that vaccines are used to sterilize the population, derogatory claims about immigrant "anchor babies" and "homos," and the antigovernment "Patriot" conspiracy theory about a secret plot to form a socialistic global government known as the "New World Order." On his site, Hudok asserts that he serves "God, family, and country in that order" and says that "The New World Order is an anathema to everything I believe in."

LONG KNOWN AS A CAST MEMBER OF "Saturday Night Live" (1986-1992), Victoria Jackson later said she had been a Christian during those years but was apolitical until 2007, when she discovered an "underground conservative group of people" in Los Angeles. From there, she descended into the fever swamps of anti-Obama extremism and began garnering right-wing media attention that has turned her into a movement star, complete with appearances on Fox News. Since her "awakening" as a self-described Tea Party or constitutional conservative, Jackson has wondered why there isn't a "white history month" now that the "white race is becoming a minority in America" (a statement she deleted the same day she posted it) and claimed that President Obama may dispatch a private army to kill her and other Christians. She has included Muslims in her conspiracist rhetoric, claiming that she's afraid to say anything about Muslims because "they kill people" and they — along with progressives, communists, liberals, and globalists — want to "destroy America." Last year, she protested a public discussion hosted by the American Muslim Advisory Council and joined an ugly fight against the construction of a mosque in Murfreesboro, Tenn. LGBT people don't fare much better. Jackson has claimed against all the scientific evidence that allowing gay people to adopt children is tantamount to authorizing "pedophilia and sexual molestation," and lambasted a kiss between two male characters on the TV show "Glee" as "sickening."

SCOTT LIVELY, HEAD OF THE ANTI-LGBT hate group Abiding Truth Ministries, has a long history as a gay-bashing propagandist with little regard for facts. He is the author of the infamous and discredited book, *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party*, which claims that "masculine" gay men were responsible for the Nazi Party and thus the Holocaust, and he has traveled extensively through Eastern Europe and Africa speaking on the "dangers" of homosexuality and drumming up support for criminalizing it. Lively is currently being sued by a Ugandan LGBT rights group and the U.S.-based Center for Constitutional Rights for his role in the formation and passage of the draconian anti-LGBT bill in Uganda that was signed into law in early 2014 and stipulates life in prison for "aggravated homosexuality." On his candidate page, which is strangely devoid of evidence of his longtime anti-gay obsession, he opposes abortion even in cases of rape or incest ("a child must never be required to pay for the sins of his father"). He also says the first thing he'll do to prevent crime is to restore "clear-cut moral precepts to guide the citizenry," including "restoring respect for masculinity and male authority in the home and community."



## JASON "MOLOTOV" MITCHELL

RUNNING FOR STATE SENATE, DISTRICT 16  
// NORTH CAROLINA //  
REPUBLICAN PARTY



## BILL PARKS

RUNNING FOR SHERIFF  
// PIERCE COUNTY, WIS. //  
REPUBLICAN PARTY



## MICHAEL PEROUTKA

RUNNING FOR COUNTY COUNCIL,  
DISTRICT 5  
// ANNE ARUNDEL  
COUNTY, MD. //  
REPUBLICAN PARTY

KNOWN FOR HIS ANTI-LGBT RHETORIC and "birther" beliefs about President Obama's origins, Jason "Molotov" Mitchell is part of the so-called "Zealot Movement" — an extremist Christian movement built on the "straight-edge" (or drug-free) punk lifestyle that, according to Mitchell, "avoid[s] the pitfalls of American, effeminized Christianity" and embraces sexual purity through abstinence before marriage and the abolition of homosexuality. In accordance with his quest for a less "effeminate" Christianity, Mitchell is an instructor in Krav Maga, a self-defense martial art system designed for use in the Israeli military. He has made videos railing about the alleged falsity of President Obama's birth certificate. In 2010, he made headlines when he posted a video at the far-right conspiracist "news" site WorldNetDaily that invoked the Founding Fathers and Martin Luther King, Jr. in support of Uganda's draconian anti-gay law, which at the time included the death penalty in certain instances. (The bill that was actually signed in early 2014 called for life imprisonment instead.) He later posted a video, perhaps as a backpedal, in which he claimed he had gay friends and worked with so-called "ex-gays." In a similar way, Mitchell's campaign Facebook page is dramatically more mainstream than the material he posts elsewhere. Mitchell, a former wedding videographer who once lamented the "lost value of extremism," also has made a dystopic film called "Gates of Hell" in which "black power extremists" murder abortion providers.

MILITARY VETERAN BILL PARKS IS A member of the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association, a part of the "Patriot" movement that was founded by longtime antigovernment activist, hard-right darling and former sheriff Richard Mack. Mack claims that the county sheriff is the highest legitimate law enforcement in the land and has the duty to protect citizens from supposedly "unlawful" incursions by the federal government — a concept that was born in the 1970s and gained traction in the 1980s, when it was pushed by the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus hate group. Parks also boasts of his membership in another radical organization, the conspiracy-mongering Oath Keepers, which has suggested that the government has plans to round up conservatives and throw them into concentration camps. The Oath Keepers also has called for the formation of 12-person "Civilization Preservation units" to help prepare for a societal collapse that the group sees as imminent. Parks, who says he is "100% committed" to his oath promising to be a "Constitutional Sheriff," adds that he will require "Constitutional courses" for all deputies and will then send them to local schools to teach children about their "Constitutional oath and duties."

MICHAEL PEROUTKA, A HOME-SCHOOLING advocate and attorney who believes that the teaching of law has been "perverted" away from its original design, has been a regular speaker for years at events staged by the League of the South (LOS), a neo-Confederate hate group of which he is a member. The LOS, whose board Peroutka joined last year, calls for a second Southern secession and the formation of a Christian theocratic state run by "Anglo-Celtic" (i.e., white) elites. In 2004, he ran for president on the ticket of the Constitution Party, a far-right theocratic party that is virulently anti-gay. Peroutka is also co-founder of the Institute on the Constitution, an arm of his law firm of Peroutka and Peroutka that pushes false claims about the Christianity of the founding fathers and their supposed intention to build a nation on biblical principles. Peroutka's institute offers a course on "The Sheriff and the Citizen" that provides "constitutional training for deputies." Like many right-wing historical revisionists, Peroutka attempts to re-write the past. Earlier this year, for instance, he claimed that Martin Luther King Jr. didn't support "civil rights," because all rights come from God. Instead, Peroutka said that King's modern-day followers had "perverted" his legacy and that King was actually calling on the government to merely give "us the same defense of our rights that you've given others." (In fact, King frequently referred to "civil rights.") Last year, he claimed that the gay rights movement will lead to "forced homosexuality," and went on to call on local officials to prosecute women who have abortions for murder.



## KAREN SCHOEN

RUNNING FOR STATE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES, DISTRICT 5  
// FLORIDA //  
LIBERTARIAN PARTY

KAREN SCHOEN, A FORMER TEACHER, IS best-known as a co-founder of AgEnders, a loose consortium of people who have bought into a conspiracy theory about Agenda 21, an obscure United Nations sustainability plan that came out of the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil. The plan, which has no enforcement mechanisms and is not a legally binding document, offers a set of principles to help countries deal with pollution, resource depletion, poverty, and overpopulation. But to the AgEnders, the plan will somehow destroy private property rights and implement a socialistic “New World Order” — just one of the conspiracy theories that Schoen has been trumpeting for more than 10 years. Schoen sees the UN in all local politics, along with a variety of other nefarious forces. The AgEnders newsletters are thick with screeds against local green initiatives that are described as UN land grabs. They also have carried allegations such as the claim that the Obama administration is bringing in jihadists through refugee resettlement programs, and, at least once, that there is a mind control plan operating at policy meetings open to citizens. On her campaign website, Schoen claims that climate change is a lie perpetrated by the government so that it can collect taxes and legitimize itself. She also recommends on the same site getting rid of computers and returning to basics in order to improve education.



## TOM TANCREDO

RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR  
// COLORADO //  
REPUBLICAN PARTY

A FORMER U.S. CONGRESSMAN, Tom Tancredo has long been a fixture on the political scene and has built a reputation as being tough on immigration, which has made him a darling of the hard right. In reality, he has gone beyond toughness to demonize Latino immigrants as “gangsters” and “jihadists” and flirted with white nationalists. Over the years, Tancredo has called for a complete moratorium on immigration, recommended the bombing of Mecca, and complained that President Obama was elected, in part, because there isn’t a literacy test for voting. He has also claimed that people who are not white only really become American by adopting “white Anglo-Saxon culture.” Tancredo was honorary chair of the now-defunct Youth for Western Civilization, a student group with racist leanings. In 2012, he was scheduled to speak on “Multiculturalism — The Death of America” at the annual conference of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group descended from the White Citizens Councils that battled desegregation in the 1960s. (After the planned talk was publicized, he denied involvement and his name was removed from the program.) Even Dick Armey, the conservative former House Majority leader and one-time head of FreedomWorks, has called Tancredo’s immigration stances “harsh and mean-spirited.” Despite his 2007 call for political candidates to use only English, Tancredo includes a “Viva Tancredo” section on his website with a Spanish translation.



## DAVID WHITNEY

RUNNING FOR COUNTY COUNCIL,  
DISTRICT 5  
// ANNE ARUNDEL  
COUNTY, MD. //  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

DAVID WHITNEY RAN UNSUCCESSFULLY for Maryland State Assembly in 2006 on the ticket of the theocratic, virulently anti-LGBT and anti-abortion Constitution Party. As pastor of the Cornerstone Evangelical Free Church in Pasadena, Md., Whitney’s sermons include theocratic and antigovernment ideas. In 2010, he addressed a Tea Party rally and declared that we have “the God-given right to secede.” Whitney also is an active member of the neo-Confederate League of the South (LOS), which calls for a second Southern secession and opposes racial intermarriage, among other things, and serves as chaplain for its Maryland chapter. In the past year, Whitney has exhorted his church members to buy but not register guns, claimed that citizen militias will help keep government tyranny at bay, and appeared to argue that vigilante violence is an acceptable response to legal abortion. (He argued in a 2013 sermon that “there is such a thing as Biblically justifiable homicide,” according to veteran researcher Frederick Clarkson. Although he later claimed he wasn’t referring to abortion, extremists have argued that killing physicians who provide abortion is “justifiable homicide,” and many signed a statement to that effect.) Whitney is also affiliated with the Institute for the Constitution, an outfit co-founded by Michael Peroutka that falsely claims America was founded as a Christian republic. Peroutka, who is also an LOS member and is a member of Whitney’s church congregation, is running for the same County Council seat as Whitney, but as a Republican. ▲

# WHITE HOMICIDE WORLDWIDE

Stormfront, the leading white supremacist Web forum, has another distinction — murder capital of the Internet

BY HEIDI BEIRICH // ILLUSTRATION BY GABRIEL MORENO





A typical murderer drawn to the racist forum **Stormfront.org** is a frustrated, unemployed, white adult male living with his mother or an estranged spouse or girlfriend. She is the sole provider in the household.

Forensic psychologists call him a “wound collector.” Instead of building his resume, seeking employment or further education, he projects his grievances on society and searches the Internet for an excuse or an explanation unrelated to his behavior or the choices he has made in life.

His escalation follows a predictable trajectory. From right-wing antigovernment websites and conspiracy hatcheries, he migrates to militant hate sites that blame society’s ills on ethnicity and shifting demographics. He soon learns his race is endangered — a target of “white genocide.” After reading and lurking for a while, he needs to talk to someone about it, signing up as a registered user on a racist forum where he commiserates in an echo chamber of angry fellow failures where Jews, gays, minorities and multiculturalism are blamed for everything.

Assured of the supremacy of his race and frustrated by the inferiority of his achievements, he binges online for hours every day, self-medicating, slowly sipping a cocktail of rage. He gradually gains acceptance in this online birthing den of self-described “lone wolves,” but he gets no relief, no practical remedies, no suggestions to improve his circumstances. He just gets angrier.

And then he gets a gun.

It is a myth that racist killers hide in the shadows. Investigators find that most offenders openly advocated their ideology online, often obsessively posting on racist forums and blogs for hours every day. Over the past two decades, the largest hate site in the world, Stormfront.org, has been a magnet and breeding ground for the deadly and the deranged.

There is safety in the anonymity of the Web, and comfort in the endorsement others offer for extreme racist ideas, argues former FBI agent Joe Navarro, who coined the term “wound collector.” “Isolation permits the free expression of ideas, especially those which are extreme and which foster passionate hatred,” Navarro, who helped found the FBI’s Behavioral Analysis Division, wrote in 2011 in *Psychology Today*. “In this cocoon

of isolation the terrorist can indulge his ideology” without the restrictions of the routines of daily life.

Then there is a trajectory from idea to action.

Though on any given day, fewer than 1,800 registered members log on to Stormfront, and less than half of the site’s visitors even reside in the United States, a two-year study by the *Intelligence Report* shows that registered Stormfront users have been disproportionately responsible for some of the most lethal hate crimes and mass killings since the site was put up in 1995. In the past five years alone, Stormfront members have murdered close to 100 people. The *Report*’s research shows that Stormfront’s bias-related murder rate began to accelerate rapidly in early 2009, after Barack Obama became the nation’s first black president.

For domestic Islamic terrorists, the breeding ground for violence is often the Al Qaeda magazine *Inspire* and its affiliated websites. For the racist, it is Stormfront.

### Making Excuses

Investigators find that most offenders openly advocated their ideology online for lengthy periods while sucking up the hatred around them. Yet Stormfront’s founder, former Alabama Klan leader Stephen Donald “Don” Black, shrugs off responsibility for what he has wrought.

The homicidal trend began just four years after the site went up. On Aug. 10, 1999, Buford O’Neil Furrow, a known user of Stormfront, left his parents’ home in Tacoma, Wash., and drove to Los Angeles, where he shot and wounded three children, a teenage girl and an elderly woman at a Jewish day care center. Furrow then shot and killed a Filipino-American postal worker.

Eight months later, on April 28, 2000, just days after exchanging E-mails and a phone call with a woman he met on the Stormfront “Singles” page, Richard Scott Baumhammers shot and killed his next-door neighbor, a 63-year-old Jewish woman. Next, he drove to the victim’s synagogue, shot out the windows and painted two large red swastikas on the front of the building. And then Baumhammers went on a shooting rampage, specifically targeting minorities and murdering five people. A sixth victim would die of his injuries several months later.

When Baumhammers’ connection to Stormfront was pointed out in media reports, Black denied any responsibility. He claimed Baumhammers “had been previously diagnosed as something worse than schizophrenic.” But Black did note that attention to the killings had more than doubled the number of “hits” to his website.

Furrow, 37, and Baumhammers, 34, were both unemployed and still living with their parents at the time of the killings. The next Stormfront user to commit murder was also living with his parents. This one was in the ninth grade.

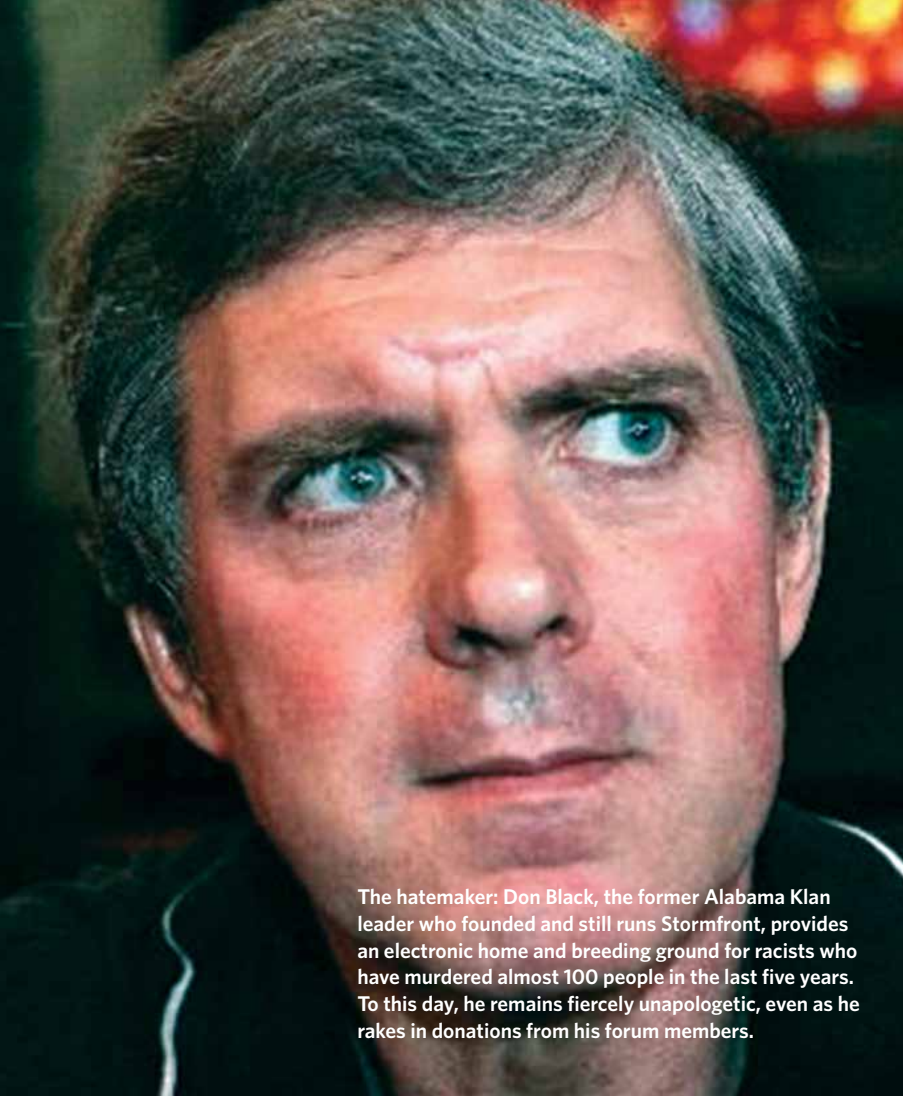
On April 19, 2002, Ian Andrew Bishop, a 14-year-old so-called “Stormfront Youth” killed his brother by striking him repeatedly in the head with a claw hammer, allegedly because he thought 18-year-old Adam Bishop was gay. “He said his brother was a faggot,” said a 15-year-old witness. “He said he wanted to kill his parents, too.”

Bishop’s activity on Stormfront included downloading and distributing Third Reich images while promoting his racist views in the neighborhood. Described as a “racist bully with neo-Nazi views,” Bishop’s attorney cited his activities on Stormfront as evidence Ian was “troubled” and “drawn to the skin-head philosophy.”

Again, Black denied any responsibility in the Bishop case, claiming “Bishop killed his older brother because he thought his parents liked him better. But we’re ‘responsible’ for that too,” he added sarcastically, “since he was a ‘good kid’ before visiting SF.”

### The Body Count Skyrockets

The murders would keep on coming, their frequency accelerating. On Feb. 19,



The hatemaker: Don Black, the former Alabama Klan leader who founded and still runs Stormfront, provides an electronic home and breeding ground for racists who have murdered almost 100 people in the last five years. To this day, he remains fiercely unapologetic, even as he rakes in donations from his forum members.

2008, James “Yankee Jim” Leshkevich, who had posted more than 5,000 times to Stormfront in the preceding four years, beat and strangled his wife to death in the living room of the home they shared in West Hurley, N.Y. Then he hung himself.

Similarly, a little over two years later, on April 21, 2010, Curtis Boone Maynard shot and killed his ex-wife outside her Lake Jackson, Texas, home. He then shot his 16-year-old stepdaughter in the face, severely wounding her, before killing himself during a subsequent police chase. Maynard had posted almost 900 times on Stormfront before he was banned for publishing personal information about a black woman who had voted as a juror to acquit a black murder suspect.

In April 2009, a few months after Obama’s inauguration and less than four hours after logging on to his Stormfront account, Richard Andrew Poplawski ambushed, shot and killed three Pittsburgh,

Pa., police officers, and wounded a fourth.

Poplawski, 22, was unemployed and living with his mother when an early morning argument escalated between the two and resulted in her calling 911. Poplawski waited just behind the front door with his AK-47 assault rifle and shot and killed the first three police officers who responded. Another officer was injured before a SWAT team shot and wounded Poplawski and then took him into custody.

Fifteen weeks before the murders, Poplawski, who went by the name “Braced for Fate” on Stormfront, wrote that he kept his AK-47 “in a case within arms reach.” He’d been a registered Stormfront member for 20 months prior to the murders, but with a Web footprint going back to at least 2001. He started on pro-Second Amendment forums, moved to conspiracy pages and finally landed at Stormfront, where he had at least two user names, “Braced for Fate”

and “pOp633.” An aspiring skinhead, Poplawski posted his “Iron Eagle” Nazi tattoo under his pOp633 user name in 2007, about 16 months before the killings.

The worst mass murder was still to come.

On July 22, 2011, Anders Behring Breivik set off a truck bomb in front of a government building in downtown Oslo, Norway. The blast killed eight and injured hundreds more. Dressed as a police officer and armed with a Ruger Mini-14 assault rifle and a Glock pistol, Breivik then boarded a ferry to Utoya Island, where a Workers Youth League summer camp was being held. There, Breivik shot and killed 69 people, most of them teenagers.

When he was taken into custody by a SWAT team without incident, Breivik calmly told authorities that he blamed the government for allowing Norway to be “invaded” by Muslims.

At the time of the killings, Breivik had been a registered member on Stormfront for almost three years. Under the username “year2183,” Breivik introduced himself in October 2008. In one post he wrote, “Feminism, corrupt treacherous politicians, a corrupt treacherous media, pro-immigration Jewry and a corrupt academia is the hole in the ‘dike,’ while Muslims are the water flooding in.” After a rant about Islamic enemies, Breivik was warmly welcomed by close Black confidant Freeland Roy Dunscombe, or “TruckRoy”: “glad to have you here.”

Hours before he began his terror campaign, Breivik E-mailed a copy of his racist manifesto to two other influential Stormfront members, Billy Joe Roper and Timothy Gallaher Murdock, who runs the racist WhiteRabbitRadio.net. In his manifesto, Breivik claimed he was banned from Stormfront, though a search shows no suspension. Breivik later admitted he was not removed as a registered member.

“I was never kicked out of Stormfront,” he said last September. “Instead, I attacked them in the compendium in order to protect them ... [as] an army of leftist journalists otherwise would strike hard.”

Breivik’s large purchases of chemicals before the attack had been reported to the authorities, who took no heed because

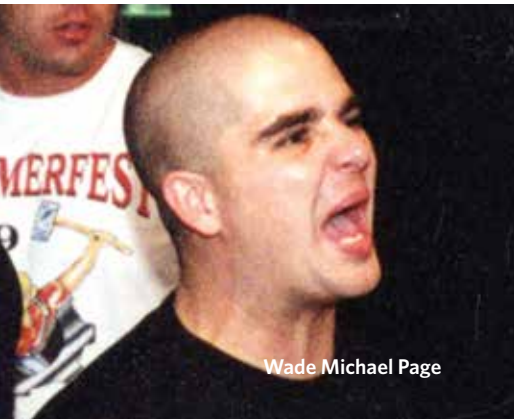


Buford Furrow



J.T. Ready

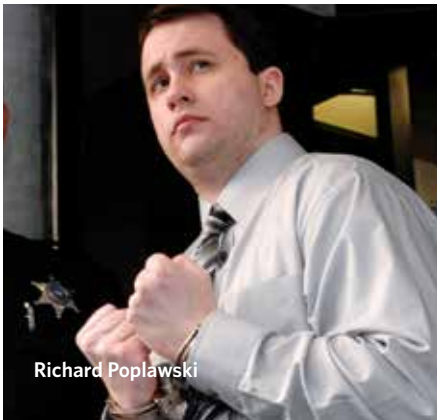
The killers: A rogue's gallery of the men who inhabited Stormfront for years before they murdered includes these nine extremists.



Wade Michael Page



Anders Breivik



Richard Poplawski



Richard Scott Baumhammers



Ian Andrew Bishop



James Leshkevich



Luka Rocco Magnotta

he claimed he was a farmer. If they had looked at Breivik's posts on Stormfront, they might have felt differently. His racist vitriol and posts suggesting overthrowing his government almost certainly violated Norway's laws against hate speech. Following the pattern for so-called "lone wolves," he had broadcast his violent intentions ahead of time on Stormfront.

A year later, in August 2012, after Breivik was convicted and sentenced to 21 years in prison, a Stormfront thread announced the sentence and included a photograph of Breivik defiantly raising his fist in the air. Some posters lauded

Breivik as a "hero" and a "P.O.W."

Black provided his own commentary on Breivik. "Unfortunately, I happened upon this thread this morning, just before our radio show. This makes me want to pull the plug on this place and never look back," Black wrote, before laying out a stark assessment of those on his site: "We attract too many sociopaths."

#### Monetizing Murder

Although Stormfront posters eventually grew critical of Breivik's actions, the public interest the attack generated on the site resulted in the highest number of

registered users ever on the forum. In the 24 hours after the killings, 4,481 members were online, a record that stands to this day. Alexa, which monitors Web traffic, shows that Stormfront visits spiked globally on the day of the Oslo attacks. This means money to Black, whose banner ads pay him by the click.

A year after the Oslo terrorist attacks, in mid-summer 2012, more media came Black's way from two more mass killings and a bizarre mutilation murder attributable to registered members.

On May 2, 2012, less than six hours after logging in and posting on Stormfront, Jason Todd Ready shot and killed four people, including an infant, before killing himself. Ready, 39, was unemployed and living with his estranged girlfriend, Lisa Mederos. He shot and killed her, her daughter Amber and her 15-month-old granddaughter, Lily. Ready then shot and killed Amber's 24-year-old fiancée, Jim Hiott, before turning his gun on himself. Ready had made 678 posts on Stormfront in the two years prior to his death, often raising funds for his armed anti-immigrant militia group, U.S. Border Guard.

Also in May, Black was taking media heat over a Canadian murder suspect known as Luka Rocco Magnotta, 29, who had posted on Stormfront under

AP IMAGES/LAURA RAUCH (FURROW); CORBIS/NATALIE KEYSSAR (READY); AP IMAGES/FRANK AUGUSTIN (BREIVIK); TRIBUNE-REVIEW/AP IMAGES/SCOTT SPANGLER (BISHOP); FREEX/AP IMAGES/REX FEATURES (MAGNOTTA); THIS IS ZIONISM WEBSITE (LESHKEVICH); AP IMAGES/JASON MINKS (POPRAWSKI); AP IMAGES/KEITH BRANCO/CIC (BAUMHAMMERS); CONTRIBUTED (PAGE)

# 10 Signs of an Imminent Race Killer

In a two-year study of almost 100 murders by racist extremists, the *Intelligence Report* identified 10 unique characteristics of killers who were active online:

**Unemployment:** All offenders were unemployed at the time of the killings.

**Public Activism:** By protesting, leafleting, or attending racist skin-head concerts or gatherings, all offenders publicly participated in racist activity or outreach (though most remained anonymous prior to the killings.)

**Home Crime Scene:** Triggering events are personal. More than half of offenders began killing in or around their homes, with family members often the first victims.

**Multiple Platforms:** Almost all offenders posted on more than one racist blog or Web forum.

**Sustained Activity:** Almost all offenders had been active on racist forums or blogs for more than 18 months at the time of the killings.

**Oppositional Behavior:** Almost all offenders were seen to be argumentative or antagonistic with others on the racist forums. Some were eventually banned in the months leading up to the killings.

**Posting Variation:** Most offenders exhibited a notable change in their posting frequency in the days and weeks leading up to the killings — either a significant increase or decline in posts. Several were active on the racist Stormfront forum in the hours leading up to the killings.

**Discussion of Violence:** Most offenders discussed violence as an acceptable means of conflict resolution in their postings.

**Weapons:** Most offenders discussed firearms online.

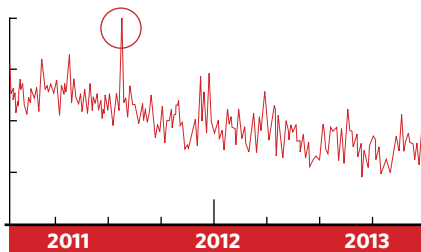
**Identification of an “Enemy”:** Most offenders specifically identified an enemy in their writings. Though many named minorities, most identified the U.S. government, or “ZOG” (for Zionist Occupation Government), as their primary opposition.

two usernames in the 12 months prior to the torture and dismemberment killing of a Chinese immigrant. In September 2011, eight months before the murder, Magnotta complained: “It was unfare [sic] that every country in the world was able to have their heritage protected,

blacks get their own countries, chinese [sic] get their own countries ... if white people want their own countries then we are denied that right.” Magnotta, whose real name is Eric Clinton Kirk Newman, also followed Black on Twitter.

Three months after the Magnotta

## STORMFRONT.ORG Daily Reach



Events like the attacks by Anders Breivik in Norway result in spikes of traffic to Stormfront, according to Alexa tracking.

murder, on Aug. 5, 2012, Wade Michael Page shot and killed six people at a Sikh temple, including an 84-year-old woman, and wounded four others before killing himself during a shootout with police. Page, a longtime racist skinhead, had been a registered user on Stormfront, under various user names, for more than 10 years.

### Motivational Culpability

A haggard-looking Don Black appeared on a CBS News affiliate's newscast three days after the Sikh Temple killings. While attempting to minimize Page's activities on Stormfront, Black said Page's actions were “counterproductive” but then added, “We think the Sikhs should be back in Punjab.”

As Alexa Internet Inc. shows, though Stormfront's online popularity had been in a gradual decline over the previous two years, the August 2012 Sikh temple killings resulted in one of the highest and most significant spikes of the year for the online forum (there also was a notable and rapid decline following the Sikh temple killings). And Stormfront appears to have benefited financially from the publicity that summer. Monthly donations to the site rose from \$6,545 in August 2012, to \$8,028 in September to \$10,032 in October of that year.

A strong argument could be made that Stormfront is, in effect, monetizing murder. And Black's personal history undermines the argument that he had no reasonable way to know how his website and the hatred he hawks was attracting and motivating a new breed of unstable, sociopathic killers. That ugly reality has been a recurring theme in Don Black's life for almost half a century.

## A Lifetime of Hate

In many respects, Don Black resembles the prototypical killers that seem to be drawn to Stormfront. Black, 60, is a frustrated, unemployed white adult male living with an ideologically estranged wife, Chloe Hardin Black, who has publicly denounced the racist movement. She is the sole provider in the household.

Black spends hours every day online, utterly convinced of the supremacy of his race while expressing frustration with the inferiority of his outcomes. He occasionally complains about the sociopaths Stormfront seems to attract or laments that his only son, Derek, recently publicly denounced white supremacy.

Black's 46-plus years of involvement with the racist movement started at the age of 15, when, like the fratricidal Ian Andrew Bishop, he began distributing racist fliers around his high school. That he was involved with a subculture of sociopaths would become quite obvious, given who Black met while on his very first "movement" road trip at the age of 16.

In the summer of 1969, Black traveled to a World Union of National Socialists meeting in Arlington, Va., in the back seat of a beat-up Chevy Chevelle, sitting next to a 19-year-old James Clayton Vaughn for more than 12 hours. Neo-Nazi and soon-to-be Klan leader David Duke was driving. As Black recalls, Vaughn was the very first person he met in the "white nationalist" movement to which he would devote his life.

Vaughn, who would change his name to Joseph Paul Franklin, later became probably the most prolific racist serial killer in U.S. history, targeting interracial couples and killing as many as 20 people in several states between 1977 and 1980 (he was convicted of eight murders). Franklin was executed last year.

Black's exposure to the worst of the racist movement continued the following year. He spent his 17th birthday in the hospital with a bullet wound in his chest after being caught trying to steal the mailing list of the racist National States Rights Party. The shooter, Jerry Ray, was the brother of Martin Luther King Jr. assassin James Earl Ray. Jerry Ray was prosecuted for attempted murder but acquitted after claiming self-defense. Black pleaded guilty and received one year of probation.



A young Don Black (seen here in Klan robe) has known most key racist leaders in his life, including David Duke (in tie); Jerry Ray (with cigarette), the brother of Martin Luther King Jr. assassin James Earl Ray; and Joseph Paul Franklin, a racist serial killer who was executed last year.

By 1975, Black was a rising leader in the Alabama wing of David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a position he kept for the next 12 years. But his ambitions went beyond the robe and hood. On April 27, 1981, Black was arrested with nine other white supremacists as they prepared to board a yacht to invade the tiny Caribbean island of Dominica, oust its black-run government, and transform it into a "white state."

Black's resulting three-year federal prison sentence was time well spent taking classes in computer programming. He eventually set up a dial-up bulletin board service for the radical right and, in March 1995, that service evolved into Stormfront.org, the Web's first and best-known hate site. Black saw clearly that with this new technology, white supremacists might finally bypass the mainstream media and political apparatus he felt had long restricted the racists' message.

"The potential of the Net for organizations and movements such as ours is enormous," Black told a reporter in

1996. "We're reaching tens of thousands of people who never before had access to our point of view."

He was right.

In January 2002, Stormfront had a mere 5,000 members. But only a year later, membership had more than doubled to 11,000; and a year after that, in early 2004, it had reached 23,000. By this year, membership had hit about 286,000 registered users, though most were inactive. These numbers didn't include the many people who simply read Stormfront postings without actually joining up (becoming a member allows one to post messages and also to view personal information.) Stormfront also became home to other hate sites that shared its servers and advertised their wares.

After a life basically monetizing ethnic hatred and death, Don Black, who walks with a cane from a 2008 stroke, has become increasingly philosophical. On the Stormfront page eulogizing serial killer Franklin, he wrote: "I may be the only person here who actually knew Franklin. I've been contemplating how my life would have been different had he remained the only 'White Nationalist' I'd ever met. I'd have quit in disgust. I had just turned sixteen, and maybe I could have then led a 'normal' life."

With nearly 100 bias-related homicides attributable to registered members of his site since 2009, a great many "normal lives" are no longer being led.

Still, Black remains defiant. The theme song for his daily radio program on the Rense Radio Network is a remake of Johnny Cash's "I Won't Back Down."

His wife, his son, and those who cared for the victims of racist killers connected to Stormfront probably wish he would. ▲



# GHOSTS *of* HARRISON

AN ARKANSAS CITY IS STRUGGLING TO DEAL WITH A LEGACY — AND A CONTINUING PRESENCE — OF RACIST EXTREMISM. IT HASN'T BEEN EASY

BY DON TERRY

HARRISON, Ark. — For more than a century, the ghosts of terror and hate have haunted this nearly all-white city in the Ozark Mountains.

In 1905 and again in 1909, white mobs chased the entire black population — about 115 men, women and children — out of town, save for one old woman. Even now, Harrison, a city of 13,000 residents, is known as a place blacks avoid, especially after the sun goes down.

Today, fewer than 50 African Americans live here.

But a group of Harrison residents, including the mayor, the head of the Chamber of Commerce and a black evangelist, are working mightily to change the city's reputation. They

call themselves the Harrison Community Task Force on Race Relations and they want the country to know that their city is open to everyone.

It has not been easy. There is a man who resides some 15 miles away on a hill, down a rutted dirt road, past a goat farm and across a flooded creek, and who casts a long, dark shadow over Harrison and its fight for its future and its soul.

His name is Thomas Robb. He is a minister of the white supremacist theology of Christian Identity and the longtime leader of the Knights Party, one of the longer-lived Ku Klux Klan organizations in the country. The group is also



Thom Robb

known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

To the great frustration of city officials, Robb and the Klan appear early and often in Google searches and media reports about Harrison. While Robb uses a Harrison mailing

address for Klan business, the Knights Party is actually located 15 miles away in a compound that includes Robb's home and church just outside tiny, rural Zinc, Ark. "The Klan isn't even in Harrison," the mayor, Jeff Crockett, complains. "They're way out in the boonies."

But the geography doesn't really

matter. The perception is that Harrison is a Klan town. That's why for the last 11 years and counting, the Task Force on Race Relations, a largely white group of elected officials and preachers, school teachers and police chiefs, bankers, college students and a few of Harrison's handful of black residents, have come together to counter the city's racist reputation and create a more racially welcoming present and future. They put on diversity seminars at the high school, Black History Month events at the public library and sponsor scholarships at the local community college.

This April, the task force and the city hosted a nonviolence youth summit around the anniversary of the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Dozens of high school students — black, white and Latino — were bused into Harrison from across the state for the event, including the symbolic burial of racism in a grave near City Hall.

The task force's mission: *Reconciling the past. Recognizing the present. Reaching for the future.*

"The perception of Harrison as a racist place attracts people who want to be a part of that," said Layne Ragsdale, who is white and a longtime member of the task force. "Unless we change that perception, in 25 years we will be that community. Those will be the only people who will want to come here. It's especially important for the white community to say Robb doesn't speak for us."

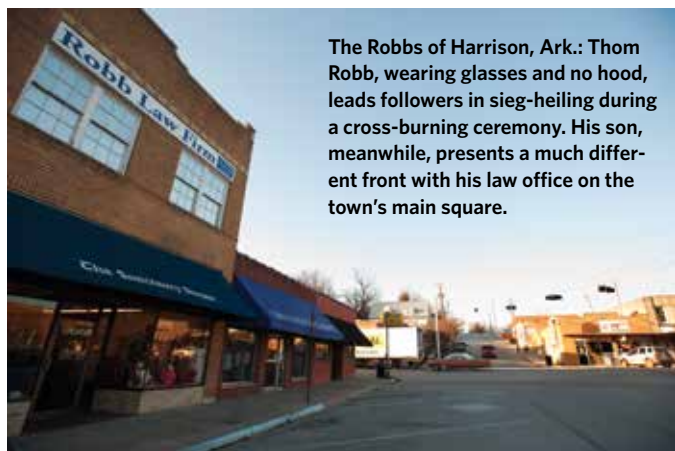
Harrison is not alone in its struggle. There are communities all over America that were once racial battlefields, places where black Americans were lynched, expelled, bullied, robbed and otherwise mistreated by their white neighbors. Think of Pulaski, Tenn., the town where the original Klan was born in late 1865 and that still faces a Klan rally every year

that helps cement its unsavory, and undeserved, reputation. And there are towns where a particularly horrible racial crime has tarred a community as irrevocably racist even though that's often unfair. Jasper, Texas, where James Byrd Jr. was dragged to his death behind a white man's pickup truck in 1998, is just such a place. It is famous worldwide for a racial atrocity.

But Harrison has a special, burning cross to bear. It's not only a past of racial violence that scars the town. It's the presence of Thom Robb, the people he and his friends attract, and the reputation they have helped to build.

mind the Klan stuff. That's just tradition. He says he has nothing against blacks or Jews or Catholics or brown-skinned immigrants. He just loves white people so much that there isn't any room left in his heart for anyone else.

At one time, Harrison must have seemed like the promised land to Robb and his ideological kinsmen. It was smaller than it is now and nearly all white — 95% these days. It also had a reputation for white-hot racial hostility, dating back more than 100 years to the race riots that destroyed Harrison's African-American community. After that, the city quickly became known as a "sun-



The Robbs of Harrison, Ark.: Thom Robb, wearing glasses and no hood, leads followers in sieg-heiling during a cross-burning ceremony. His son, meanwhile, presents a much different front with his law office on the town's main square.

## Love and Hate in Harrison

As troubling as the thought might be, Robb may speak for more people than the task force wants to believe. Or at least have their ear. "We are constantly stopped in the stores by people wanting to shake our hands, or vent their anger toward the Task Force and their attempt to push white guilt upon our people," he wrote recently in the white nationalist Web forum Stormfront, adding that he and his family "are truly well received in the whole of the community."

Perhaps so. Even his critics in town admit that when he goes into Harrison to visit his son's law office on the courthouse square or to shop at Walmart, Robb is friendly, polite and doesn't use the N-word. He prefers "Negro."

Robb insists city officials, business leaders and the rest of the world have him and the Knights Party all wrong. He calls himself "National Director," not "Imperial Wizard," wears suits and ties, and only dons his robe and hood for an annual "cross lighting" ceremony — a media-friendly way of saying "cross burning," the Klan's fiery symbol of terror.

He has been in these parts for 40 years and swears he is all about love, not hate. Never



down town,” a place where if you were black you better not be caught shopping, walking or breathing air after dark. Even in the daylight, you were not welcome. That latent sense of terror still exists in the hearts and minds of many African Americans in Arkansas when the name Harrison is mentioned.

The northwest corner of Arkansas where Harrison is located has been home to more extremists than Thom Robb. Its overwhelmingly white population, conservative religion and politics, and rural, mind-your-own-business ethos have all helped make it one of nation’s gathering points for such people.

In the 1960s, Gerald L.K. Smith, a Nazi enthusiast who was once the most important anti-Semitic organizer in America, retired to Eureka Springs, less than an hour from Harrison. There, he organized a huge, mountaintop statue of “Christ of the Ozarks” and a Passion Play that is still performed today. In 1976, white supremacist James Ellison bought a farm near Bull Shoals Lake, also an hour in the opposite direction from Harrison, where he established The Covenant, The Sword, and The Arm of the Lord, an armed Christian Identity group. After members murdered a state trooper and tried to blow up a natural gas pipeline, federal agents raided the compound in 1985, discovering a major cache of illegal weapons and a barrel of cyanide intended for use poisoning the water supplies of several major cities.

Also in the 1980s, Mike Hallimore moved to Jasper, less than 20 miles from Harrison, and set up Kingdom Identity Ministries, the world’s leading purveyor of materials related to Christian Identity, which alleges that Jews are biological

descendants of Satan and people of color have no souls. Hallimore says the Bible authorizes the murder of “race mixers” and has predicted that “one day ... people will be hanging from the lamp posts in this country.” To this day, Hallimore’s ministry has an office on Main Street in Harrison.

Harrison is the Boone County seat, located about 30 rolling miles south of Branson, Mo., the neon-lit, country-music playground of the Ozarks. “People of all colors should be able to come here and feel comfortable,” Mayor Crockett said in an interview in his office on the second floor of City Hall. “I got in an elevator in Little Rock with a black man not long ago and we struck up a conversation. When I told him I was from Harrison, he didn’t want to talk to me anymore. That reaction and reputation is what we’re trying to change, trying to overcome.”

The local white supremacists are attempting to paint the mayor as “anti-white” — a standard allegation thrown

**Dueling billboards:** After anonymous racists paid for a billboard display of a well-known white supremacist catchphrase (above, right), the Task Force on Race Relations responded with a message of its own. That was only the beginning of the battle of the billboards.

around by the racist radical right. Crockett laughs at that; the mayor is white himself, as are some of his best friends and the vast majority of his constituents. What he does confess to being, and proud of it, he says, is a patriotic American who knows in his bones that racism, no matter how it is dressed up, is not only immoral, it is bad for business. “We’re finding when people, even if they’re white, transfer into the area, they don’t want to live in Harrison because of its reputation,” he says. “We lose the tax base, we lose the real estate sales. We lose.”

Apparently alarmed by the efforts of the task force, Billy Roper, a former schoolteacher, neo-Nazi-turned-Klansman and close Robb ally, recently put out a call to “racial patriots” to come to Harrison.

“There is an ongoing struggle here between White Nationalists, including Knights Party members, and local Anti-White activists, including the Mayor and ‘Task Force on Race Relations,’” Roper wrote in Stormfront. “This is where we will make our stand. We encourage others to join us. This is the front lines.”

#### **Battle of the Billboards**

The frontlines in the struggle for Harrison’s identity had been quiet for some time, until the city awoke on Oct. 15 to a bright yellow billboard overlooking a well-traveled city street. The sign proclaimed in black letters that “Anti-Racist is a Code Word for Anti-White.” That is

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**“The perception of Harrison as a racist place attracts people who want to be a part of that. Unless we change that perception, in 25 years we will be that community.”**

a popular slogan of the white nationalist movement, but no one took credit for putting the words up for the city to see.

Almost immediately the Harrison Chamber of Commerce was flooded with calls from city residents wanting the sign removed, said Patty Methvin, president of the chamber and facilitator of the task force. "It caused quite an uproar," Methvin said. "We were proud of that."

About 30 people, including the mayor and other members of the task force, held a pro-diversity demonstration at the billboard, but it was not taken down. Karyn Isaacs, a black graduate student from New York City and task force member, was one of them. "Whoever put that up has a lot of hatred in their heart," Isaacs said.

Isaacs first started visiting Harrison in 2007 with a friend who grew up here. He warned her there were almost no blacks and the Klan was headquartered not far from town. But she loved the beauty of the hills, the quiet of the nights. Now she divides her time between New York and Harrison. "It's a very quaint town," she said. "I love the rural life. But do I get stared at sometimes? Absolutely. Does it bother me? Absolutely not. I've never been called nigger."

Almost.

She was shopping at the Walmart one day when a little white girl pointed at her like she was picking her out of a lineup.

"Darkie," the girl said.

Isaacs was stunned as she watched the little girl and her mother walk away.

"I can't blame the child," Isaacs said. "It goes back to the parents and their ignorance."

In late November, someone, standing in the bed of a pickup truck, vandalized the offending billboard. The words "Anti-White" were painted over and replaced with one word — "Love" — causing the sign to read "Anti-Racism is a Code Word for Love."

The task force condemned the vandalism, but shared the sentiment. Still, the "Anti-White" wording was quickly restored. The "Love" was gone again. A local 47-year-old handyman named Chad Watkins was arrested and charged with a misdemeanor in the case. His Little Rock-based lawyer, Matthew Campbell, asked a friend, a black off-duty police officer from out of town, to accompany him to Harrison for a court hearing. The friend said no.

"And this was a big, old veteran cop, who shouldn't be worried — and even he won't go to Harrison," the lawyer said. "When you've got 34 black people in a town that size, I don't know how much progress you can actually see, even if they're making progress. But they're trying, trying hard. The task force is doing what they can to improve Harrison's image outwardly. I don't know if it's possible to change Harrison internally when there is no black population. It's a lot easier for citizens to cling to whatever racial beliefs they want."

Nevertheless, the task force continues to try. In December, it put up two billboards of its own: "Love Your Neighbor," they read.

But the billboard battle did not end there. In mid-March, a new billboard, allegedly sponsored by a group of anonymous Harrison business owners, went up directly beneath the original "Anti-White" sign. Its message was more subtle. It featured a huge picture of the smiling faces of a white family of four.

"Welcome to Harrison," the billboard said. "Beautiful Town, Beautiful People, No Wrong Exits, No Bad Neighborhoods."

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**"I got in an elevator in Little Rock with a black man not long ago and we struck up a conversation. When I told him I was from Harrison, he didn't want to talk to me anymore. That reaction and reputation is what we're trying to change, trying to overcome."**

## Facing the Future

Harrison is a working-class city. A FedEx regional office employs 1,500 people from across the region. It is the largest employer in town. "Harrison is full of people who have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps," says Carolyn Cline, a task force member and seventh-generation resident of Arkansas. "That's the true character of our city."

A website about "great retirement spots" says Harrison "receives generally good reviews." The "surrounding landscape is lush" and "the fly fishermen favorite Buffalo River runs nearby." The cost of living is 12% below the national average and the political leanings of the area, according to the site, are "very, very conservative." The heart of Harrison is the restored courthouse square, ringed by a bookstore, the Lyric Theater, the offices of the Harrison Daily Times newspaper and other businesses, including the Robb law firm.

The website recommends Harrison as a retirement spot "although the town's history may be off-putting to many."

That history is indeed dark and painful. But unlike many places suffering from similar pasts, Harrison is trying to work through its history and deal with its unwelcome neighbors in the Klan. In the end, whether it succeeds or fails will be up to the efforts of individuals — people such as Alice Sanders.

Sanders, a black evangelist born and raised in Jim Crow Mississippi, knew nothing of Harrison's history when she first came to town 10 years ago after living and preaching in Washington state. Sanders came to Harrison for a three-day revival in Zinc. She knew nothing of Thom Robb, either. She soon learned about both, but still decided to make Harrison her home. It is filled, she said, with churches and "people who love God." But she also joined the Task Force on Race Relations to make her new home better.

"A lot of places I go don't have the racial history of Harrison, but you can tell it's there," she said. "You can't escape it. You have to change it. I've had people walk up to me in stores here and say, 'I'm glad you're here.' The Lord said, 'Make yourself visible, Alice.' I said, 'Lord, you have a sense of humor.'"

"I can't help being visible in Harrison." ▲



# ON THE INSIDE

A Klansman who turned informant when one member of his group began making violent plans describes his experience

BY DON TERRY // PHOTOGRAPHY BY OCTAVIAN CANTILLI

**A**s a kid growing up in a white, working-class family in southern Ohio, Bob's best friend was African-American. He admits it might be hard for most folks to accept this, seeing how his life has turned into a bad country song — addiction, prison and, if he's lucky, redemption. Still, he swears it's true. The two boys were tight. They spent the night at each other's homes. They went to Catholic school together.

The black kid's name was Gene. Bob was on the hefty side. He got picked on a lot. But Gene never teased him. Not in a million years would Gene believe that his bosom buddy grew up to be a hooded, card-carrying member of the Knight Riders, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. At least Bob hopes he wouldn't. "I was never comfortable with being in the Klan," he says. "Even when I was in the thick of it, I did not sling around the N-word like most of the guys."

Bob, who asked that his last name not be used, is not proud of his time in the Knight Riders. But he is proud that he helped bring them down.

On Jan. 4, 2014, the Knights, with 13 chapters spanning seven states from Florida to Illinois, officially disbanded. The usual suspects were to blame — stupidity, paranoia and a federal informant, in this case a 45-year-old ex-con Klansman named Bob. "They know I was the one who brought them down," he says. "I got a lot of people pissed at me."

The Knights' imperial wizard, a 53-year-old truck driver called "Brother Red" based in Live Oak, Fla., shut down the group three weeks after one of his followers, Michael Lee Fullmore, pleaded guilty in Virginia federal court to illegally selling guns to a convicted felon. The weapons sales were part of a scheme, prosecutors alleged, to bankroll the startup of a violent splinter faction, a racist strike force targeting African Americans and Latinos. Brother Red, whose real name is Jeff Jones, was anxious that he might be held accountable for actions of what he called a "rogue Klansman," acting alone. He said for a while he expected to be dragged from his Florida home in handcuffs in the middle of the night by an FBI anti-terrorism team.


"I don't want to go to jail and be surrounded by people I don't want to be around in the first place," Jones told the *Intelligence Report*, adding that he had nothing to do with Fullmore's plans. "The jails are full of blacks and Mexicans." The FBI, Jones continued, infiltrated the group "and tore it to pieces and idiots on the inside finished it off. It was destroyed from within."

The authorities won't confirm the identity of the informant. But Bob says he's the guy. And what he says happened during his many stressful months wearing a wire and what the Feds say they learned from the work of the informant, or confidential human source, as they prefer to say, match up nearly deed for deed. "Mike," Bob says, "pretty much thought the rest of the Knight Riders were pantywaists and didn't want to do anything. He wanted to go back to the old terror tactics of the Klan. He wanted to do snatch-and-grabs of minorities. He wanted to firebomb the church. He wanted to put the Klan back on the map."

It wasn't long after FBI agents slapped the cuffs on Fullmore in the spring of 2013 that he admitted to making the statements about murder and mayhem, according to the federal prosecutor in Virginia in charge of the case, Zachary Lee. "He said he didn't mean it," Lee says. "He said he was just talking."

Fullmore, 30, was the only person arrested and charged. After pleading guilty just before Christmas to gun and drug offenses, he was sentenced to 52 months in federal prison. Fullmore's court-appointed defense attorney did not respond to an interview request from the *Report*.

Shortly after the Knights announced they were going out of business, Bob contacted the *Report* over the objections, he says, of his FBI handler, who was worried about his safety. Bob worries about that, too. "These are some scary people," he says. But he thought it was important to tell his story, he says, so someone else in his shoes could learn from his mistakes and perhaps copy his recent example. "I guess you could say I grew a conscience," he says. "I guess you could say I was trying to make amends."



A Klansman named Bob went to the FBI and eventually renounced his racist beliefs after a fellow group member began talking about carrying out terrorist attacks on black Americans.



**"I GUESS YOU COULD SAY I GREW  
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### **A Church in the Crosshairs**

By the time he was arrested, the FBI had been investigating Fullmore for more than a year, watching and listening as he illegally sold guns, first to a wire-wearing informant, and later to an undercover agent introduced to him by the informant. Fullmore, who lived near Claxton, Ga., even shipped a disassembled semi-automatic AK-47 rifle, its serial number filed off, by UPS to the informant in Virginia.

The investigation was scheduled to continue for weeks or months, long enough, authorities hoped, to determine whether Fullmore's vow that he could supply military-grade explosives to anti-government militia groups or to anyone else willing to pay was fact or fiction. He said he had a source at Fort Stewart, the sprawling Army base that was a short distance from the trailer home where he lived with his wife and young son.

Investigators never learned the truth about the explosives. When Fullmore started talking to the informant about firebombing a specific Catholic church filled with Latino worshipers in Claxton, the FBI swept in and arrested him in June of 2013, abruptly ending the investigation. "The escalation of his activity for us was getting to a point where we didn't believe we could ignore it or allow him to remain out there on the streets," Lee, the prosecutor, says. "When he took it a step further to say, 'Now I've got this church that I want to firebomb,' it had gone from a concept to the first steps of implementing a plan to the next step in the plan which we believe he was going to do, which is identify a specific target

for that organization to attack.”

A former high-ranking member of the Knight Riders, who was banished from the group before Fullmore’s arrest, told the *Report* that Fullmore came to his Georgia home one day, wearing a big grin and carrying a large box. Fullmore said it was a “present” for the older Klansmen. The man told Fullmore to put the box down in a corner “but I didn’t look inside for a few days.”

When he did, the middle-aged Klansmen discovered the box was filled with explosives and blasting caps. “I couldn’t get that shit out of my house fast enough,” the man says.

Still, Fullmore “seemed like a pretty decent guy,” the former Klan official says. He was one intense dude, though. He had a teardrop tattoo, which usually means the wearer has spilled blood — or is pretending to have. Fullmore also had a way of staring at a person that made even tough guys uneasy. “A lot of people didn’t know how to take him,” the former Klansman says. “He didn’t look like somebody that would play around.”

### Fear and Loathing

Fullmore and Bob were buddies. Yet, to this day, Bob says he’s not sure if Fullmore was serious about stringing up black people and bombing brown ones. “It was hard to differentiate what was serious and what was just air,” Bob says. “But do I think he had it in his character to do it? Yes, I do.”

That belief kept Bob awake at night — literally. Bob made at least a dozen bus trips for the FBI to Georgia to stay with and spy on Fullmore. Once he got there 13 hours later, Bob would stay awake for the entire visit, which typically lasted three to four days. He didn’t need coffee to do it. He had adrenaline and fear. “You’re doing something that you don’t really want to relax too much and let go and go to sleep,” he says. “You don’t know if you close your eyes if it’s going to be the last time you close them.”

“It was a very stressful thing,” he continues. “You’re equipped with a recording device and you’re going into the lion’s den, so to speak, knowing discovery could mean death.”

He’d catch an occasional catnap when no one was looking. Otherwise he’d stay



up all night on the couch, watching television. “The threat of death hanging over your head for several days at a time, combined with physical exhaustion, it’s not an easy thing,” he says. Back home, Bob’s wife was almost as sleepless, fearing for her husband’s safety and caring for their newborn and three other children under age 10. “It was constant worry the whole time he was gone,” she says. “But it wasn’t like I could go to my friend and say, ‘Hey, I really need to talk to you about this.’ It was just between Bob and me. There was nobody I could go tell what was going on.”

One night in Georgia, Bob thought he was a goner. He was standing outside the Fullmore’s home smoking a cigarette. Fullmore came out and said they had to go see the grand dragon right away. “Mike was in a foul, hateful mood,” Bob says. Bob told Fullmore he had to go inside to get his phone. “We ain’t got time for that,” Fullmore snapped. “Just get in the fucking car.”

“I’m kind of thinking to myself,” Bob says, “they’ve found out somehow, this is getting ready to be really bad.”

Bob wanted to take off running into the Georgia night. He wanted to run all

the way back to his wife and kids. It took everything he had to get into that car.

“I could have blown the whole operation by running,” he says. “I remained calm as best I could. As it turned out, Mike was just in a bad mood. He had just got his butt ripped by his wife.”

### Prison as Incubator

The bureau has long relied on insiders like Bob against the Klan. “It’s been said there have been several thousand people who have been Klan informants over the years,” says Gary May, a history professor at the University of Delaware and the author of *The Informant: The FBI, the Ku Klux Klan and the Murder of Viola Liuzzo*. “Sometimes they provide information that proves to be effective in putting some guys away. But it’s a real deal with the devil.”

Bob was no angel. He started getting in trouble with the law when he was 13. He took his parent’s car for a joyride. His father, a welder, called the cops to teach the boy a lesson. “Of course, I didn’t learn nothing,” he says. After that he was in and out of the juvenile legal system, mostly, he says, for minor stuff. “I had sticky fingers back then.”



Life as an informant was stressful and, at times, intensely frightening, Bob says. At one point, he believed his target was preparing to murder him.

As an adult, living in Cleveland, he caught a burglary charge. All told, he spent seven years in prison, where he met a KKK grand dragon, serving time for badly beating up his girlfriend. Bob was a petty criminal. He wasn't a Klansman. Not yet.

His folks didn't raise him to be a knucklehead or a racist. The dragon, a smooth-talker, tried to change that. "He could make stepping in crap sound good," Bob recalls.

They talked Scripture and the plight of the white man. But Bob says he didn't join, although he was tempted. "I wanted to belong to something," he says. "I really didn't have no family. I didn't have anybody. It sounds like a country song, don't it?"

He was released from prison in 2001. "Once I left, I really didn't have any contact with Klan-type people," he says. Two years later he moved to Virginia, where he met his wife. They were married in 2006. The couple lived in Northern California for a short time — long enough for Bob to pick up a serious pain pill addiction.

Bob finally joined the Klan in 2010 after meeting another grand dragon who worked at the corner gas station in Bob's Virginia neighborhood. Bob filled out an application and became a hooded American on Nov. 21, 2010, at a ceremony in Ellijay, Ga.

Bob says he still can't explain exactly why he gave in and became a Klansman. Maybe a shrink can, but he can't. His wife says racism still hangs thick in the Southern air. Everywhere you go, she says, you hear about the bad Mexicans and the lazy blacks. "There are churches that preach they don't think there should be race mixing," she says. "We've heard it all our lives."

Bob seems to have been a more-than-willing recruit. In an Internet forum discussing the merits of a black kid working as a grocery store bagger, Bob proclaimed, "I'm a racist through and through and could give two shifts if anyone likes it or not."

### Making the Case

Bob first met Mike Fullmore at a Klan rally in Corinth, Miss., in 2011. Fullmore came from a Georgia klavern, Bob from Virginia. They hit it off at the post-rally cookout on a nearby farm. Then they joined a circle of their fellow Klansmen in their robes and hoods for the cross burning. It was Bob's first. It wasn't full dark when they started, trying to get it done before a drizzle turned to rain. "I wasn't impressed," Bob says.

After the rally, the men stayed in touch. Bob rode a bus for nearly 13 hours one-way to visit Fullmore and his family in Claxton. Soon, he says, Fullmore started repeatedly complaining about the "pantywaists" running the Klan. Nobody feared or respected the KKK anymore. Fullmore, he says, was determined to change that — with violence. The idea made Bob nervous. "I will honestly say," he says, "the first thing when you go in [the Knight Riders], they make you sign a nonviolent thing, saying if you're caught being violent they will expel you. Jeff Jones was real strict about that. But honestly, I felt that was just covering butts so they wouldn't get sued."

Bob says he soon reached out to the FBI and talked about working as an informant because he was worried that

Fullmore's talk would turn to action. His work with the FBI, however, did not begin in earnest until after he was busted for selling some of his prescription pills to a police informant in 2012. He was convicted but received probation. Bob denies that getting out of legal hot water was his motivation. "I have four kids," he says. "I didn't want them to grow up in a world where they think it's okay to hurt people or discriminate against them." But Jones, the imperial wizard, isn't buying that. "I think personally he's the one who lured Mike into selling the guns to save his own bacon," Jones says. "I don't think Bob really wanted to do it. But it was that or probably going to jail."

Fullmore legally purchased several weapons at a Georgia pawnshop, including four handguns and the AK-47. Then he sold them to Bob, who was supposed to turn around and sell the guns to militia groups or felons to fund what prosecutors called Fullmore's plans to start a "vigilante splinter group." Fullmore also sold a weapon and a small amount of marijuana to an undercover agent in Virginia.

Lee, the federal prosecutor, says that his office and the FBI "took some pains" not to investigate the Knight Riders as a whole and were careful not to infringe upon the Klan's First Amendment rights. "We were focused on the Knight Riders," he says, "solely to determine if they as a group were sponsoring this violent organization that Mr. Fullmore was trying to get started, or if it was just him."

Since no one else was arrested or charged in the case, the prosecutor says he was surprised that the Knight Riders decided to disband. "But then again, I guess I can understand it," he says. "If they believed that their ranks had been infiltrated, they may have some concern about other activities they're involved in that they don't want law enforcement to know about."

Bob, however, doesn't believe the Knight Riders have truly disbanded. He says the group, which had up to 70 members, has gone underground. "They haven't closed up shop," he says. "They were actually talking about going so-called underground before all this got started. You can rename the Klan daisy flowers if you want to, but it's still the Klan" — above ground or under it. ▲



# Skin Molt

A former skinhead describes her life in the racist movement and how, after almost three violent decades, she came to leave

Barely into her teens, **Lynette Sonya Avrin** was drawn into the skinhead movement in the early 1980s in Denver, which at the time was a real hotbed of racist activism. An angry young woman who felt that her parents essentially abandoned her, Avrin witnessed an enormous amount of violence and experienced a good deal of it herself. She also knew some of the most infamous activists of the era. But after she had two children and a long series of bad experiences with her supposed friends, she began to have doubts about her ideology and lifestyle. The turning point, she says, came in 2009, when a confrontation with a neo-Nazi boyfriend landed her in the hospital and terrified her then-10-year-old son. Today, she is raising that son in Colorado. Avrin, now 45, contacted the *Intelligence Report* after spotting an article about women on the radical right, “Secrets of the Sisterhood,” that mentioned her in the *Report*’s Spring 2013 issue. She wanted to tell her story and to explain how completely she now rejects the racist movement. In the following interview, Avrin discusses how she came to join the movement, what it was like, and why she finally left.

## **Lynette, can you start by describing your early life in the Denver area?**

Sure. I was adopted by a Jewish family at 6 weeks old and grew up knowing that I was adopted. My mom and dad had three biological sons but my mom wanted girls, so she actually adopted me and my sister.

My parents got a divorce when I was 4, and I remember it. That was the point in life where I think I basically started getting angry. My mom had custody of us but we were pretty much brought up by nannies and housekeepers or my brothers. She was never around. She was out dating men or whatever she was doing. I remember her bringing home a man who she dated for years. I really liked him, but he had a cake in one hand and a kitty in the other, and I’m thinking, “Who is this guy and why is he trying to bribe us? You’re not my dad, you know.”

I was a pretty wild child. I was one of those kids who was brought home by the Arapahoe County Sheriff’s Department — even at age 4, I would run away. I usually just went to a neighbor’s house to play, but I didn’t tell anyone.

My dad got custody of us finally when I was around 10, and then he told us, “Hey, I’ve got a new girlfriend.” It was my mother’s ex-best friend.

They had housekeepers take care of us, too, because if they weren’t working, then they were traveling to Europe. So we had another set of parents that weren’t really around. And here comes my dad telling me what to do and I’m like, “Where have you been?”

## **What was your dad like?**

He was a physicist and a scientist, a very smart man. He built an instrument called a nephelometer that measured the surface of Jupiter. He’s retired now, and my stepmother passed away about a month ago. I haven’t really spoken to him in probably 15 years.

We didn’t have the best relationship. He would tell me, “You’re grounded,” and I basically would say F you, and I was gone. I wouldn’t listen to him. At around 12 or 13, I got into the whole punk rock scene in downtown Denver. I had the Mohawk and all that stuff and then I started to get interested in the skinhead thing. That’s when they were pretty big in Denver.

Eventually, he was like, “I give up. Do whatever you want.” That’s not what I wanted to hear, but I decided to do what the hell I wanted and I did.

## **Were either of your parents racists?**

No, not at all. There was no racism in our house. I think I was just so full of hate for other reasons that I thought, “These skinheads are totally right.”

Once, when we were at a restaurant, there was a black guy and a white girl and my mom said, “I’m sure her parents must be thrilled.” But that was the only time I heard anything like that. My parents told me as I got older, “You don’t have to take on the Jewish religion — just respect our religion. You can be whatever you want.”

## **What was attractive about the skinheads?**

I didn’t feel like I had any control in my life. But as a skinhead, people were afraid of me. I mean, I was all of 4-foot-9, and people were afraid of me. It made me feel like I was in control, like I had some power.

I thought this is my family and these guys are going to take care of me forever. It was just like creating another family. I really didn’t feel like I had a family because I was adopted, and I felt at the time that they just didn’t like me very much.

I didn’t get a lot of the ideology stuff, but we did get a lot of the violence. I’d hear, “Negroes cause all this crime, Mexicans are all coming over here to our country.” They’d say, “Jews are taking over the whole country,” and I’d think to myself, “But my parents are Jewish and they don’t act like that at all.” I was like, “I don’t understand,” but of course I was young, so I was like, “Okay. I get it, yeah.”

They didn’t really educate us as to why they felt that way. It was all about violence, “Let’s go see who we can beat up tonight.”

I don’t really think in my heart that I truly hated anybody. I just think I got involved and they kind of brainwashed me and it went on like that.

### What kind of violence did you experience then?

When I was young, skinheads would beat up other, newbie skinheads. You had to prove you were really a skinhead. I remember a huge skinhead girl who had a much smaller one on the ground, saying, “Lick my boots.” I didn’t want to get in the middle because I liked them both. But I should have stood up for my smaller friend. When it was over, she said, “Thanks,” and she never really talked to me again.

There were what people called “boot parties.” They’d take somebody and five or six skinheads would just kick the crap out of them, kick them in the face. Once up in Boulder, there was an Asian girl with a white guy and a bunch of people I was with just beat the crap out of them. They had the guy against a car and were just punching him in the face with brass knuckles. They got away with it, too.

### You left Denver after high school, right?

Yes, right after high school. I moved out to Grandview, Mo., with a skinhead guy. The scene out there was different. They had SHARPs [Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice] and “straight-edge” skinheads [straight-edgers, who can be racist or non-racist, oppose all drug use], and we all kind of meshed. We used to go see shows down in North Kansas and drink beer and stuff. But we never went out and beat people up and there wasn’t much discussion of race. It was kind of a neat little group that we had.

After Missouri, I went back to Colorado for a while and was back hanging out with the Denver Skins. I used to hang out with one notorious skin there in particular. We’d drink beer on the front porch, and these little black kids would be running around laughing at us, and we’d chase them with a fire extinguisher. “Let’s see if we can paint them white,” you know. We didn’t actually catch up with any of them. But we had rocks thrown through our window, we had Crips checking out our house and following us home.

### What happened next?

A bunch of us got the idea in our heads to move to Florida because some skinheads came up from there. It was like, “You know, there’s nothing here in Denver, this scene is kind of shot.” I ended up staying down there for a year. It was a pretty violent scene. We would go out and look for anti-racist skinheads and beat them up.

I remember driving down the street and one of my friends was like, “Hey, look at that fag over there. He looked at me funny.” They beat him up so badly that he couldn’t identify any of the people there. It was a bad scene.

I was in Florida for about a year and then accidentally ended up in Albuquerque, N.M. We were in Nashville, Tenn., going to beat up the lead singer of a band — I don’t even remem-



**“I mean, I was all of 4-foot-9, and people were afraid of me. It made me feel like I was in control, like I had some power.”**

ber why we didn’t like him — and our car broke down. Here comes this van with Mark Kowalski waving at us. *[Editor’s note: About a year later, in July 1993, Kowalski led a racist terror gang that bombed an NAACP office in Tacoma, Wash., as part of a plot to start a race war. He was sentenced to almost 12 years in prison.]* We ended up with them driving across the country, getting stopped every chance a cop had.

Mark is an extremely violent psychopath. Everywhere we went, if someone was playing their music loudly in a car, he would smash the window and beat him up with a crowbar. **You had some rough times in Albuquerque.**

The worst thing happened there when we went to a 7-Eleven on a Sunday. We wanted some beer, and Mark smashed the case and we all grabbed beer and took off. We were drinking and, the next thing I know, there were these two Native American guys, and one had a gun. I don’t know what started the fight but the next thing I know one of our friends was on the back of a Native American man beating him in the head with a ball-peen hammer. Then they beat the guy with his own gun. We were all dragged down to the homicide unit, but they let us go. It was so bad, the violence was starting to get to me at that point.

Another time, we went to a show and Mark had a knife in his flight jacket that I had no idea about. There were a lot of SHARPs there, and Mark got up and grabbed the microphone and said, “I’m a white nationalist skinhead. Anybody got a problem with that?” Of course, they did. I was outside with a girl drinking, and he’s inside stabbing people. The entire club started emptying out and somebody punched Mark in the head. We jumped in a friend’s car and, like in a movie, the car died in the middle of the crowd. We had about 100 angry skins jumping on the car.

The police came and took Mark off to jail. I went to Arizona for a little while, but ended up going back to Albuquerque, where I met my daughter’s father. I lived there for about 10 years. I grew my hair out and stayed away from the whole skinhead scene. My daughter was born there in 1993, but went to stay with her grandparents for a really long time. My son was also born in Albuquerque, when I was 27. It was when he was a baby that we got our first computer. I got hooked on Stormfront [the world’s largest racist Web forum], White Aryan Resistance [another racist website]. I wasn’t really doing anything between 1999 and 2008 except posting on Stormfront. That’s where I got my “education” — they throw these statistics [about race] at you.

Eventually, we moved back to Colorado. Unfortunately, my husband was an alcoholic and that’s what caused our divorce. Through Stormfront, I met this guy, Jeromy Drumm, who was in California. I thought he was this great guy. *[Editor’s note: Drumm was a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance.]* In

2009, my mother passed away and I decided to move out to California to live with this guy. My son and I brought our cats out and everything. My daughter was living with her father.

**The Alliance was the first group you formally joined, isn't that right?**

Yes. We used to have a monthly meeting at a secret place, some restaurant. We'd go to gun shows and pass out literature, talk about getting white nationalists to run for congressman or something. I met Jim Ring [the Alliance's Sacramento unit leader] and also got to know Erich Glibe [the Alliance's national leader].

**What was Glibe like?**

I spoke to him on the phone a few times and that guy is really slimy. He finds these women and sends them text messages about how pretty they are, then asks them out on dates. He kind of reminds me of Lurch. He was more interested in seeing how quickly he could get me into his bed than anything else.

**And how did it go with Drumm?**

Jer's mother abandoned him when he was three and he has a deep hatred for women. But he can be very charming.

It started with little things. He tried to blame these little marks on our wooden floor on my son. One day the butcher knife disappeared. Then my cats started disappearing. It took me a while to recognize how crazy he was. I think he was planning to do something to me and my son.

One day, I was talking to a friend on Facebook and I called him "sweetheart." Jeromy went insane. He had already basically taken \$6,000 my mother left me. He said, "You need to leave," and I said, "I think we will." But I told him I needed like four days because I had no money and was waiting on child support.

The night before I was supposed to leave, I was on the back porch smoking and he said, "You know what? When you're daughter turns 18, I'm going to have her come live with me." I spit in his face. He was basically telling me he was going to bring my daughter to his home and do things to her.

He pushed me so hard I flew probably three feet. Now, Jeromy is six feet, maybe a little taller, and about 215 pounds, and I'm 125 pounds and 5-foot-2. He grabbed me and was carrying me sideways through the house, smashing me along the walls. He threw me in the bathroom and tried to lock me in there. I stuck my hand through the door and he slams this metal door on my arm probably 10 times. I had this huge contusion, and told my son, who was 10, "Call the police right now." He comes out and sees my arm and, oh, Lord, it was bad. It was horrible.

**And what happened?**

While we were waiting, Jer is videotaping me and calling the police himself and telling them that he had been assaulted, because he banged his head on a door and had these two little scratches on his forehead. Later, he went on Facebook and basically said I was a drunk, I was horrible to my child, I'm the one that beat him up, and that I was a "cop caller." And all these people who had been my friends for all these years believed him.

When the police arrived, their basic thing was, "Well, hey, you're leaving, you're going back to Colorado, so we aren't going to press any charges." They took me to the hospital. When I got

out about four in the morning, my son and I took a cab back and Jer had my Jeep all nice and packed for me.

We ended up in a domestic violence shelter in Colorado and then in transitional housing for a few years.

**So how did your break with white nationalism finally happen?**

I realized that nobody I knew really cared. I thought I had this family all these years. That's obviously a complete lie, because they don't care. They'll turn their backs on you in a split second. They'll stab you in the back.

They claim that "we love our race," that it has nothing to do with hate. But it has everything to do with hate. I was realizing that I don't want my children to grow up this way. I saw my friends teaching this to their children at age three. What does a child know about hate? Their parents think it's okay to teach them that, and I don't think it's okay at all. Even when I was a skinhead, I always told my son, "You be friends with whoever you want." I didn't push my beliefs on him.

He never wanted anything to do with it. And he's a great kid. He just started a new school and he's in ROTC. He's got not one hateful bone in his body. I mean nothing. He's got Hispanic friends. He's got black friends. He's got Jewish friends. And my daughter was married to a Hispanic man, a very, very nice guy.

There are other reasons. These white nationalists glorified it when Trayvon Martin was killed. *[Editor's note: Martin was shot to death in 2012 by a white Florida man who claimed he felt threatened by the unarmed, black 17-year-old.]* It was huge. I actually went on Stormfront and said, "How dare you celebrate the death of a child?"

I said, "You know what, I don't need this because I don't believe in it any more." That was the end of it and I was done.

**Lynette, what would you say to young people flirting with white nationalism?**

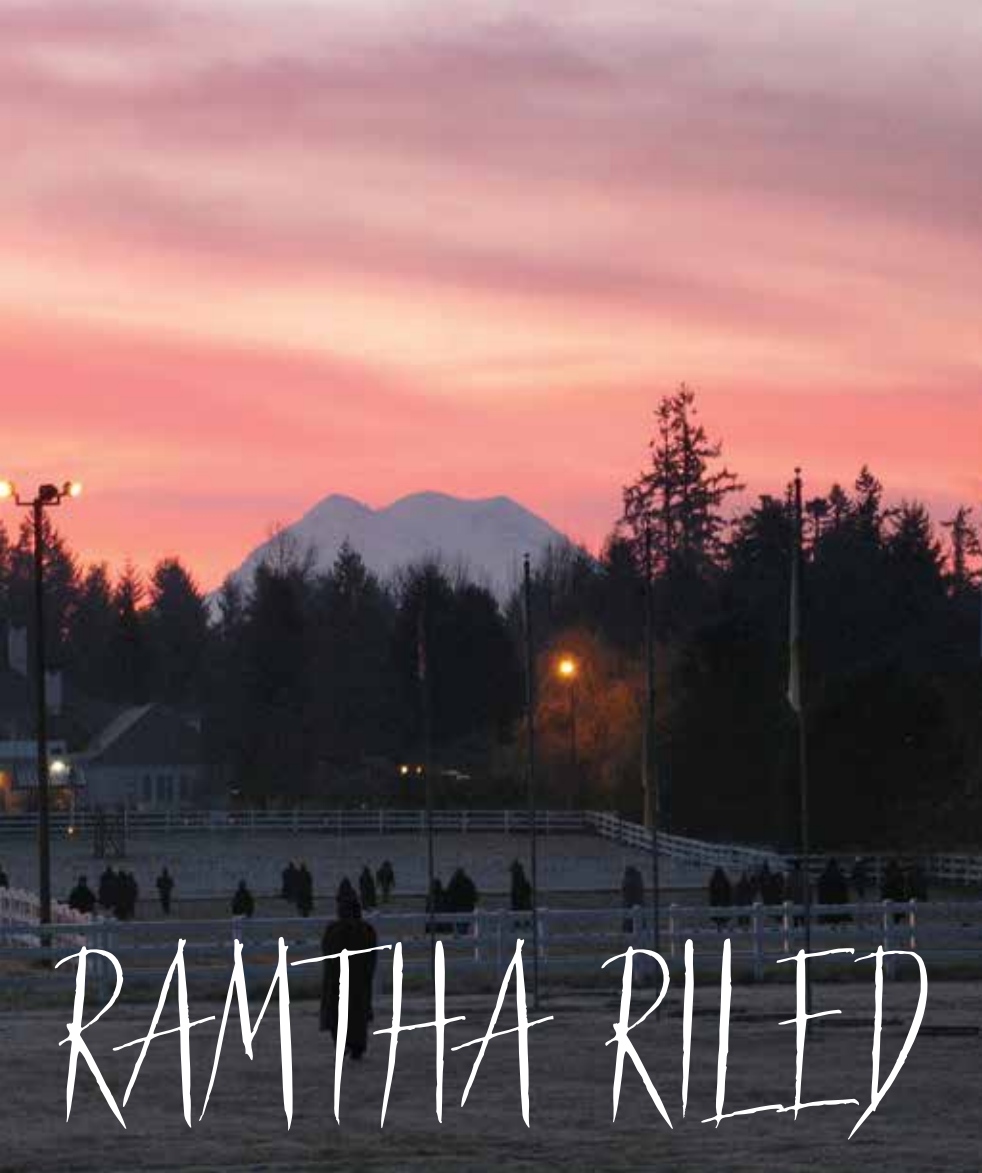
I would tell them, "Don't do it. It's so stupid, why would you want to do this?" But when I think about it, when people would say things like that to me, I was like, "F you. I'm going to do whatever I want." It's sad, but maybe they have to find out on their own. If they can't find a positive mentor in life, then they may be stuck on that same road that I was on for years no matter what people said to me.

I honestly wonder, would people listen to me if I went to a school and said, "You know, I used to be a skinhead"? It's hard to say what I would say to them. You can try and say really honestly that this isn't a smart path to go down. I could tell them that half the people I knew are dead or in prison. I don't know what I could say. I did it the hard way. I had to find out for myself.

It amazes me now that we're in 2014 and prejudice and racism still has not gone away. With gay marriages and other things, it should be gone. I tell my son I don't care if somebody is gay. So they are gay. Let them be married.

It's been a really long road, but now I'm done with it. Carrying around hate your whole life is just not healthy. It can make you sick. How can somebody claim to love themselves if they hate people? You need to just look at people as people. That took me a long time to figure out, but I'm pretty glad I did. ▲

*Interview conducted by Mark Potok.*



## A ‘Lemurian warrior,’ said to be speaking through a millionaire cult leader, savages Catholics, Mexicans, Jews and Jehovah

BY SUSY BUCHANAN

YELM, Wash. — It’s March 2011 at the Ramtha School of Enlightenment (RSE) in this rapidly growing town just outside of Olympia. Hundreds of truth seekers pack into a converted horse arena to hear a 35,000-year-old Lemurian warrior speak the wisdom of the ages. The crowd is yearning for super-consciousness and enlightenment; what they get is drunken ramblings peppered with curse words. There’s no Kool-Aid served, just red wine, bottles and bottles of it. Wine ceremonies, which have been going on at RSE since 1996, are significant because students believe wine grapes

were brought to Earth by extraterrestrials 450,000 years ago.

The blonde on stage is J.Z. (for Judith Zebra) Knight, a 65-year-old former rodeo queen and cable TV saleswoman. The words coming from her mouth aren’t hers, the assembled crowd believes, but rather those of the ethereal being she channels, Ramtha the Enlightened One. Knight goes back and forth between herself and the supposedly channeled Ramtha.

During the 16 or so hours the students spend in a spiritual drinking game (students must drink every time Ramtha/Knight does), Knight will disparage

Catholics, gay people, Mexicans, organic farmers, and Jews.

“Fuck God’s chosen people! I think they have earned enough cash to have paid their way out of the goddamned gas chambers by now,” she says as members of the audience snicker. There are also titters when she declares Mexicans “breed like rabbits” and are “poison,” that all gay men were once Catholic priests, and that organic farmers have questionable hygiene.

These are not the kind of cosmic revelations that have drawn students to Knight for 38 years. For the most part, RSE students are thoughtful and well-educated, not apt to embrace a bigoted guru. For decades, the message had been more about finding the god within than disparaging minorities, and the blend of science and New Age Gnosticism made J.Z. Knight millions well before the drunken homophobic, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic racist rants began to make their way into her preachings.

What happened at RSE would have stayed at RSE had it not been for the Internet. In 2012, livestreamed videos of Ramtha’s hate speech were posted to the Web, first by ex-students Virginia Coverdale and David McCarthy, then by a libertarian-leaning think tank called the Freedom Foundation that is based in Olympia. The excerpts from that wine ceremony left Thurston County residents shocked and wondering if there was a more sinister side to their kooky neighborhood cult.

Was there a hate group lurking in “The Pride of the Prairie,” as Yelm calls itself? Knight blamed Coverdale, who had slept with Knight’s boyfriend, as a spurned lover, and the libertarian-leaning think tank, the Freedom Foundation, as politically motivated.

But the scandal caused by the videos embarrassed Democratic candidates who had taken a total of \$70,000 in campaign donations from Knight. “I am appalled by Ms. Knight’s outrageous anti-Mexican, anti-Catholic raging,” said Thurston County (Wash.) Commissioner Sandra Romero. “These vile, racist, and divisive comments against responsible and caring

COURTESY OF RAMTHA SCHOOL OF ENLIGHTENMENT

people have no place in Thurston County, or anywhere else.” Romero ended up giving Knight’s donation to nonprofits benefitting Latinos.

Through it all, Knight has ignored requests for a retraction and maintained that the videos were maliciously edited and taken out of context.

Melissa and Steve Genson, farmers and restaurateurs who also operate an online newspaper, were equally outraged, and Melissa, a CPA and fraud investigator by training, began an intense investigation into activities at RSE. “JZ Knight shrieks abuse and ridicule at her followers, and hate speech against Catholics, Jews, gays, and others — all welcomed with audience cheers,” Melissa wrote in one of a series of critical articles on RSE for the *South Thurston Journal*.

### Raising Ramtha

J.Z. Knight was born Judith Darlene Hampton in 1946 in Roswell, N.M., one of eight children in a family of migrant farm workers. In her autobiography, 1987’s *A State of Mind: My Story*, she says a Yaqui Indian woman told her mother that baby Judith would one day see what no one else could. In 1977, that prediction came true, as Knight tells it. She and her first husband heard about “Pyramid Power” — the belief that pyramids modeled on those in Egypt could sharpen razor blades and preserve food through mummification — and spent a rather manic weekend constructing paper pyramids and placing various objects (cheese, dog food) inside.

“My kitchen was looking more like a wholesale warehouse than a kitchen, but it was worth it,” Knight wrote. “We retired at three a.m., exhausted.”

The following day, Knight jokingly grabbed one of the paper pyramids, placed it on her head, and Ramtha, a seven-foot-tall apparition of golden glitter clad in a purple robe, appeared in her kitchen. “I am Ramtha the Enlightened One. I have come to help you over the ditch,” she says he told her, and shortly thereafter Knight was in business.

She began channeling Ramtha in public in 1979, presenting his wisdom nationally and internationally through

workshops and retreats called “Ramtha Dialogues.” Early students included Shirley MacLaine (who broke off contact with Knight 30 years ago, a spokesman for the actress and author said), and, RSE officials say, actors Richard Chamberlain and Mike Farrell. Actress Salma Hayek and former “Dynasty” star Linda Evans are current students, they add.

That same year, she purchased an 80-acre ranch in Yelm, where she would breed Arabian horses for a time, build herself a 12,800-square-foot chateau, subsequently sell the horses, remodel the 15,000-square-foot horse arena, and open what would become RSE in 1989.

The location has significance that goes beyond cheap land. The region, according to RSE, was actually part of ancient Lemuria during Ramtha’s lifetime, before he migrated to Atlantis and freed his people from tyranny at the age of 14, then went on to conquer two-thirds of the world at the head of an army of 2.5 million. After being run through with a sword during battle, Ramtha sat on a rock and meditated for seven years, became enlightened, taught his body to vibrate at a high frequency and ascended, like Jesus, RSE’s website explains.

“Since the school was founded in 1989, more than 86,000 people worldwide have

attended RSE events including about 7,500 in Washington State,” Knight’s Manhattan Beach, Calif.-based PR firm told the *Intelligence Report*. About 2,000 students live near Yelm, which has a total population of close to 7,000. The students are drawn in by the four tenets of Ramtha’s philosophy: the statement, ‘You are god’; the mandate to make known the unknown; the concept that consciousness and energy create the nature of reality; the challenge to conquer yourself.

### The Nazis Cheer

But Knight also teaches students to be sovereign, to hoard gold and prepare food and supplies to survive for two years after one of the natural disasters that she often predicts will hit the earth. Knight as Ramtha is also quoted on the neo-Nazi Web forum Stormfront, where her writings on the “New World Order” are much appreciated and quoted under headings such as “Jews were responsible for causing WW1 & 2.”

“It took a lot to get this country into the First World War, because no one wanted to get into it. And so the Graymen, owning most of the media ... do you know what the media is? I have learned that term!” wrote “Ramtha” in 1999’s *Ramtha: The White Book* (which



Based in Yelm, Wash., J.Z. Knight has spent the years since 1979 travelling the globe and channeling “Ramtha the Enlightened One.” It has made her a millionaire.

also carries an introduction by Knight). “The Graymen own them all; you know, the papers you read, the box you watch, the magazines you thumb through, the radio waves you listen to.”

In 2004, RSE students produced an infomercial for the school disguised as a documentary called “What the Bleep do we Know!?” The film grossed \$10 million in the United States but was panned by critics. “New Age hooley disguised as a scientific documentary about quantum physics,” is how Jack Garner of the *Rochester [N.Y.] Democrat and Chronicle* summed it up.

Appearing in the film is Irishman Míceál Ledwith, a former monsignor in the Catholic Church, adviser to the pope, and president at St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth, an Irish seminary dating back to 1518.

Ledwith resigned abruptly in 1994 after allegations of pedophilia, which were later settled out of court, and was defrocked by the Vatican in 2005.

Ledwith, who is part of Knight’s inner circle and has been a student at RSE since 1989, can be seen in the full-length, 16-hour video of the 2011 wine ceremony, where he takes the stage with Knight about seven hours in, propping himself up on Ramtha’s ornate throne.

“Fuck Jehovah,” Knight proclaims, speaking in Ramtha’s voice and outing Jesus as a fellow alien who came to this planet to basically teach the same things. From the same stage, Ledwith denounces the biblical God as “fickle, capricious, psychotic, neurotic, and insecure, and we are supposed to believe that he is the creator God.” Knight adds that God is a “psychotic, insecure son of a bitch,” which draws a chuckle from the former priest. Then they dance.

#### **Of Orbs and Soap Bubbles**

Promoting Ramtha is serious business. Knight oversees 80 employees. In the past, students have paid \$1,000 or more to participate in events where crowds often reached a thousand people or more. The school currently holds about 50 events a year, has published more than 600 books, CDs and

**“I am appalled by Ms. Knight’s outrageous anti-Mexican, anti-Catholic raging. These vile, racist, and divisive comments against responsible and caring people have no place in Thurston County, or anywhere else.”**

videos, and has material translated into 18 languages.

Knight is fiercely protective of her kingdom. When a woman in Berlin, Germany, Judith Ravell, claimed that she was also channeling Ramtha, Knight took her to court and won the copyright to Ramtha’s teachings. Later, after another woman, Whitewind Weaver, who had attended a dozen events at RSE, imparted Ramtha’s teachings in an event of her own, Knight sued her as well, and was awarded \$10,000 in 2008.

Currently, Knight is involved in legal action against those who released the hate-filled video clips to the Internet in 2012. The efforts of both Coverdale of Yelm and McCarthy of New Zealand to expose the darker side of the Enlightened One have landed them in a courtroom facing Knight. They are supported by a growing online community of ex-RSE students critical of Knight, who they describe as a dangerous cult leader. Coverdale is appealing a \$600,000 judgment against her for releasing the videos,

while McCarthy has a court date in May.

“The whole idea of Ramtha seemed absolute nonsense. But the RSE students I met were idealistic, intelligent, well educated and very caring, hardly the sort cult members typify, and besides I could just walk away anytime. I was convinced to just give it a try,” says McCarthy, who left the school in 1995 after seven years.

“Most people who attend the RSE flowery love bomb introductory events will be drawn in by very appealing concepts and promises. The promoters will appear smart, happy and very supportive. Nothing like typical cult behavior and recruitment techniques would be recognizable,” he adds. “The trap is set by J.Z. Knight, and those attending are clueless to the cult persuasion techniques they could fall prey to.”

It’s early March 2014, and about 30 students have come to Yelm for a “Beginner’s Event” at a cost of \$450 apiece. They’ve brought sleeping bags and pillows, and are sprawled out on the floor waiting for instruction. It begins, as always, with a blast of upbeat pop music, which means the students are to assemble and dance. The schedule is rigorous, from dawn until well past dusk. Most of them sleep in the arena or camp on the compound. There are live lectures from some of the seven RSE teachers anointed by Knight, video lessons from Knight, and a number of spiritual exercises designed to expand the mind.

The music builds to a crescendo as students sit in the lotus position doing “C&E,” a meditative breathing technique which involves clenching the buttocks and thighs followed by forced breaths that make the arena sound like a pit of snakes all hissing in unison. Some students tremble and shout with ecstasy. After about 15 minutes, they don their rubber boots and rain jackets, collect two different cards with drawings of objects or concepts they covet, and proceed to a two-acre fenced paddock. They pin their cards to various places around the paddock, don their blindfolds, spin around and then attempt to find their own cards using only their minds to guide them.



Several times a year, up to 1,000 students flock to the 80-acre Ramtha School of Enlightenment, where they live in tents and receive doses of cosmic wisdom they believe are imparted by an ancient "Lemurian warrior."

committee, we are proactive in education, and this is not who we are."

Knight dismisses Coverdale as a woman who "couldn't keep the man she was after for more than three weeks and hated me for it for the rest of her life. I never had a conversation with her. She's somebody who wants to be famous and is a very jealous and envious, controlling person that thought they could make some money off of me," she claims. "People who say those things, we are taught by the Ram, are really speaking about themselves, it's the Jung concept of the shadow."

Knight vehemently objects to her school being labeled as a cult, which she considers another four-letter word. She says she's tired after 38 years of channeling Ramtha, and plans to retire from the business side of things and write books.

By all appearances, that doesn't mean she's planning to go easy on Coverdale and McCarthy. "Those tapes were illegal from the get-go, and that they were distributed, edited and chopped to make us look like bigots and hateful people when nothing could be further from the truth, nothing!" she charges. "I will not let other people rewrite our history!"

Coverdale, for her part, is not backing down. "Although admittedly, as a rule, the cult does not have as one of its ideologies hating Mexicans or Jewish people or gay people or Catholics, J.Z. Knight herself is proving she does as her [drinking] increases and she is unable to keep up the love act she had going in the '80s. It is beyond hate speech," Coverdale says.

"In America, there are many First Amendment rights I agree with, even if I disagree with what is being said. Where I get concerned is when you have a large group of people that believe they are hearing from a powerful enlightened entity, creating an 'us versus them' situation." ▲

The previous evening, the small class of initiates was joined by an international crowd of around 400 local students — including many young children — who filled the arena, dancing together with joyful abandon as the music throbbed at what was undoubtedly the most happening night spot in the entire county.

During the five-day retreat they'll learn about orbs, that cabbages scream when you cut them, that the spirit looks like a soap bubble, and that Ramtha has the ability to conjure up spirits such as "Mothman" (along with photographic proof).

They'll see photos of grinning "ramsters," as the townies call them, holding up checks for various amounts from Ramtha-inspired wins in the lottery or at the nearby casino, and be lectured on quantum physics. There's not a whisper of hate, Ramtha is not in attendance (although staff tell students he is always here), and toasts are made with water glasses.

### Satire or Simply Slurs?

To this day, there have been no apologies or retractions of the hate speech that has caused RSE such embarrassment. One is not needed, her defenders insist, pointing out that Knight employs

lapsed Catholics, former Jews, a lesbian and a Mexican-born man as part of her inner circle. They say her remarks were taken out of context, invoking the example of satirist Steven Colbert telling his audience that the poor should be euthanized. One RSE teacher, Jaime Leal-Anaya, Mexican by birth, explains that Jesus was also taken out of context in the early days of Christianity, and that people mistook his followers for cannibals when Jesus told them to eat of his body, and drink of his blood.

Knight herself consents to answer questions by telephone on day four of the Beginner's Event. Although she's at home in the mansion next door, a recent channeling session in Mexico and the death of a beloved pet have left her bedridden.

Unlike her staff, Knight maintains that the offending videos were heavily edited. "We have a very sophisticated videography streaming department. We know what edited looks like," she says, claiming she would never go through a "multi-million dollar lawsuit" if there were any truth to the clips. Her litigiousness, she explains, stems from trying to protect her business and company secrets. "We are a revered school around the world, I was part of the president's re-election

# For the Record

FIRST QUARTER OF 2014

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES listed here are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the almost 260,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2012 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2014. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website.

SPLCENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

## ALABAMA

### Montgomery • Feb. 3, 2014

Former Klansman Steven Joshua Dinkle, 28, pleaded guilty to hate crime and obstruction of justice charges for burning a cross in a black neighborhood in Ozark, Ala., in 2009. Dinkle was the local leader of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

## CALIFORNIA

### Davis • March 14, 2014

Clayton Garzon pleaded no contest to felony assault likely to produce great bodily injury, felony hate crime and misdemeanor battery with serious bodily injury for beating a gay man in March 2013. Garzon received a split sentence in which he will serve five years in jail and then be placed on mandatory supervision for 28 months.



Hammett

### Marysville • March 25, 2014

White supremacist Billy James Hammett, 30, was sentenced to 87 months in prison for a 2011 racially motivated attack against a white man and a black woman. Hammett was also ordered to pay \$175 in

restitution and serve three years of supervised release following his prison sentence.

### Sacramento • March 11, 2014

Anthony Merrell Tyler, 33, pleaded guilty to participating in a 2011 racially motivated attack on a white man and a black woman.

### Sacramento • March 19, 2014

Reputed white supremacist Brian Keith Jones Jr. was convicted of first-degree murder in the fatal shooting of a black motorist in 2012.

### San Jose • Jan. 7, 2014

Logan Beaschler, 18, pleaded not guilty to misdemeanor hate crime and battery charges after allegedly bullying his black roommate in 2013. Beaschler is one of several white students at San Jose State University accused of allegedly taunting their black roommate with racial slurs and hanging a bicycle lock around his neck. Joseph Bomgardner, 19, and Colin Warren, 18, also face misdemeanor hate crime and battery charges in connection with the incident.

## FLORIDA

### Deland • March 30, 2014

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

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago • March 19, 2014

Joseph Firek, 59, was charged with first-degree murder and a hate crime for allegedly using racial slurs and punching Michael Tingling, 59, during a confrontation over inappropriate gestures Firek reportedly made to Tingling's

daughter. Tingling, a native of Belize, collapsed and died after the fight due to heart problems and stress from the altercation.

### Orland Park • March 25, 2014

A bullet was fired through the dome of a mosque during a prayer service.

## LOUISIANA

### Eunice • March 22, 2014

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

## MISSISSIPPI

### Oxford • Feb. 16, 2014

A noose was tied around the neck of a statue of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi. In 1962 Meredith became the first black student to enroll in what was then an all-white Southern college.

## NEW YORK

### Suffolk • March 24, 2014

Former Suffolk County Police Sgt. Scott A. Greene, 50, pleaded not guilty to six counts of fourth-degree grand larceny as a hate crime and other charges for allegedly stopping at least a half dozen Latino motorists and stealing their cash while patting them down.

## NORTH DAKOTA

### Leith • Jan. 24, 2014

White supremacist Kynan Dutton, 29, pleaded guilty to misdemeanor counts of menacing and disorderly conduct after he and fellow white supremacist Craig Cobb were accused of terrorizing residents while armed with guns in November. Dutton was sentenced to time served and two years of probation.



Grigsby

## OREGON

### Portland • March 11, 2014

White supremacist Holly Ann Grigsby pleaded guilty to racketeering in connection with a 2011 road trip that allegedly culminated in the murders of four people. Grigsby and her boyfriend, fellow white supremacist David Pedersen, allegedly killed Pedersen's father and stepmother, a black man and a 19-year-old stranger who was singled out because they thought he was Jewish.

## TEXAS

### Fort Worth • Feb. 20, 2014

Brice Johnson, 19, was charged with willfully causing bodily injury to a person because of sexual orientation after allegedly beating a gay man in September.

### Rhame • March 22, 2014

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

## VIRGINIA

### Chesterfield • March 20, 2014

Fliers from the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were left in driveways of residences. ▲

# Lovin' on Hitler

Not content to simply 'correct' the history of the Nazi regime, *The Barnes Review* is now publishing paeans to the führer

BY RYAN LENZ

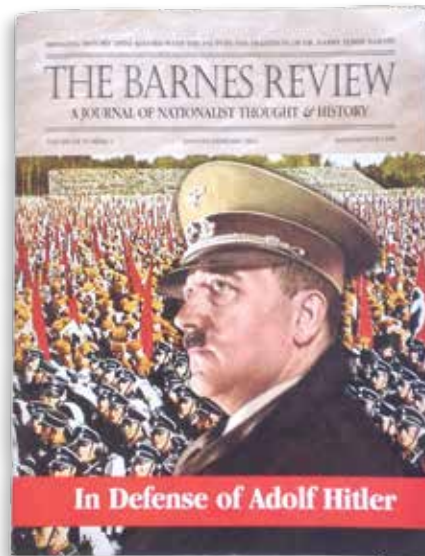
Nearly 70 years after Adolf Hitler's death, you would think the record would be straight on the Third Reich and the Holocaust. After all, few periods in history have been subjected to as much detailed scholarly review as Hitler's reign.

But then the denizens of *The Barnes Review* (TBR), a bimonthly journal dedicated to historical revisionism and denial of the Holocaust, aren't really scholars. So it's only a mild surprise that they're now turning themselves inside out to make Hitler into a stand-up guy — the unfortunate victim of a slanderous campaign waged by those who worship at the "altar of the Holocaust industry."

In TBR's January/February issue, under the unambiguous title of "In Defense of Adolf Hitler," the editors have thrown themselves behind the führer with all the enthusiasm of a *Better Homes and Gardens* special section dedicated to growing the best tulips. But even they understand they've crossed a line — a fact that Michael Collins Piper, a contributing editor, concedes in the lead editorial.

"[W]e should acknowledge that many of our new readers may, frankly, be startled by the theme of this issue, which — right up front — declares itself as standing 'In Defense of Adolf Hitler,'" Piper wrote. "There aren't many magazines anywhere — maybe we should say 'there aren't any magazines anywhere' — that would take that position. Well, TBR does, without hesitation and with no apology."

Well, color us unsurprised. When it comes to the distortion of facts in order to manipulate history, TBR remains in a class of its own. And it has pretty well always operated without hesitation or apologies.



Named after Harry Elmer Barnes, a prominent 20th-century anti-Semite and Holocaust denier, TBR was started and is still published by Willis Carto, who also founded the extreme-right Liberty Lobby and the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review. Its mission over 20 years has been to bring "history into accord with the facts" in all kinds of cases. But in reality, it is obsessed with denying the Holocaust and denouncing the alleged evils of Jews. Today, it sells an "official" version of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, along with dubious books like *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence* and *The Work of All Ages: The Ongoing Plot to Rule the World From Biblical Times to the Present*.

TBR even once suggested that Hitler was unfairly overlooked as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. Seriously.

Now, with its special issue defending "one of the most misrepresented figures

in all of history," you might expect a nice collection of intriguing questions from TBR's intrepid editors. When he wasn't plotting world domination, wasn't Hitler an avid lover of animals? When he wasn't dealing with the "Jewish question," didn't he have a reputation for being great with kids? What was his personal recipe for Wiener Schnitzel, anyway? They might even have offered an article on Nazi grooming — "The Toothbrush Moustache: Time to Bring it Back?"

But they didn't. When you look closely, TBR's defense of the Nazi mass murderer relies on criticizing the enemies of the Third Reich and lionizing Hitler's programs. There's an attack on the "air terrorism" of the British. There's a defense of the "loving and caring" Lebensborn program for unwed mothers, where "pure" Aryan women were encouraged to mate with SS officers and which included the kidnapping of perhaps a quarter million children from their parents.

The same issue also carries "The Hitler Youth Vindicated," by Daniel W. Michaels, a former Defense Department official who says the paramilitary group merely instructed children in "the promotion of love of country and people; enjoyment of honest and open combat and of healthy physical activity; veneration of ethical and spiritual values; the placing of the common good ahead of individual gain; and the rejection of all values originating from Jewry."

Still, even TBR admits that Hitler had a drawback.

"His major fault, if he can be criticized for that, is that he cared for and loved his own people, the German working class, who were deprived and robbed of their wealth and capital by the international bankers," Cassian d'Ornellas, a retired teacher, wrote in one essay. D'Ornellas' comment comes in an article that contains an important and never-before-reported fact: Contrary to what readers of TBR might think, Hitler was not, in fact, secretly funded by the Rothschilds. ▲

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