

Intelligence Report

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SPRING 2016 // ISSUE 160

THE YEAR IN
**HATE AND
EXTREMISM**



PLUS:

**ARYAN NATIONS DEFLATES
'SOVEREIGNS' IN MONTANA**

A Year of Living Dangerously

BY MARK POTOK

Anyone who read the newspapers last year knows that 2015 saw some horrific political violence. A white supremacist murdered nine black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C. Islamist radicals killed four U.S. Marines in Chattanooga, Tenn., and 14 people in San Bernardino, Calif. An anti-abortion extremist shot three people to death at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs, Colo.

But not many understand just how bad it really was.

Here are some of the lesser-known political cases that cropped up: A West Virginia man was arrested for allegedly plotting to attack a courthouse and murder first responders; a Missourian was accused of planning to murder police officers; a former Congressional candidate in Tennessee allegedly conspired to mass-murder Muslims; a New York white supremacist blew his own leg off as he built bombs; and three North Carolinians were accused in a plot to attack the military.

There's more. A Pennsylvania man who ran a "White Church" pleaded guilty to manufacturing 20 bombs; a New Yorker allegedly collected heavy weapons to murder Jews and African Americans; three Georgia militiamen went to prison for plotting to attack utilities and start a war with the government; a West Virginia "sovereign citizen" was accused of attempting to overthrow the state government; two white supremacists in Virginia were charged with buying explosives from undercover agents in order to attack black churches and synagogues; and a racist Minnesotan was arrested for shooting five Black Lives Matter protesters.

Although the number of deaths attributable to domestic terrorism still was very small compared to, say, cancer or traffic accident deaths, such killings cause far greater social damage because they produce shock waves in targeted communities and also tend to split Americans along pre-existing fault lines like race.

The violence arose in a landscape dominated by losses for those on the political far right. Hardliners were enraged by the Supreme Court's legalization of same-sex marriage; pressure to accept Syrian refugees; President Obama's executive orders meant to stall deportation of many undocumented workers; the attack on the Confederate battle flag that resulted from a flag-enthusiast's mass murder in Charleston; and the demographic browning of the U.S. population.

At the same time, numerous studies have shown that the white working class in America is under increasing pressure. Real wages have been declining for years,

suicide and drug overdose deaths are way up, less educated workers increasingly are finding it difficult to earn a living, and income inequality is at near historic levels. Of course, all that and more is true for most racial minorities, but the pressures on whites who have historically been more privileged is fueling real fury.

It was in this milieu that the number of groups on the radical right grew last year, according to the latest count by the Southern Poverty Law Center. The numbers of hate and of antigovernment "Patriot" groups were both up by about 14% over 2014, for a new total of 1,890 groups. While most categories of hate groups declined, there were significant increases among Klan groups, which were energized by the battle over the Confederate battle flag, and racist black separatist groups, which grew largely because of highly publicized incidents of police shootings of black men.

In the second half of the year, a new factor came into play: a presidential race that grew more ugly by the month, beginning with Donald Trump's description of undocumented Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers and culminating, arguably, with his call for a temporary ban on Muslim immigration. Even as more establishment Republicans held back from most criticism, Trump and other candidates increasingly injected real hate into the electoral contest.

The pace of radical activity did not slow down as the new year began. On Jan. 2, 2016, two sons of Cliven Bundy — the extremist Nevada rancher whose 2014 armed showdown with federal officials ended with the government backing down — broke into and occupied a federal wildlife refuge near Burns, Ore. Ammon and Ryan Bundy, who led some two dozen armed militiamen in the occupation, said they would remain until two local ranchers serving time for arson on federal lands were freed and federal lands were handed over to the county. Later, one of their number told reporters that the refuge would "never" be returned to the government.

At first, these kinds of assertions drew some lukewarm support in the area. But locals quickly tired of the occupiers' antics and self-absorbed claims. In late January, *The Oregonian* editorialized against the "delusional behavior" of "Ammon Bundy's gang," saying it had "mugged democracy." It went on to cite a Democratic congressman describing the men as "terrorists."

It's time for others to speak up, too. As our country grows increasingly polarized and angry, politicians, pundits, preachers and other leaders should be working to bring us together — and to battle the anger and hate that surrounds us. ▲



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The year 2015 was marked by record levels of violence from domestic American extremists, including jihadists, white supremacists, antigovernment “Patriots” and others. Accompanying what has been described as the worst such violence since 1995 has been a growth in hate groups and so-called Patriot, or militia, groups, both of which expanded their numbers by almost 15% after a period of decreases.



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The strangers showed up in St. Marie, Mont., three years ago, and their weird, Constitution-quoting signs began to pop up soon after. Today, the few remaining residents of this abandoned Air Force base worry that the “sovereign citizens” who bought hundreds of empty homes are building a community for radicals.

COVER ART BY ALEX WILLIAMSON

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Sixteen years after a Southern Poverty Law Center lawsuit crippled the Aryan Nations and 12 years after the death of its founder, what was once one of America’s most infamous neo-Nazi groups has all but faded into history. Its last would-be leader has closed up shop, while another wannabe führer is now in prison.

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A year that began with bloody Islamist attacks on Paris’ *Charlie Hebdo* magazine and ended with jihadist massacres in France and San Bernardino, Calif., has sparked a major wave of violence and hatred directed at American Muslims. And the fact that major presidential candidates are shrilly attacking Muslims hasn’t helped.

Intelligence Report

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Not everyone takes the militiamen who occupied a federal wildlife center in Oregon seriously. A litany of "erotic fan fiction" lampoons the cowboy constitutionalists.

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.

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[HACK ATTACKS]

Anonymous' Planned Outing of Klan Members Falls Flat

Operation KKK did not go as planned. Instead, the plan by the hacker collective Anonymous to reveal the identities of up to 1,000 members of the Ku Klux Klan was marred by incomplete information and the premature posting of data by an overeager copycat who got almost all of his or her facts wrong.

In late October, Anonymous, a “hacktivist” group known for tangling with the Church of Scientology, the gay-bashing Westboro Baptist Church and even the Islamic State, declared that it had collected a trove of identifying information about KKK members that it would soon be posting online.

A few days later, on Nov. 1, a list of names appeared on Pastebin,

a text-sharing site — including four U.S. senators and five big-city mayors. But many names on the list (including, it seems clear, those of the maligned politicians) did not belong to KKK members. A Twitter account thought to be the “official” voice of the Anonymous hackers who originally announced the planned data dump, distanced itself from the Pastebin list, and when the “official” list was released on Nov. 5, it consisted mostly of online handles and email addresses, a decision Anonymous said was made in the interest of its victims’ safety. The most famous name on the official Anonymous list was that of Frazier Glenn Miller, who on

Nov. 11 was sentenced to death for murdering three people at two Jewish centers in Kansas.

In the end, almost no one was satisfied by the outcome of Operation KKK 2015. Not the intended victims, of course (except perhaps Frank Ancona, imperial wizard of a Missouri-based group calling itself the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, who told Vice News that he expected the hack attack to “bring some positive publicity” and a boost in membership.) And not Anonymous, whose fairly cautious effort of Nov. 5 was both upstaged and tarnished by the more sensational but almost entirely discredited Pastebin dump of Nov. 1.

Plans by the Anonymous hacking collective to out Klan members' identities ran into trouble when an early copycat made a series of baseless allegations.

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

Anonymous' beef with the KKK dates back to the November 2014 protests in Ferguson, Mo., that followed the decision not to prosecute Darren Wilson, the white police officer who fatally shot unarmed black teenager Michael Brown. At that time, Anonymous retaliated against a Klan group that threatened to use "lethal force" against protesters by hacking the group's Twitter account and releasing personal identifying information about its members.

But even when their hearts are in the right place, the "virtual vigilantes" (as Vox termed them) of Anonymous can make mistakes. In 2014, before Wilson's identity was made public, the group released the name of a police officer its members believed had shot and killed Brown. They got the wrong guy, and then couldn't stem the avalanche of death threats sent to their accidental victim.

Soon after Operation KKK simmered down, a Vermont prosecutor mounted a more focused attack on Klan activity when he charged a Klan activist with disorderly conduct, with a hate crime enhancement, for allegedly targeting an African-American woman and a Latina with fliers promoting the Klan. On Nov. 10, authorities in Morrisville arrested William Schenk, of North Carolina, saying that the 21-year-old's intentional delivery of KKK materials to minority subjects' homes constituted a threat and was not protected by the First Amendment. If convicted on all charges, Schenk — who was on probation in his home state in connection with a 2011 arson — faces more than four years in prison.

[EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM]

Candidates for President, Other Offices, Voice Extremist Views

Donald Trump described President Dwight D. Eisenhower's brutal "Operation Wetback" as a "very humane" way to accomplish mass deportation, responded to the beating of a Black Lives Matter protester at a campaign rally by saying, "Maybe he should have been roughed up," and claimed to have personally seen "thou-

President Vladimir Putin all went to school together in Moscow in 1968.

Ted Cruz suggested baselessly that the man who murdered three at a Colorado Planned Parenthood (see story, p. 7) was a "transgendered leftist activist." Mike Huckabee lauded American Family Radio — which features among its pundits Bryan Fischer, who claims that LGBT people were responsible for the Holocaust and that because American Indians failed to embrace Christianity, they deserved to have their land taken by European settlers — for offering viewpoints that people



sands and thousands" of New Jersey Muslims celebrating the 9/11 attacks — something that both law enforcement and media investigations have thoroughly debunked.

Ben Carson said he found the notion of gun control more disturbing than the sight of a bullet-riddled dead body, believed the biblical figure Joseph built the Egyptian pyramids to serve as granaries, and asserted that Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei of Iran and Russian

"are not going to get on NPR." Marco Rubio selected a man who believes President Obama was fathered by a communist pedophile as co-chair of his Alabama campaign committee.

These men are GOP front-runners — individuals who, if the 2016 presidential race continues along the same path in which it began, stand a reasonable chance of being elected to what is arguably the most powerful position on earth.

It's hard to say which candidate's rhetoric is most appalling.

Strange brew: Political races, especially for the Republican nomination, have been marked by an extraordinary level of extremist, demeaning and factually untrue rhetoric.

AP IMAGES/JOHN LOCHER

Donald Trump, whose combination of nationalism, populism and xenophobia has inspired serious analysts on both the left and right to describe him as a fascist or quasi-fascist, perhaps edges out the competition in this regard. That's buttressed by some of his fans' propensity to shout white nationalist slogans at rallies and invoke his nativist platform to defend anti-immigrant violence, as two Massachusetts men allegedly did after their August arrest for beating a homeless Mexican immigrant.

But even Cruz and Huckabee, who are widely considered more serious and relatively "moderate" contenders for office, spoke at a November "National Religious Liberties Conference" organized by Kevin Swanson, a pastor and advocate who believes LGBT people should be put to death and says America should "repent of Harry Potter." It would be funny if it weren't so scary.

Things are bad in some places at the state and local level, too. In Knox County, Tenn., Tom Pierce, candidate for county commissioner for the Traditionalist Worker's Party (TWP) — an organization recently created as the political wing of the Traditional Youth Network hate group — argues in his platform that anyone who receives an abortion should be executed. Supporters of Tony Hovater, TWP's candidate for the New Carlisle, Ohio, City Council, had to clarify that Hovater was not about "white power" but rather "white political power."

Meanwhile, Augustus Sol Invictus, the Florida Libertarian Party's candidate for U.S. Senate, admitted in October that he once "sacrificed an animal to the god of wilderness" and confirmed, "Yes, I drank the goat's blood."

On the bright side, if there is one, Invictus, a neo-Pagan, is unlikely to mount a campaign to rid the country of religious



Assistant Attorney General for National Security John Carlin explains details of a new post focusing on domestic terrorism.

minorities — more than can be said for some serious contenders for higher office.

[LAW ENFORCEMENT]

DOJ Announces New Post Focused on Domestic Terrorism

In April 2009, the political right exploded with rage after law enforcement sources leaked a Department of Homeland Security (DHS) report warning of a resurgence of right-wing extremism in the wake of President Obama's election and a desperate economic downturn. Under tremendous pressure from politicians and right-wing groups, DHS essentially retracted the report and allowed its non-Islamic, domestic terrorism analysis unit to go fallow.

In the aftermath, federal intelligence and law enforcement agencies seemed to largely lose interest in non-Islamic domestic terrorists, even as evidence continued to accumulate that such homegrown violent extremists pose a deadly threat to the United States, just as jihadists do. Numbers vary,

but a newly updated 2015 study by the New America Foundation reported that since 9/11, non-Islamic right-wing domestic terrorists have killed about the same number of people in the United States as jihadists have.

Recognizing that reality, the U.S. Department of Justice in October announced the creation of the Domestic Terrorism Counsel, a new office that will "serve as our main point of contact for U.S. Attorneys working on domestic terrorism matters" and coordinate with the Attorney General's newly revived Domestic Terrorism Executive Committee.

Assistant Attorney General John P. Carlin, who invoked the June 2015 assassination of nine African Americans gathered for Bible study by a white supremacist and the 2010 murder of two West Memphis, Ark., police officers by a father-son team associated with the antigovernment "sovereign citizens" movement, said he and his DOJ colleagues would "re-dedicate ourselves to identify, disrupt and prevent domestic threats" and "do all we can to identify, track and defuse those who would engage in large-scale acts of violence."

Training for the race war: Robert Doyle, Ronald Chaney and Charles Halderman III are accused of plotting attacks on black churches and Jewish synagogues.

Antigovernment “Patriot” extremists and conspiracy theorists reacted to the announcement predictably.

“DOJ’s ‘domestic terrorism counsel’ will politically persecute libertarians and conservatives,” warned Infowars.com, chief vehicle for antigovernment grandee and Internet radio personality Alex Jones.

“DOJ Wants to Arrest You for Terrorism for Not Liking Them,” wrote Larken Rose, a blogger who made news in 2011 with a post titled, “When Should You Shoot a Cop?” The post suggested that it is acceptable to kill law enforcement officers if you perceive them to be violating your constitutional rights.

“Anybody with a gun now, in my opinion, is an extremist, at least as viewed by this government,” John Whitehead of the far-right Rutherford Institute added. “You’re going to be watched.”

Since few details are known about how the new office will work, opponents of the DOJ’s move focused instead on past government efforts to identify and track domestic terrorists. Many obsessed over the role of the Southern Poverty Law Center, publisher of the *Intelligence Report*, which has been pushing for something like the new counsel post for years.

Tom Fitton, head of Judicial Watch, an antigovernment activist law firm with conspiracist leanings, told the far-right WorldNetDaily (WND) that the SPLC and DOJ were colluding to create a totalitarian state that would “target those who oppose the Obama agenda.” Paraphrasing Fitton, WND’s Leo Hohmann claimed that “if a black man kills a white cop, it’s ignored by the Justice Department and left to local law enforcement. But if a mentally ill white loner who can’t find a girlfriend shoots up a school, it’s seen as ‘right-wing extremism.’”



[DOMESTIC TERRORISM]

Principals in Race War Plot Said to Practice Neo-Pagan Asatru Religion

Law enforcement officials in November arrested five suspects in connection with an ongoing investigation of a group of white supremacists in Virginia alleged to be plotting to bomb and shoot black churches and Jewish synagogues, with the aim of igniting a race war. At least two of the conspirators were alleged adherents of a racist version of a neo-Pagan theology that has captured the imagination of hundreds, and possibly thousands, of prison inmates.

In simultaneous raids, FBI agents arrested Robert C. Doyle, 34, Ronald Beasley Chaney III, 33, and Charles D. Halderman, 30, in connection with the race war plot. Henrico County law enforcement officials arrested Chaney’s father, Ronald Beasley Chaney Jr., 58, and his wife, Terry Gun Chaney, 52, on state firearms and drug charges.

Those arrested faced a potpourri of state and federal charges. Doyle and Chaney III, who allegedly both met with undercover agents posing as illegal arms dealers and discussed their plan to rob and kill a local silver and jewelry dealer, rob an armored car, and use the proceeds to purchase an

arsenal and train for the coming race war, were charged with conspiracy to possess firearms after having been convicted of felonies. Halderman, who has 17 previous felony convictions and a history of associating with the Aryan Brotherhood, a Nazi-themed prison gang, was charged with conspiracy to commit robbery.

All three were ordered held without bond.

Chaney’s parents did not face federal charges and were not identified as co-conspirators in the race war plot, but were held on firearms and drug charges.

The FBI investigation began in September, when agents received information that Doyle and a group of fellow travelers were going to meet at his Chesterfield, Va., home “to discuss acting out in furtherance of their extremist beliefs by shooting or bombing the occupants of black churches and Jewish synagogues.” Doyle and Chaney III ordered firearms from an undercover agent on Oct. 25, and Chaney was arrested Nov. 8, immediately after handing over cash for the purchase. Doyle, Halderman and the elder Chaney were arrested later at other locations.

According to federal officials, Doyle and Chaney III adhere to Asatru, an offshoot of the racist Odinist religion that emphasizes the magical elements of pre-Christian European polytheism,

RIVERSIDE REGIONAL JAIL/HENRICO SHERIFFS OFFICE

paying homage to Norse gods like Thor. The religion is practiced by many incarcerated individuals, some of whom maintain their beliefs when they exit the prison system. Adherents of Asatru are not uniformly racist, and it is officially recognized as a religion in Iceland, where practitioners have avoided racist interpretations of the faith.

[ANTI-ABORTION EXTREMISM]

Killings at Planned Parenthood Follow Deceptive Attack Video

Three people have been murdered, and countless terrorized, in a frightening cluster of attacks on Planned Parenthood facilities across America.

On Nov. 27, Robert Lewis Dear, 57, a man with a history of vandalizing clinics who allegedly once described the murderous anti-abortion Army of God as “heroes,” holed up in a Colorado Springs, Colo., Planned Parenthood, allegedly using an assault rifle to kill three people and wound nine before surrendering to police after a gun battle that lasted hours.

The dead included Officer Garrett Swasey, 44, a member of the University of Colorado campus police force who rushed to the scene along with dozens of other area law enforcement officers, Jennifer Markovsky, 35, a stay-at-home mother who was accompanying a friend to the clinic, and 29-year-old Ke'Arre Stewart, an Army veteran and father of two. Five other officers suffered non-fatal gunshot wounds.

In court a few days later, Dear interrupted proceedings to shout that he was a “warrior for the babies.”

Other attacks on Planned Parenthood facilities, including



“Will the West endure, or disappear by the century’s end as another lost civilization? Mass immigration, if it continues, will be more decisive in deciding the fate of the West than Islamist terrorism.”

—Former presidential candidate **PAT BUCHANAN**, in an **Aug. 18** blog post praising Donald Trump and Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) for their hostility to immigrants



“They want more and more until they want your little kids.”

—Right-wing author **BILL FEDERER**, on LGBT people during an **Aug. 28** rally in Cape Girardeau, La.



“You thugs, you Black Lives Matter bullshit... . We gonna hunt you sons of bitches down.”

—Former Texas prison guard **NATHAN ENER**, in a YouTube rant publicized on **Sept. 1**, threatening violence against black activists while brandishing a shotgun and raging about the murder of Harris County Deputy Sheriff Darren Goforth



“[T]hey are both liberal Jews.”

—**JAN MICKELSON** of Iowa’s WHO Radio, on **Sept. 9**, explaining why Supreme Court justices Elena Kagan and Ruth Bader Ginsberg should have recused themselves from ruling on same-sex marriage



“It’s 9/11 week. Use coupon code ‘muslim’ at our site for \$25 off any gun.”

—Florida Gun Supply owner **ANDY HALLINAN**, who says his store is a “Muslim Free Zone” and brags about his friendship with oft-arrested Trayvon Martin killer George Zimmerman, in a **Sept. 9** tweet advertising a sale at his Inverness shop



“I’m going to knock on your fucking door, and I’m going to check your mom’s ID, and all your fucking cousins and relatives, and when they give me a fake fucking name, I’m going to have immigration pick everybody up so they can go back to the fucking border or wherever the fuck they came from.”

—Sgt. **ROY BORDAMONTE**, former head of the Passaic, N.J., Police Department’s bias crimes unit, who was put on desk duty after a local citizen on **Sept. 10** publicized a video of his threatening tirade against a group of young people of Mexican descent



“[S]ub-human creeps.”

—Milwaukee County, Wis., Sheriff **DAVID CLARKE** describing the Black Lives Matter movement and calling on police to stop protecting protesters, on the **Sept. 26** edition of “Fox and Friends”



“I would say let the little homo sue all he wants.”

—Lakeland, Tenn., Commissioner **CLARK PLUNK**, in a **Sept. 28** Facebook post attacking a student who took to social media after the Christian Brothers High School barred him from taking a male date to its homecoming dance, then suspended him



“Our nation has gone to Gomorrah and it’s up to us to turn it around.”

—Alabama Board of Education member **BETTY PETERS** (R-District 2), decrying the purportedly “homosexualist” agenda of the Common Core educational standards and the Southern Poverty Law Center, during an **Oct. 21** speech to the Coffee County Republican Women

Robert Lewis Dear has been charged with killing three people at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado — the most dramatic attack on such facilities since a far-right group attacked the organization with deceptive videos.



vehicle parked at a facility under construction in New Orleans.

The rash of anti-abortion violence seemed clearly to have been inspired by a collection of deceptively edited undercover videos accusing Planned Parenthood of illegally selling “body parts from aborted fetuses.” Moments after his arrest, Dear was reported to have told officers “no more baby parts.”

The videos were produced by the Center for Medical Progress (CMP), a group with

four arsons in 74 days and a handful of other criminal or suspicious incidents, preceded the deadly shooting. A clinic in Pullman, Wash., was firebombed in the early hours of Sept. 4, causing damage so extensive that

inspectors deemed the building unsafe. Twenty-eight days later, a clinic in Thousand Oaks, Calif., was attacked in almost the same manner. There were smaller arsons on July 19 at a clinic in Aurora, Ill., and on Aug. 1 against a

close ties to some of America’s hardest-line anti-abortion extremists. Although their claims were quickly debunked by numerous media outlets, the videos nonetheless prompted numerous congressional inquiries and calls

BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

JULY 20

The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals declined neo-Nazi Dennis Mahon’s request to reverse his 2012 conviction for mailing a letter bomb that injured a black city official and two others at the **Scottsdale, Ariz.**, Office of Diversity and Dialogue in 2004. Mahon, who with his twin brother Dennis had ties to the **White Aryan Resistance**, will be 93 years old when his sentence ends in 2044.

JULY 24

A **Marion, N.C.**, man who allegedly wore a **Nazi** uniform while conducting “military training” for hours on end in a wooded area near his parents’

home was arrested on charges of being a felon in possession of a firearm and ordered held without bond. Mark Schmidt, 49, allegedly told an informant he planned to kill people at work and “have a shooting with the ‘pigs’ and/or ‘feds.’” Officials said they were contemplating bringing additional charges.

AUG. 20

A **Lincoln County, Neb.**, jury found longtime **white supremacist** Rudy Stanko guilty of theft by deception. Stanko, who in the early 1990s was briefly named as the heir apparent to the then-leader of the neo-Nazi **World Church of the Creator** and who once

served time for intentionally selling tainted meat to public schools, had advanced \$200 to GERALD PINAULT to build a website for his Nebraska Beef Company. After researching Stanko, Pinault decided to return the \$200 in the form of a money order, which Stanko kept even though he’d also canceled his \$200 check.

AUG. 28

A **Rome, Ga.**, federal judge sentenced three Georgia **militia** members to 12 years each in prison, after they pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy to use weapons of mass destruction. Terry Eugene Peace, Brian Edward Cannon and Corey Robert Wil-

liamson plotted to start an “active revolution against the government” by targeting law enforcement agencies and sabotaging power grids, transfer stations and water treatment facilities. The threesome hoped to spark a declaration of martial law and a subsequent uprising by like-minded militiamen.

SEPT. 2

A **Kansas City** federal judge handed down a 20-year sentence to an avionics technician who tried to explode a car bomb at **Wichita’s** Dwight D. Eisenhower National Airport. Terry Lee Loewen, 60, who in June pleaded guilty to a single count of attempt-

to discontinue all federal funding to Planned Parenthood.

Days after the Colorado massacre, anti-abortion activists were openly blaming Planned Parenthood for causing people to attack it. “Violence is never the answer, but we must start pointing out who is the real culprit. The true instigator of this violence and all violence at any Planned Parenthood facility is Planned Parenthood themselves,” Adams County, Colo., state Rep. JoAnn Windholz wrote in a statement published Dec. 1 by *The Colorado Independent*. “Violence begets violence. So Planned Parenthood: YOU STOP THE VIOLENCE INSIDE YOUR WALLS.”

Sen. Diane Feinstein (D-Calif.) disagreed. In a statement issued following the spate of arsons, she wrote that “toxic rhetoric directed at Planned Parenthood has dangerous consequences. It sends a signal that using violence to close

clinics and intimidate healthcare professionals and women is ‘OK.’ It is not.”

According to the National Abortion Federation, there have been 11 murders, 26 attempted murders, 42 bombings and 182 arsons aimed at abortion clinics and providers since 1977.

[END OF AN ERA]

Key Holocaust Denier and Anti-Semitic Publisher Dies at 89

Willis Carto, one of America’s earliest and most outspoken Holocaust deniers and the founder of numerous radical-right political organizations and publications, died in his home on Oct. 26. He was 89.

Carto, who had become less active in recent years due to old age, was for decades a key figure on the radical right and, early in

his career, had significant contacts with lawmakers. In 1978, he founded America’s first major Holocaust denial outfit, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a pseudo-academic organization that once offered a \$50,000 reward to the first person who could prove Jews were gassed at Auschwitz, then refused to pay the Holocaust survivor who provided documentary evidence. Decades earlier, in the 1950s, he founded Liberty Lobby, a political organization that billed itself as conservative and anti-communist but in fact promoted white supremacist and especially anti-Semitic views.

Carto supported former Alabama Gov. George Wallace’s 1968 presidential campaign, co-authoring a pamphlet, entitled “Stand Up For America: The Story of George C. Wallace,” which heralded the arch-segregationist governor as the only candidate capable of beating “blacky” and the supposedly

ing to use a weapon of mass destruction, told an undercover agent he was waiting for a “green light” from Allah to carry out a suicide attack. He said he was inspired by **Al Qaeda’s** Osama bin Laden and Anwar al-Awlaki.

OCT. 9

A long-haul trucker and former seminarian at the anti-Semitic **Society of Saint Pius X** (SSPX), a “radical traditionalist” Catholic religious order, was arrested in **Menomonie, Wis.**, and extradited to **Coeur d’Alene, Idaho**, to face felony charges of raping two underage boys. Kevin G. Sloniker, 30, reportedly admitted to molesting a total of nine boys

and is suspected of sexually abusing at least eight more. In 2005, Sloniker was reportedly expelled from an SSPX seminary for being mentally unstable after he tried to circumcise himself.

NOV. 5

A **Lexington, S.C.**, judge sentenced August Byron Kreis III, 61, a former **Pennsylvania** leader in white supremacist groups including the **Ku Klux Klan**, the **Posse Comitatus** and the **Aryan Nations**, to 50 years in prison for one count of criminal sexual conduct involving a child and two of committing lewd

acts on a child. “I will always hate the Jew,” an unrepentant Kreis, who once proposed an anti-Jewish alliance between **Al Qaeda** and the Aryan Nations, said at sentencing.

NOV. 10

A judge in **Johnson County, Kan.**, sentenced former **Ku Klux Klan** leader and **White Patriot Party** founder Frazier Glenn Miller Jr. to death for murdering three people at two **Overland Park** Jewish centers in April 2014. Miller, 75, said he shot his victims — all of whom were Christian — because he wanted to kill Jews before he died. In a

related case, John Mark Reidle of **Aurora, Mo.**, faces up to 10 years when he is sentenced for acting as a straw buyer for the weapon Miller used.

NOV. 12

An **Akron, Ohio**, man was arrested after allegedly using social media to call for support of the **Islamic State** in September. Terrence J. McNeil, 25, was also accused of posting the addresses of dozens of military personnel on a Tumblr account, telling readers to “[k]ill them in their own lands, behead them in their own homes, stab them to death as they walk their streets thinking that they are safe.”



End of an era: Willis Carto, who spent some 60 years as a leading propagandist on the radical right, died in October.



Communist-dominated federal government. He drifted further from the political mainstream after Wallace's defeat. In 1984, he founded the Populist Party, which fielded Klansman-turned-politician David Duke as its presidential candidate in 1988, followed by Green Beret-turned-militia enthusiast Bo Gritz in 1992. Gritz won 0.14% of the popular vote, more than twice the amount Duke had managed to accumulate.

In the early 2000s, having lost control of Liberty Lobby and its tabloid newspaper, *The Spotlight*, in a series of acrimonious legal battles in which former colleagues accused him of fraud and financial mismanagement, Carto founded *The Barnes Review*, a journal devoted to Holocaust denial, and *American Free Press*, a racist and anti-Semitic reboot of *The Spotlight* that also peddles UFO conspiracy theories and bills itself as "America's last real newspaper." The *Free Press* provided a platform to numerous up-and-coming stars of the radical right, including Bill White, a neo-Nazi from Roanoke, Va., who is serving a lengthy term in prison for repeatedly threatening perceived enemies with violence.

Duke, Gritz and White were just a few of many important radical-right figures Carto inspired and promoted. William Pierce, founder of the National Alliance (which was, until Pierce's death in 2002, America's most important neo-Nazi organization), was once such an admirer. Carto also corresponded with James von Brunn, a neo-Nazi and Holocaust denier who murdered a security guard at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in 2009.

Like von Brunn, Carto fought in World War II, and, like von Brunn, he came to believe he had fought for the wrong side. In its obituary for Carto, the *Free Press* quoted its founder sarcastically characterizing his military service as an effort "to fight for the glorious democracy of my country, the survival of Soviet communism, a third and fourth term for Roosevelt, a chance to kill Germans by the thousands as desired by Churchill, Eisenhower and the Zionists, part of Palestine for them as a bonus, vast riches for the bankers and war suppliers, coffin makers and flag makers."

Carto received a Purple Heart after being wounded in the Philippines and, despite his

contempt for the cause most of them died for, apparently wished to be buried alongside his fellow veterans at Arlington National Cemetery. His request to be interred there had not been decided at press time.

[CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS]

Georgia 'Flaggers' Face Gang Charges in Family Confrontation

For the century and a half since the Confederacy's defeat in the Civil War, a certain set of southern white folks have proudly flown the Confederate battle flag on their property and displayed it on their vehicles.

Though racists, segregationists and Klansmen adopted the flag as their emblem during the civil rights era, successfully fighting to raise it over state capitol buildings across the South, many Southerners who otherwise distance themselves from the region's racist heritage remained stubbornly unwilling to acknowledge that for many people, particularly African Americans, the battle flag is a symbol of hate and the sight of it is at once frightening, sickening and infuriating.

When the brutal murder of nine African Americans at a Charleston, S.C., Bible study in June by a battle flag-waving white supremacist prompted the pennant's long-overdue removal from many public spaces across the former Confederacy, some battle flag proponents felt aggrieved, hurt and marginalized. A subset of them took up the flag as a sort of cause, festooning their pickup trucks with huge replicas that snapped and menaced in the hot southern breeze.

On July 25, a Georgia-based crew of these so-called "flaggers" apparently went too far. Now, 15 individuals — 10 men and five

women — have been charged with issuing terroristic threats and participating in gang activity in connection with their driving their flag-draped trucks to a birthday party for a young black child in Douglasville, Ga. Once there, they allegedly brandished weapons, shouted racial slurs and issued threats before roaring off.

The Southern Poverty Law Center, which publishes the *Intelligence Report*, launched an investigation and played an integral role in presenting Douglas County District Attorney Brian Fortner with evidence and witnesses.

On Oct. 12, Fortner charged the individuals, who are accused of belonging to a loosely organized

group called Respect the Flag, under Georgia's Street Gang Terrorism and Prevention Act. The law, according to the Georgia General Assembly's statement of intent, is meant to criminalize association with "violent criminal street gangs whose members threaten, terrorize and commit a multitude of crimes against the peaceful citizens of their neighborhoods."

That description would certainly seem to characterize the behavior of the Respect the Flag convoy, which, on the morning in question, happened upon the Douglasville party and decided to make some trouble.

After driving across part of the private property where the

party was being held, several Respect the Flag members allegedly parked their trucks and leaped out, brandishing weapons. According to witnesses, some yelled, "Fuck y'all niggers" and "shoot 'em." When someone from the party told them there were children present, a member of the convoy replied, "We'll shoot those bastards too."

"This is what terror feels like," said Melissa Alford, who was hosting the party. "These people intimidated and threatened us just for being who we are."

[ANTI-LGBT EXTREMISM]

World Congress of Families Event Draws Gay-Bashing Lineup

A hate group with international reach and a talent for couching its anti-LGBT agenda in respectful-sounding terms convened in Salt Lake City during the last week of October, bringing together a raft of right-wing heavy-hitters to talk about "[t]he value of life in all its stages and conditions."

This was the first time that the World Congress of Families (WCF), a Rockford, Ill.-based organization that's been instrumental in promoting anti-LGBT laws in Nigeria, Russia, Uganda and elsewhere, has held its annual gathering in the United States. Typically, the group meets abroad, in countries more open to its aggressive anti-LGBT agenda. (The 2014 conference, for instance, was set to take place in Russia, the site of a recent WCF victory in the form of a law banning LGBT "propaganda." But those plans were suspended in the aftermath of Russia's annexation of Crimea from neighboring Ukraine.)

Speakers at the Salt Lake City event included Mark Regnerus, author of a discredited but widely

Hate on parade: 15 people who allegedly harassed black residents from a parade of Confederate flag-bearing vehicles face charges of making terroristic threats.



cited study claiming that same-sex couples make bad parents; Brian Brown, head of the anti-LGBT National Organization for Marriage; Austin Ruse, president of the Center for Family and Human Rights (C-FAM), an anti-LGBT hate group, who in 2014 said that “hard left, human-hating people that run modern universities ... should all be taken out and shot”; Peter Sprigg of the Family Research Council, an influential hate group that specializes in

and, especially, same-sex couples. Its leadership is particularly exercised about the legalization of same-sex marriage, which it sees as a Trojan Horse for plans to criminalize Christianity.

While increasingly unpopular in America, that notion has gained particular traction in parts of Africa, where laws criminalizing homosexuality have recently made a comeback. Indeed, Peter Montgomery of Right Wing Watch characterized WCF as a “love-fest between African activists and their American allies.” Theresa Okafor, recipient of WCF’s 2015 “Woman of the Year” award, is a Nigerian native who, in addition to promoting harsh anti-LGBT laws in the region, has suggested that pro-equality activists are in league with the jihadist terrorists of Boko Haram.

Rhetoric at the four-day event hewed, for the most part, to WCF’s tradition of keeping its tone civil and its message extreme. A notable departure came the last day of the gathering, when Everett Piper, president of Oklahoma Wesleyan University, declared that the “wise and learned in our courts, and in our classrooms, and, unfortunately, even in our churches, actually work to remove a man’s soul and expect him to stay out of hell.”

[‘SOVEREIGN CITIZENS’]

Radical Plans to Overthrow Governments, Play Doctor, Outlined

West Virginia authorities in September arrested a Mineral Wells man on accusations of plotting to overthrow the state government and establish a prototype coup that extremists in other states could follow.

In a series of conference calls, some of which showed up online, Thomas David Deegan, 39, allegedly outlined his plan to forcibly remove state government leaders from office and replace them with “sovereign citizens,” extremists who believe that most laws don’t apply to them. He also allegedly planned to try those leaders in a sovereign-run court and execute any found guilty of treason.

Deegan allegedly told his listeners to grab their guns and head to Charleston, W.Va., and to plan on shooting any police who showed up during the enactment of his plot. “We are at war,” he reportedly said.

Instead of war, Deegan — who apparently believed there was a vast Vatican conspiracy to parcel out U.S. territories and “re-enslave” citizens — earned himself a bed in West Virginia’s North Central Regional Jail and a charge of threatening to commit a terrorist act. He has declined counsel, as many sovereigns do, and will apparently be representing himself.

Rick Van Thiel, of Las Vegas, had smaller dreams. All the former porn star, male prostitute and sex toy inventor wanted was to be a doctor.

For a while, it seemed he had achieved that goal: At a “clinic” based out of a rundown trailer that one former patient compared to a scene from a horror film, “Dr. Rick” is accused of having performed dozens of abortions, circumcisions, castrations, root canals and cancer treatments, guided in his technique by videos he’d watched on YouTube. As payment, he preferred bitcoin, a digital currency beloved of libertarians, black-market operators and others.

“I contract privately with people [and] do not contract with government employees of any kind,” he said in advertising his medical services. “Prior to becoming a professional [sic]



Pamela Atkinson, an adviser to Utah Gov. Gary Herbert, defends the governor’s support of the World Congress of Families, which has been deemed a hate group.

peddling lies about the supposed risks LGBT people pose to society; and Rafael Cruz, a gay-bashing public figure best known as father of ultra-right-wing Texas senator and presidential candidate Ted Cruz.

A clutch of influential right-wing organizations, including several anti-LGBT groups such as the Alliance Defending Freedom, the Family Research Council and the National Organization for Marriage, partnered with WCF to stage the meeting.

WCF bills itself as pro-family, but proffers a narrow definition of “natural family” as “the voluntary union of a man and a woman in a lifelong covenant of marriage” — excluding and marginalizing single parents, grandparents, nonbiological guardians,



Deegan

doctor, I was a sex machine inventor, swinger, BDSM master, porn actor and producer for 14 years, so I've seen it all," Van Thiel wrote on his site.

Things fell apart on Oct. 2, when Van Thiel, 52, was arrested and detained at the Clark County Detention Center on state charges of practicing medicine without a license, possession of a firearm by a felon, possession of illegal drugs, and illegally providing drugs. They got worse a few weeks later when prosecutor Marc DiGiacomo said he intends to seek murder charges against Van Thiel, on the theory that medical care dispensed by someone who isn't a licensed physician shows "reckless disregard for human life." It could be months before those charges are filed.

Van Thiel has represented himself in numerous past actions, but it appears that the murder charge drove him into the arms of actual licensed attorneys. Even they couldn't help, however. Describing Van Thiel as a person who "seems to present more of a danger to the community than a serial murderer," Las Vegas Justice of the Peace Ann Zimmerman rejected public defender Steve Lisk's request to set bail at \$20,000, and pegged it instead at \$1 million. ▲



Stone Mountain, Georgia

Nov. 14, 2015

About 40 so-called "flaggers" gathered at the nation's largest Confederate memorial to protest a proposal by state officials to add a "Freedom Bell" dedicated to Martin Luther King Jr. to the monument. The demonstration was promoted in advance by the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the League of the South, an assortment of antigovernment "Patriot" groups, and Defend Stone Mountain, which apparently was created just for the protest and lambasted the "traitors" who were seeking to "tarnish" the site. The idea of erecting the monument to the slain civil rights leader comes from a line in his famous "I Have a Dream" speech — "Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia." Stone Mountain is known for huge sculptures carved into the side of the mountain that depict Confederate heroes Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and Jefferson Davis, and also was the site of the Nov. 25, 1915, birth of the "second era" Klan. The sculpture was planned and started by Gutzon Borglum, who also created the Mount Rushmore monument to U.S. presidents and was a leading member of the Klan, which helped finance it. The recent protest there was one of more than 350 in support of Confederate symbols that followed attacks on the Confederate battle flag, which had been embraced by racist mass murderer Dylann Roof.

Fear AND LOATHING

in MONTANA

On a decaying former Air Force base, antigovernment 'sovereign citizens' are battling the few remaining locals for control

BY RYAN LENZ | ILLUSTRATION BY SUNNY PAULK

ST. MARIE, Mont. — Howling winds sweep across the high plains. Weeds spring up in gravel streets that bend through the empty neighborhoods that once housed a vibrant community of air-men at the forefront of the Cold War. Only the sight of an occasional human dispels the atmosphere of total abandonment.

In the early 1960s, what would later be dubbed St. Marie grew up around the Glasgow Air Force Base, one of dozens of launch points for Strategic Air Command bombers. But when the Defense Department shuttered the base for a final time in 1976, after an earlier closing between 1968 and 1971, its military residents were shipped elsewhere. A population that once numbered over 7,000 people dwindled to a few hundred, infrastructure crumbled, vacant houses began to fall apart, and the settlement 50 miles from the Canadian border became a near ghost town.

There were efforts to repurpose the once-thriving community — by the military at first, then a private developer who sought to create a military retirement village, then another developer who ended in bankruptcy — but they each failed for reasons that remain hotly disputed among today’s population of just 264 people.

And then came the attempt that is still roiling St. Marie.

Three years ago, much to the consternation and bewilderment of those who lived there, odd signs began to appear around the bleak remains of the community, posted on homes, the dilapidated officers club, the former school and more.

“NO TRESPASS,” the posters warned. “YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED, THAT THE OWNER OR TENANT OF THIS PROPERTY REQUIRES ALL PUBLIC OFFICIALS, AGENTS, OR PERSON(S) TO ABIDE BY ‘THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND,’ THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE RATIFIED AMENDMENTS THERETO. ... ALLEGED ZONING OR CODE NON-COMPLIANCES DO NOT ESTABLISH CONSTITUTIONAL REASONS FOR ENTERING THIS PROPERTY.

“VIOLATORS WILL BE TREATED AS INTRUDERS”

The language, with its insistent references to the Constitution, didn’t sound like a normal no-trespassing notice. Some attributed the posters to the recent appearance of the Montana Aviation Research Company, a subsidiary of Boeing that maintains one of only a handful of runways long enough to

“They showed up and paid the back taxes on 400 condo units,” Murnion told the *Intelligence Report* in November. “We had no dealings until they showed up, speculating on these properties and trying to make a quick buck.”

Those units were just part of the town’s enormous inventory of empty and blighted buildings, which include a church, a high school, the officers club, a



land the now-discontinued space shuttle. The firm was engaged in top-secret research, and residents who lived among some 1,000 empty buildings thought that might explain the forbidding signs.

But then they remembered how three mysterious men had recently appeared in a green pickup truck, driving up and down St. Marie’s semi-abandoned streets for unknown reasons. They initially had been taken for just another odd set of visitors, maybe wildcatters or venture capitalists hoping to capitalize on the extraordinary oil boom happening just to the east in North Dakota’s Bakken Shale Formation.

They were, it turns out, something more than that.

Enter the Sovereigns

Nick Murnion, the Valley County attorney, remembers it well.

Strange signage: No-trespass notices citing the Constitution were one of the early signs that something odd was happening in St. Marie, Mont. Residents soon learned that two “sovereign citizens” were behind the warnings.

bowling alley and more. Huge numbers of the properties have been abandoned or are in bankruptcy proceedings, and many were years delinquent in their taxes.

Under Montana law, similar to that of many states, when a property’s taxes are delinquent, the county can impose a tax lien on it to prevent its sale without the tax bill being settled. Third parties are allowed to buy the tax lien by paying back taxes — a process known as “tax assignment” — and then, if the original owners can’t reimburse them within a set period, they are given clear title to the property.

It all took Pat Kelly by surprise.

A former Air Force officer with dreams of turning St. Marie into a retirement community where military veterans could swap stories and maybe play a round of golf on the course he planned to build, Kelly began buying up homes in the 1980s. According to Kelly, that was only the latest attempt to save the place.

Kelly says that the federal government had earlier spent “tens of millions of dollars” trying to find a new use for the base and its housing before ultimately giving the commercial buildings and runways to the county and putting the area’s 1,223 housing units up for sale. Those housing units were auctioned off, with a salvage firm winning the bidding but then backing out after failing to get financing.

Ultimately, Kelly found financing and he and his late wife, Judy, began to build what they envisaged as a “Christian Community” they named St. Marie. But in the end, after the county drastically raised taxes, they, too, fell behind on taxes.

It was in late 2012 when the three strangers showed up, Kelly said, telling him that they had plans to build camps for the surge of workers then flocking to the Bakken. They said they represented a Washington state company called DTM Enterprises. Welcoming them, Kelly put them up in a guesthouse he kept on his property. Then, to his shock and surprise, DTM Enterprises paid \$187,086.43 in back taxes on 371 of his properties, leaving Kelly with only 60 days to regain them by settling the tax debt. Although that worked out to an average of just \$504.28 per home, Kelly was unable to come up with the money and lost out to DTM.

Around the same time, Kelly began to research the men he’d initially welcomed to town. He is still amazed at what he found out about the two who said they were partners in DTM — Terry Lee Brauner and Merrill Leon Frantz.

Curiouser and Curiouser

Both Brauner and Frantz, it turned out, are self-described “sovereign citizens.” The term describes antigovernment

radicals who, as a rule, believe that most laws, especially federal laws, do not apply to them. Typically, sovereigns believe they are not required to have driver’s licenses or pay federal taxes, and they are known for their nonsensical legal pleadings and theories and their use of property liens.

Brauner, who follows sovereign convention by writing his first names as “Terry-Lee” rather than Terry Lee, has a particularly colorful past. In the mid-1970s, he several times tried to go over towering waterfalls in a craft built of truck tire inner tubes in Washington state, telling reporters that he had been trying to draw attention to himself since childhood and wanted to live a life like that of Evel Knievel.

In 1992, he battled the IRS over more than \$1 million in tax debt. In 2010, he ran for sheriff as a “constitutionalist” in Spokane County, Wash. After garnering almost 2,000 votes but losing the race, Brauner wrote to a local newspaper to say he had been the only “absolutely constitutional candidate.” Much later, in St. Marie, he spent two weeks in jail and paid an \$800 fine for driving a car without a license or insurance. He told authorities he wouldn’t get a license because the application form required that he affirmatively answer the question, “Are you a U.S. citizen?”

In 2013, before his traffic arrest, according to the *Glasgow* (Mont.) *Courier*, Brauner sent a 25-page “memorandum of law” to officials explaining why he didn’t need a driver’s license. According to the *Courier*, he also “provided legal education on topics such as personal liberty, travel, distinctions between the terms ‘driver’ and ‘operator,’ licenses, traffic, surrender of rights and taxing power.” Brauner described himself as a “Citizen of the Republic of Montana” as opposed to the “municipal corporate State of MONTANA,” typical sovereign verbiage. His affidavit, the paper reported, referred to himself at the end as “Terry-Lee, a sovereign being.”

Much less is known about Frantz, who is listed as the registered agent of DTM Enterprises by the Montana Secretary of

State. Frantz also appears as one-third owner of Alaska Premier Wood Products, LLC, which was “involuntarily dissolved” for reasons not explained in paperwork from that state’s licensing division.

According to an account in the *Billings Gazette*, the largest paper in the region, DTM has engaged in a series of maneuvers to take over St. Marie properties.

In 2012, the paper said, the sovereigns, calling themselves Citizens Action Committee of Valley County, posted a newspaper announcement that they intended to take over unincorporated St. Marie, declare it blighted, and then exercise eminent domain to take over properties. That failed, but was followed by an effort to join and take over the local property owners association by using proxy votes from the many properties DTM controlled. That failed as well, the *Gazette* reported. Then they tried to create their own homeowners association, an attempt that also fell apart.

But the biggest clarion call came from Pat Kelly, in an Oct. 19, 2013, letter to the *Glasgow Courier*, written after he lost a first wave of properties. “A member of DTM said he plans on teaching the sovereign citizen theory in St. Marie,” Kelly warned. “I believe that everyone needs to be aware of what I’ve written.”

Fears, Hopes and Promises

Is DTM Enterprises trying to build a sovereign citizens’ redoubt?

Terry Lee Brauner says no. He told the *Intelligence Report* that his whole interest has been to “make a pile of money” based on the boom in the Bakken Shale Formation, although that possibility seems to have faded dramatically with the plunge in oil prices and the near-halt in fracking for oil in shale sediments.

“We come in there as businessmen, just regular, ordinary businessmen, with a million dollars in our pocket,” he said. “We assumed that the oil boom was going to come all the way over. It got within 50 miles of [St. Marie] and stopped.”

Pat Kelly, for his part, doesn’t believe that. He worries that DTM is spearheading an effort to make St. Marie a sovereign enclave, and that without a local

police department the community could do little to stop that. “Researching them,” he said, “you find that they’re big in the [sovereign] movement.”

Kelly has some historical reasons to be concerned. It was just two years ago that Craig Cobb, a foul-mouthed neo-Nazi, attempted to take control of another near ghost town, Leith, N.D., to build a white supremacist enclave. And just two hours’ drive from St. Marie, the Montana Freeman, whose beliefs were close to those of today’s sovereigns, declared their own independent “Justus Township” in 1996. That group engaged in an 81-day standoff before finally surrendering to the FBI.

And sovereigns in general don’t have a good reputation. In 2010, a sovereign father-son team murdered two police officers in West Memphis, Ark., and recent surveys have shown that sovereigns are a top concern of police. In 2011, the FBI released a report calling sovereign citizens “a domestic terrorist movement.”

Brauner and Frantz, aside from Brauner’s run-in with police over his refusal to get a driver’s license or insure his vehicle, apparently have not employed illegal tactics in their attempts to win control over St. Marie properties. Still, Brauner, at the very least, is clearly a true believer in classic sovereign ideology.

Reached by telephone, Brauner refused to speak to an *Intelligence Report* writer until the writer had read *Plantation America*, a book by longtime sovereign theorist Anthony L. Hargis. The book argues that the federal government is working to enslave every U.S. citizen and rob them of their rights. In 2005, it was advertised in the pages of an infamous anti-Semitic tabloid called *American Free Press*.

When Brauner finally did speak to the *Report*, he referenced a racist version of



sovereign ideology promoted by the anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus in the 1980s. “Everybody’s an American, even the blacks are American,” he said. “We’re all Americans, but it’s whether you’re a federal citizen, with benefits and privileges, or a state citizen. ... There are two different citizenships.” The Posse used to say only whites could be true sovereigns, or state citizens, because black people were granted citizenship by the 14th Amendment and so were beholden to the federal government.

That idea of different types of citizenship is a core belief of the sovereign movement, although it does not always take the racist form plugged by the Posse. “Once you understand how they’ve taken control of everybody,” Brauner said in an apparent reference to the federal government, “it just blows me away that nobody stopped this from happening and educated everybody to the two citizenships.”

Terry Lee Brauner says he’s merely trying to make money with the purchase of hundreds of empty homes in St. Marie. His neighbors are not so sure.

But Brauner insists that he’s genuinely trying to spark development, and that opponents are hurting St. Marie. “They don’t want to see any development,” he complained. “They have cost the county and state of Montana over \$10 million in lost property tax revenues because they stop every movement of guys like me coming in here to develop the place.” Apparently referring to Kelly, Brauner added, “Trying to force us out of there so he can take control, it’s all this is about.”

Meanwhile, residents can only shake their heads and wonder. As DeAnn Ketchum of the St. Marie property owners association told the *Billings Gazette*, “We all find it a little bit, I don’t know — I want to use the term unbelievable.” ▲



‘CULTURE JAMMING’



How the extremist right hijacked ‘Star Wars,’ Taylor Swift and the Mizzou student protests to promote racism

BY **KEEGAN HANKES** ILLUSTRATION BY **SIMON PRADES**

As online platforms like Twitter and Facebook become increasingly important for the dissemination of breaking news, racist leaders are quickly recognizing the power of subverting mainstream coverage in the service of their own agendas.

So far, this subversion has manifested itself in two major campaign styles: overtly, with memes and images designed to elicit outrage and disrupt messaging, and covertly, through the spread of disinformation, fraudulent eyewitness accounts and fake news reports.

But no matter the method, the racists behind the tactics have one goal: hijacking the media in the service of more “racially awakened” minds.

One of the foremost practitioners of both types of campaign is Andrew Anglin, administrator of *The Daily Stormer*, a neo-Nazi website that thrives on the type of vicious racism formerly confined to anonymous boards such as 4Chan and 8chan. In recent years, the site has originated racist campaigns targeting both the mainstream media and social justice organizers.

During last fall’s protests calling for the resignation of Tim Wolfe, president of the University of Missouri, over his handling of a series of racist incidents on campus, Anglin was able to generate thousands of retweets and “likes” for false information purportedly coming from the demonstrations.

Using the hashtags #Mizzou and #PrayForMizzou, Anglin manipulated the audience following the situation online to unwittingly spread reports that the University of Missouri police were complicit with the Ku Klux Klan and that crosses were being burned on the university lawn — an effort apparently meant to show that overly sensitive anti-racist protesters will believe anything. When his efforts were discovered, Twitter banned his username. But the damage had been done. Anglin touted his efforts as a major success and called for similar campaigns as soon as possible.

It didn’t take long for copycats to follow suit.

Several weeks after Anglin's trolling of the Mizzou protests, dozens of White Student Union (WSU) pages began appearing on Facebook. The reaction from students and administrations alike was predictable condemnation and outrage. After one such response from the administration at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Anglin copied the idea for another one of his own campaigns of organized subversion.

"So, guys. Here's the plan: Make more of the White Student Union pages on Facebook for various universities. You don't have to go there. Make one for Dartmouth, Princeton, etc.," Anglin wrote on his website. "If they won't let it on Facebook, put it on tumblr or wordpress or whatever. Get it up, then forward the links to local media."

What followed was massive media coverage — from ABC News, *USA Today*, *The Washington Post* and others — all asking if the pages were authentic. Only a handful of the WSUs seemed to be real groups. However, in a matter of a day, Anglin was able to help propel extremist ideas from the neo-Nazi fringe into the mainstream, and it took no time for other white supremacists to take notice.

'Sock Puppets' and the Klan

"It doesn't matter who started them or why, whether it was 'real' or a satire, spontaneous or coordinated: A few dozen Facebook pages made the concept of White Student Unions real through manipulated tension and predictable media amplification," wrote Abigail James on the white nationalist journal *Radix*. "Worst-case scenario, this particular incident fizzles out and we learn a few new tricks. If we're sensitive to opportunities and smart about it, it can be done again."

Radix's endorsement of tactics popularized by the comparatively lowbrow *Daily Stormer* is perhaps even more remarkable than the media coverage itself. *Radix* and its publisher Richard Spencer claim to be the bourgeois thought catalog of the "new right," and they were suddenly heaping praise and taking cues from neo-Nazi Anglin's legion

of anonymous Internet trolls. (To get a sense of Anglin, consider that his website is named for *Der Stürmer*, the obscene and gutturally anti-Semitic rag published by Julius Streicher, a Nazi leader who was executed for crimes against humanity after being tried in Nuremberg.)

"You are having a quite remarkable effect. I would say that this recent trolling campaign of yours, I thought, was pretty incredible to get all of that mainstream coverage and all of that absolute hysteria about Ku Klux Klan on the Mizzou [University of Missouri] campus," Anglin's *Radio Stormer* co-host Sven Longshanks said. "Apart from being hilarious, it really did make a point of how easy it was to stir these blacks up."

Using platforms like Twitter is old hat for the more savvy Internet racists who have long taken advantage of online anonymity to spread racist messages like "#WhiteGenocide" and "The Mantra," a screed devised by Bob Whitaker, the 2016 presidential candidate for the American Freedom Party (AFP), that reads, in part, "Asia for the Asians, Africa for the Africans, White countries for everybody!"

Seeding false news stories on this scale, however, is new for racists like Anglin.

"I'm just one guy. This could have been done by anybody," Anglin said. "What I'm saying about the Holocaust, and joking about 'Gas the Kikes' is that you're using the same methods they used to destroy our traditional systems against them. ... In many ways, it's the whole concept behind the *Daily Stormer*."

Acknowledging that he has his own "sock puppet" accounts — accounts registered to a fake name — Anglin and his co-host encouraged listeners to strike out on their own and impersonate people of color and women in order to conduct "culture jamming." Longshanks went as far as to suggest purchasing disposable mobile phones to avoid detection and banishment from social media platforms like Twitter.

Culture jamming is a tactic normally associated with anti-consumerist movements, and typically uses satire and irony to discredit commercial or political

messages and claims. In that context, it has sometimes been referred to as "subvertising" or "guerrilla communication."

'Holocaust Humor'

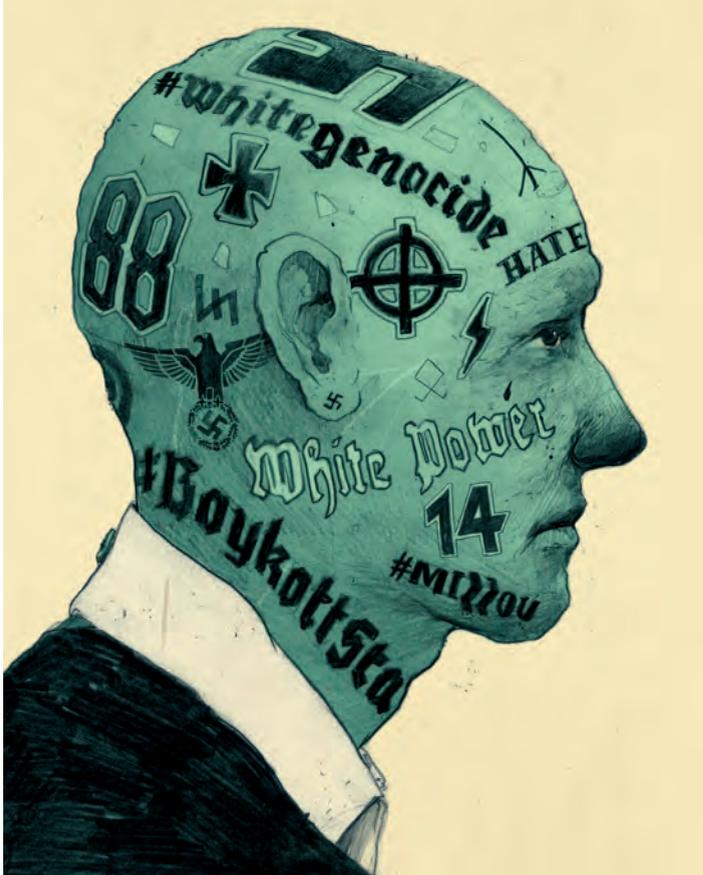
"Anglin's tactics, really a bastardized form of cultural jamming, have many effects. One of them is to discredit the official narrative. Another one is to sow seeds of doubt and to suggest a false equivalency between viewpoints and positions where there truly is a right and a wrong," Mark Dery, a culture critic who writes about the dark side of the American psyche, told *Hatewatch*.

"Another tactical move Anglin is attempting is to simply stress the mainstream media. ... It's never been less economically viable to run a really rigorous investigative news operation. If you can just distract reporters and stretch their resources thin, sending them on a wild goose chase for what is effectively a media hoax, in a sense you've already won because they're not covering stories that need to be covered, and they're squandering resources on something that doesn't pan out."

Last month, using more overt tactics, racists from around the globe managed to get the hashtag #BoycottStarWarsVII to trend over a supposed "anti-white" agenda — based on the casting of a female and a black man as the film's leads — without the help of the mainstream media. Director J.J. Abrams was the primary target for supposedly leading a campaign of "white genocide" through his casting choices. The attack generated enough attention to elicit headlines from news organizations like *The Guardian*, the *Daily Mail*, *Wired* and the *Daily Beast*.

Another popular series of memes has been built around attaching anti-Semitic quotes, including some from Hitler, to images of Taylor Swift. Although primarily born in noxious environments such as the depths of Reddit, as well as 4chan and 8chan's /pol/ sections, they can be found with some frequency in the comment threads of mainstream sites.

Anonymity binds most of these campaigns together. With the exception of known leaders on the radical right who



→ “So, guys. Here’s the plan: Make more of the White Student Union pages on Facebook for various universities. You don’t have to go there. Make one for Dartmouth, Princeton, etc.”

often organize and initiate them, these projects rely on the velocity and strength of legions of anonymous users disseminating memes and using hashtags simultaneously. Perceived humor, often of the darkest variety, is what allows them to be perpetuated so effectively. Reactions of outrage by the targeted demographics only add fuel to the fire.

“My inclination is that ‘gas the kikes’ is ridiculous enough that it will immediately be recognized as humor — if dark humor — by any normal person who hears it, and that the media repeating this phrase would desensitize the public to Holocaust humor,” Anglin wrote.

Sowing Doubt

The culture jamming tactics co-opted by Anglin present a Catch-22 for the mainstream media. Writing about their campaigns generates precisely the publicity and desensitization that bad actors with nothing to lose, like Anglin, are after. His hypothesis is that regular viewers exposed to a tide of seemingly hyperbolic images will eventually begin to laugh, even if reluctantly, creating a new status quo for what passes as acceptable content across the mainstream Internet and ostensibly redefining the rules of the debate.

“They’re actually doing what the conservative-, mainstream-, corporate- or ideologue-funded right, that is to say the GOP and its fellow travellers, have been doing for decades, which is simply sowing the seeds of doubt in the media narrative,” Dery explained. “In other words, you don’t have to win the climate change debate, you don’t have to win the fracking debate, you don’t have to win the debate on rape in the military, if you just create the illusion that there’s another side to this.”

As Angelo John Gage, the former congressional candidate for AFP, pointed out during the #BoycottStarWarsVII campaign, “no one cares about a black dude having the lead in #BoycottStarWarsVII, the whole point was to seed the meme #whitegenocide & it worked lol.”

Indeed, Anglin, Gage and their legions of followers are simply making a scene to force an audience, wittingly or not, to consider an extreme political position. Given the anonymity of those exposed to their handiwork, it’s difficult to measure their efficacy outside of the headlines they have managed to generate.

But Dery has doubts about the prowess of ringleaders like Gage and Anglin.

“I wouldn’t exalt [Anglin’s] perspicacity and penetration of these issues too much. He isn’t framing it consciously in terms of its effects. He’s loaded his blunderbuss up with every bent nail and twisted screw in his drawer and is kind of firing away at the broadside of the barn culturally, but there’s no nuance to the analysis.”

Anglin did not respond to an E-mail from the *Intelligence Report* requesting comment.

The existence of these campaigns, nuanced or otherwise, as well as the energy expended by the perpetrators, serves as one more example of the Internet as the new battleground for organized racism. Whether covertly derailing social justice campaigns or attacking perceived hypocrisy in the mainstream through overt memes, the battle for hearts and minds is being fought online.

What used to exclusively dwell in the darkest corners of the web has now crept into the mainstream. Understanding the tactics being deployed is essential in countering these racist campaigns, and a trained eye is the only feasible way to flush these subversions out of the mainstream and back to the swamps in which they bred. ▲

ARYAN DEFLATIONS



A dozen years after the death of its founder, the remnants of the once-infamous Aryan Nations have just about disappeared

BY BILL MORLIN



The Aryan Nations — once the best-known white supremacist group in the nation — all but faded into racist history as 2015 drew to a close.

A mere 12 years after the death of Aryan Nations founder Richard Girnt Butler, there is no longer an official “Aryan Nations World Headquarters” or a website promoting his racist ideology, which mixed anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology, Hitler-worship and the white supremacy of the Ku Klux Klan.

That’s not to say, of course, that white supremacy, bigotry, racism, neo-Nazi ideas and a lingering fascination with Butler have disappeared.

But rather than gathering at Butler’s Aryan church and clubhouse in the woods

of North Idaho — deliberately burned to the ground after a devastating civil suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and the group’s resulting bankruptcy in 2000 — white supremacists have regrouped largely through Internet connections and forums, along with small in-person gatherings.

There are, however, groups that still revere the name.

A motorcycle club called the Sadistic Souls and based in Grovespring, Mo., claims allegiance to the Aryan Nations, and it recently struck up an alliance with the United Klans of America. But the Sadistic Souls bikers appear more interested in riding their machines, swilling beer and posing for photos with their

SPECIAL (AN CHURCH); CORBIS/DAVID HUND/ONYXIA (BUTLER)



middle fingers extended than the organized racism once practiced by Butler.

The last self-proclaimed leader of the Aryan Nations, Morris L. Gulett, who briefly was aligned with the Sadistic Souls and its leader, Dennis McGiffen, suddenly closed up shop in November at his “headquarters” in Converse, La.

That likely was a surprise to the world of white supremacists. Only six months earlier, Gulett was boldly and publicly praising accused mass murderer Dylann Storm Roof, whose racist mindset apparently led to the June massacre of nine people at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, S.C.

Now, suddenly — without capitulating, apologizing or retreating from his racist views — Gulett bluntly says he is retiring from the front lines. The Aryan Nations “no longer exists with the veracity that it once had [and] therefore it deserves to be respectfully laid to rest,” Gulett announced.

Within three days of that, Gulett took down the Aryan Nations website where he regularly posted his racist sermons, thick with invocations of Butler’s name and legacy and photos of the former Aryan compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho.

Gulett didn’t offer a detailed explanation. It may be that the man who spent time in prison for an assortment of crimes simply couldn’t attract and keep many followers or enough financial support. He certainly didn’t admit failure.

Meanwhile, August Byron Kreis III, the other man who spent time over the last decade claiming to be Butler’s rightful successor as the head of Aryan Nations, was convicted last year of child rape. The 61-year-old racist was sentenced in November to 50 years in prison, where he will almost certainly die.

Other would-be Aryan Nations leaders — Paul Mullet, Gerald O’Brien, Drew Bostwick and Charles Juba — seem to have vanished from the racist forefront, and Butler understudies Neuman Britton and Ray Redfeairn have died.

After a version of this piece was first published on SPLC’s Hatewatch news blog in December, long-time movement racist Billy Roper posted a comment claiming that Mullet had just formed a new Christian Identity church, The Nation of True Israel, in Bainbridge, Ohio.

“Aryan Nations is not embodied in a single person [but] is an idea, a belief system, and an article of faith,” wrote Roper, calling himself the “minister of publications” for the new white supremacist church.

“Whether or not the ‘Church of Jesus Christ Christian’ [an alternative name for Aryan Nations that emphasizes its Christian Identity beliefs] continues as an organization is immaterial,” Roper said, claiming that “many loyal and courageous former Aryan Nations members and supporters” will now flock to Mullet.

That certainly remains to be seen.

Mullet, who has served prison time in Minnesota and Ohio for theft and

Aryan Nations: A Timeline

April 1973: Richard Butler moves to Hayden Lake, Idaho.

April 1980: Butler attends the first Aryan Nations (AN) Congress in Kansas, calling for unity of white supremacists. Future congresses will be held at the Idaho AN compound.

April 1984: Members of the white supremacist terrorist group The Order, who support AN, rob an armored car.

December 1984: After shootouts in Idaho and Oregon, four Order members are arrested on Whidbey Island, Wash.

April 1985: A federal grand jury questions Butler and indicts 23 members of The Order.

September 1986: A series of bombing incidents aimed at human rights activists are tied to AN security chief David Dorr.

January 1991: AN supporter Randy Weaver is arrested on weapons violations. The incident triggers the 1992 Ruby Ridge, Idaho, siege. Weaver’s son and wife and a deputy U.S. marshal are killed.

July 1998: Victoria and Jason Keenan are shot at during a car chase from the AN compound.

January 1999: AN and Butler are named defendants in a civil suit filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of the Keenans, who ultimately are awarded \$6.3 million.

October 2000: Butler files for bankruptcy and the AN is later auctioned off, its buildings destroyed.

April 2002: August Byron Kreis III, who had previous ties with the Klan, sets up an AN in Pennsylvania and claims he, Ray Redfeairn and Morris Gulett are the triumvirate now heading the Aryan Nations. Butler denounces all three.

September 2004: Butler dies.

December 2015: After years of squabbling and infighting by various AN successors, no more versions of the group are left.



Among the many wannabe führers of Aryan Nations are Dennis McGiffen (top left), August Kreis (bottom left) and Morris Gulett (far left), who recently praised South Carolina mass murderer Dylann Roof (middle left).

fraud, has bounced all over the racist world in the past two decades — from the Ku Klux Klan to the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement to various Aryan Nations splinter factions — without establishing a real foothold or track record anywhere.

Even as the flames of the Aryan Nations' burning cross seem to have flickered out, the group's name still is revered and bandied about, particularly in prisons and on racist websites and forums. But the organization's emblem — a Nazi swastika superimposed on a Christian cross — and a storefront no longer are easily found.

The downhill slide began with the SPLC's 2000 civil suit against the group, which resulted in a \$6.3 million judgment against it that led in turn to its filing for bankruptcy. It accelerated greatly with Butler's death in 2004.

SPLC Senior Fellow Mark Potok said the Aryan Nations was for decades "probably the best known, if not the most important, neo-Nazi group in America."

"Now, 38 years after its founding, after it was brought to its knees by [the SPLC] suit, embarrassed by revelations about the pornographic habits and extreme violence of some of its principals, and gutted by the deaths of its most charismatic leaders, the group is essentially defunct," Potok said.

"The group that produced some of the nation's worst racial terrorists is finally dead," Potok said.

In an odd twist, one of the men who once claimed to lead the Aryan Nations agrees, more or less, with these sentiments. "For all intents and purposes, the Aryan Nations Pastor Butler created in the mid-seventies is dead and gone," Gulett said in his Nov. 17 posting, which came 23 years after he was "ordained" as a pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian by Butler.

All that remains, Gulett said, "are a few good dedicated souls and a good many malcontents who wrongfully call themselves Aryan Nations, but will never be anything but degenerate prison gangsters and filthy unwashed wanna be bikers."

That is an apparent reference to McGiffen and the Sadistic Souls. Gulett also had a falling out marked by similar name-calling earlier this year with Shaun Patrick Winkler, another former Butler protégé who failed in his 2012 attempt to build a new Aryan Nations compound in North Idaho. Winkler now lives in Mississippi and says he's affiliated with the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

"The Aryan Nations name has such a negative stigma attached to it these days because of these types of people that it has no real value to it any longer," Gulett said.

Released from federal prison in 2010, Gulett said he has spent the past five years and "countless thousands of dollars [trying] to rebuild Aryan Nations to its former glory with the same Christian [Identity] standards Pastor Butler always demanded of the membership. But in these the last days, it is futile."

"Therefore today," Gulett said in his final public announcement, "I am announcing my retirement from Aryan Nations."

"I will never lose respect for the noble and honorable organization that Pastor Butler created 40 years ago," Gulett said, "but our Holy White Race has evidently lost the will to live."

Gulett added that a "race war is swiftly approaching [and] most of the white race will without a doubt perish."

"No doubt some will continue to haul Aryan Nations through the mud by attaching its Christian standard to their filthy unwashed lives," Gulett said.

The Sadistic Souls responded in kind, calling Gulett a Jewish "rabbi" and saying that neither he nor Kreis possessed the skills needed to succeed Butler.

"Many have failed Pastor Butler, August Kreis III being the latest," the Sadistic Souls said of the pair on the club website. "WOW!! Pastor Butler must be proud of you two." ▲



SHENING RING REED

After years of avoiding conspiracy theories,
anti-Indian activists now see a global
communist plot behind a UN plan

BY RYAN LENZ ILLUSTRATION BY STEVEN WILSON

VIOLENT HOSTILITY toward American Indians may be our original hatred, going back to more than 250 years before the American Revolution and even predating the anti-black racism that was long nourished by slavery. Indigenous peoples have been the victims of massacres, exploitation, cultural annihilation and a litany of hate violence that continues to this day. They are weak, marginalized and ignored.

Still, the organized anti-Indian movement has in recent decades adopted the language of the civil rights movement. Although its claims are clearly disingenuous, they are cloaked in terms of “equality,” complaints about government favoritism, and calls for repealing treaties and “special” rights for Indians in favor of treating all American citizens alike. Anti-Indian activists rarely talk about their enemies in the openly contemptuous ways favored by other parts of the radical right.

Until now, that is.

In the last year or two, some of the nation’s leading anti-Indian activists and groups have added a completely new twist to their attempts to wrest away water, fishing and other rights legally granted to Indians under an array of treaties: the idea that power-mad globalists are using an entirely voluntary UN sustainability plan to wipe out property rights, local democratic government and freedom itself.

“The language of Agenda 21, and the language of the United Nations’ indigenous people’s declaration, signed by President Obama, is now being incorporated into federal regulations,” Elaine Willman, the silver-haired matriarch of the movement, claimed in Kalispell, Mont., last fall. “Federal Indian policy is tying in and being coordinated with international and United Nations goals, and the long-term goal of the United Nations and Agenda 21 is that states will go away.”

Willman was speaking to a conference hosted by the Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA), arguably the most important anti-Indian group in the nation, at Kalispell’s Red Lion Hotel last September. Just five months earlier, she had moved to Montana from Wisconsin,

where she worked to challenge various sovereign rights of the Oneida Indians as an official of the city of Hobart. She came because she fears the final approval of a long-contested water compact between the state of Montana and the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT) portends disaster.

“I became convinced the CSKT Compact is a template for federalizing all state waters and implementing communalism and socialism consistent with Agenda 21, and that it is intentionally aligned to spread tribalism as a governing system while eliminating State authority,” she wrote to a newspaper earlier in 2015.



“I became convinced the CSKT Compact is a template for federalizing all state waters and implementing communalism and socialism consistent with Agenda 21.”

— ELAINE WILLMAN

“It is my belief that Montana is Ground Zero for test-driving this model in a highly-prized state of small population. I so seriously believe this peril is a fight worth fighting that I have walked away from an excellent employer and moved my family, household and consulting business to Ronan, Montana,” she said.

In a June interview with the John Birch Society — the same group that once accused President Dwight D. Eisenhower of being a Communist agent — Willman, a CERA board member, put it more bluntly. The UN plot to impose socialism in the state, she raged, amounts to “Revolutionary War for citizens of Montana.”

Agenda 21 and the Indians

Agenda 21 is not, in fact, a communist plot. It is not an international treaty or an enforceable legal document. It cannot make anyone do anything at all.

Agenda 21 is an innocuous plan aimed at helping communities around the world develop sustainability plans meant to preserve their resources and make wise use of them. It was signed without controversy in 1992 by then-President George H.W. Bush, along with the leaders of 177 other nations who had gathered in Brazil for a United Nations summit on development and the environment.

Yet in the hands of groups like the Birch Society and a growing array of others on the radical right, it has been transformed into a nefarious conspiracy by UN officials and other grasping globalists to impose a collectivist world government known as the “New World Order,” trampling American freedoms in the process.

The Agenda 21 conspiracy theory has pushed its way into parts of the political mainstream. In early 2012, the Republican National Committee adopted a resolution denouncing the plan as a “destructive and insidious scheme” aimed at imposing a “socialist/communist redistribution of wealth.” After Mitt Romney was nominated as the GOP presidential candidate later that year, that language disappeared in favor of a calmer critique, but the plan has continued to cause heated political controversy, even provoking an Alabama law intended to outlaw its feared effects.

Now, thanks to CERA and others in the anti-Indian world, Agenda 21 is being reimagined as a plot to use Indian water and other rights as the leading edge of an effort to destroy state government, federalize ownership of natural resources, and force the United States to cede its independence to politically correct globalists.

In her interview with the Birch Society’s *New American* magazine, Willman put it like this: “There seems to be a movement to just tear down the fabric of this country. It’s hard to envision us in the long term being the United States with [the] combined marriage of

the federal executive branch, and the United Nations and Agenda 21 folks, and the environmental groups and the big billionaires, and then when they've got 566 tribal governments and little reservations to use as little launch pads, you can tear up this country pretty quick. So this Indian policy is but one tool."

These ideas are not limited to Willman.

For instance, according to reports last fall by two anti-racist groups, the Montana Human Rights Network and the Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, another speaker at the Kalispell conference has been preaching the conspiracy theory. Debbie Bacigalupi, a California activist who gave a presentation on the topic in Montana, has described Agenda 21 as "communistic history in the remaking ... [b]ut in America" and "a demonically inspired dynamic."

Of Treaties and Race

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, as part of the Hellgate Treaty of 1855 that also created the 1,938-square-mile Flathead Reservation, was awarded water rights "for time immemorial" that included water flowing in from elsewhere. Since 2001, the state has been in negotiations with the tribes and others to come up with a compact that would quantify just what those water rights guarantee.

According to the anti-racist groups, the CSKT agreed to serious concessions, forgoing rights that they had a strong legal claim to on water from various "non-irrigation, small groundwater, and most upstream users." "That means that all domestic, commercial, municipal, industrial, stock, and other non-irrigation water rights that exist when and if the compact is ratified will be entirely protected, both on and off the reservation," the Montana Human Rights Network reported.

While an earlier compact was rejected, the state legislature and governor approved the current version in April. If it also wins approval from the Congress, the Montana Water Court and the CSKT Tribal Council, it will become law.

CERA and a number of other groups have vigorously opposed the compact,

even as they push the idea that there is nothing racial in their opposition. Indeed, the agenda for the Kalispell conference last September — titled "This Land is our Land ... Or IS it?" — was emblazoned with a quote meant to show that CERA sought only equality. "There is only one race ... the human race," it quoted Edward James Olmos saying. "There are hundreds of wonderful cultures but only one race"

But CERA's aims are intrinsically radical. It has sought to end Indian tribal governments, abrogate treaties signed with the tribes, and overturn a series of legal decisions favoring such treaties. The Montana Human Rights Network, which has monitored anti-Indian bias for years, says "the anti-Indian movement is a systematic effort to deny legally established rights to a group of people who are identified on the basis of their shared culture, history, religion and tradition.

"That makes it racist by definition."

There were also other signs of the growing radicalization of the movement. One local group — the Concerned Citizens of Western Montana, which raised the money to pay for Elaine Willman's move to the state — recruited a hydrologist several years ago to use as an "expert" in lobbying against any water compact with the CSKT. Whatever her expertise in water and the law, Dr. Catherine Vandemoer also has a documented history as a "birther" who questions President Obama's citizenship. And Vandemoer hosts an online radio show that affords antigovernment "Patriots" a place to advocate for a "Second Constitutional Republic."



Ancestors of today's Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes negotiated an 1855 treaty with the government that guaranteed water rights on the Flathead Reservation in Montana.

Among others, Vandemoer has featured on her show *Martin "Red" Beckman*, a radical tax protester and an anti-Semite who wrote *The Church Deceived*, in which he asserted that the Holocaust was God's punishment of the Jews for worshipping Satan. Beckman was long known as the "Father of the Patriot Movement."

The radicalization of CERA and others in the anti-Indian movement comes in the context of growing antagonism among radical Patriots toward the federal government and the federal agencies that regulate land use, especially in the rural states of the West and Pacific Northwest. Most notoriously, Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy in 2014 faced off against the Bureau of Land Management, which was trying to enforce a court order to seize Bundy's cattle after he refused for 20 years to pay grazing fees. Hundreds of radical militiamen came to defend Bundy, threatening law enforcement officials with heavy weapons until the officials backed down.

The adoption by CERA of the Agenda 21 conspiracy theory, not to mention its deepening flirtation with the John Birch Society, makes it clear that large parts of the anti-Indian movement in America have increasingly melded with other sectors of the truly radical right. It remains to be seen whether or not this radicalization will finally make the implicit white nationalism of these groups explicit. ▲

BACKLASH

Anti-Muslim hatred ratcheted up sharply after the Islamic State attacks in Paris.

Then came San Bernardino and Donald Trump

BY LEAH NELSON

Standing with President Francois Hollande of France 11 days after Islamic State terrorists slaughtered 130 people and injured more than 350 others in three coordinated attacks in Paris, President Barack Obama told Americans to refuse to give in to fear.

“There have been times in our history, in moments of fear, when we have failed to uphold our highest ideals, and it has been to our lasting regret. We must uphold our ideals now. Each of us, all of us, must show that America is strengthened by people of every faith and every background,” he said at the Nov. 24 press conference.

Obama took up the same theme on Dec. 6, three days after a married couple, inspired by Islamic State propaganda, murdered 14 in a terrorist attack at an office party in San Bernardino,

Calif. “We cannot turn against one another by letting this fight be defined as a war between America and Islam,” he said.

Despite the president’s words — and warnings from the Pentagon that alienating Muslims would endanger national security — there was an extraordinary

flood of anti-Muslim attacks in the wake of the Paris and San Bernardino massacres. There had already been several noteworthy attacks on Muslims in 2015, particularly the February killings of three young Muslim Americans in Chapel Hill, N.C., by a man known for his hatred of religion.

But after the Nov. 13 mass murder in Paris, vandalism and arson, shootings and beatings, along with threats and declarations of hatred and everlasting war against Islam, seemed to explode. Egged on by a





steady drumbeat of propaganda from Islamophobes and given a megaphone by the press and a presidential frontrunner given to racist and Muslim-hating oratory, already-simmering anti-Muslim sentiment in the U.S. reached a fever pitch.

Two days after the Paris attacks, a University of Cincinnati pre-med student wearing a hijab had to be snatched out of the way of a car that accelerated toward her, its driver honking and calling her a terrorist. The next day, a Muslim family in Orange County, Fla., returned home from a charity event to find bullets lodged in their garage and master bedroom. That same day, an Uber passenger in Charlotte, N.C., mistook his Ethiopian Christian driver for a Muslim and attacked, punching and threatening to shoot him in the face, and in Norman, Okla., a man allegedly told police, “[I’m] going to go out there and just start shooting anything that looks like a Muslim.” He was shot and wounded by officers responding to his home after he allegedly pointed a gun at them.

On Nov. 19, a sixth-grader in Bronx, N.Y., was attacked by classmates who called her “ISIS,” put her in a headlock, punched her, and tried to rip off her hijab. The next day in Pittsburgh, a Muslim cab driver was shot in the back by a passenger who had inquired about his religious affiliation and spent the ride ranting about Islam.

On Dec. 8, a Queens, N.Y., convenience store owner reported being beaten by a customer who punched him in the head and said, “I want to kill Muslims.” Two days later, the Council on American-Islamic Relations buildings in Washington, D.C., and Santa Clara, Calif., were evacuated after receiving letters containing white powder, which was eventually found to be harmless. A few days later, a Muslim woman was nearly shot by an unknown person who fired at her as she left a Tampa, Fla., mosque. Another Muslim woman driving away from another mosque in the area said a man threw rocks at her and then tried to run her off the road.

One day after Tashfeen Malik and her husband, Syed Farook, murdered 14 people in the name of Islam, Donald Trump proposed a ban on Muslim immigration to the U.S.



Islamist terror attacks like those in Paris (clockwise from right) and San Bernadino, Calif., have caused world leaders like French President Francois Hollande and President Obama to increase cooperation.

Meanwhile, other mosques were shot at, menaced with fake explosive devices, firebombed, threatened and protested. One had a severed pig’s head tossed at it, and still another’s copy of the Koran was smeared with feces.

An Example in Texas

Irving, Texas, was a sort of microcosm of the rest of the nation. A Dallas suburb of 230,000 that is home to one of the largest mosques in America, Irving was the site of multiple anti-Muslim demonstrations and events.

On Nov. 21, about a dozen armed protesters carrying long guns and signs gathered outside the Islamic Center of Irving. Explaining his decision to bring a 12-gauge hunting rifle to the peaceful suburban scene, protest organizer David Wright told *The Dallas Morning News*, “I’m not going to lie. We do want to show force. ... It would be ridiculous to protest Islam without defending ourselves.”

Four days later, Wright published the names and addresses of local Muslims and “Muslim sympathizers” on Facebook, as well as a message: “We should stop being afraid to be who we are! We like to have guns designed to kill people that pose a threat in a very efficient manner.” In the weeks that followed, a sort of counter-protest movement evolved, with individuals who are not Muslim but support the right of Muslims to worship in peace showing up to defy Wright’s group. But the protests showed no signs of stopping — in one case, the Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan announced plans to demonstrate at the mosque in May 2016.

As in the rest of America, Islamophobia was a problem in Irving well before the latest Paris

attacks. In February 2015, Mayor Beth Van Duyne reacted with outrage to the existence, in nearby Dallas, of an Islamic tribunal whose purpose is to use Shariah law to settle civil disputes within the local Muslim community. Though American Jews, Catholics, Amish, and other religious groups use religious tribunals on a voluntary basis to settle civil disputes (but not criminal matters) amongst themselves, Van Duyne condemned the mediation panel in the strongest of terms, suggesting it was a stealth effort to replace American law with Shariah. In March, she asked the Irving City Council to endorse a state bill outlawing the already illegal use of foreign law, including Shariah, in state criminal courts.

That wasn’t the end of it. In September, Irving school officials made national headlines when they sent Ahmed Mohamed, a nerdy ninth-grader, out of the school in handcuffs after accusing him of making a fake bomb. The bomb turned out to be a homemade clock, and, for his troubles and his smarts, the 14-year-old landed an invitation to the White House. But his family, shaken by the incident, withdrew all their children from Irving’s schools and said they were moving to Qatar.

For his part, armed protest organizer Wright claimed to represent a new group called the Bureau of American Islamic Relations (an obvious mimicking of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a Muslim civil rights group). He is also allegedly associated with the so-called III Percenters, a national movement of gun-toting, antigovernment “Patriots” that takes its name from the discredited myth that only 3% of colonists fought against the English in the American Revolution.

AP IMAGES/PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVIS (HOLLANDE AND OBAMA); AP IMAGES/LEWIS JOLY/SIPA; EIFFEL TOWER; AP IMAGES/MICHAEL ESCAMILLA/LOS ANGELES NEWS GROUP

III Percenters have planned or led anti-Muslim gatherings across the country, rallied via social media by Arizona hardliner Jon Ritzheimer, who also threatened at one point to personally arrest U.S. Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.) for having voted in favor of Obama’s arms deal with Iran. “We III Percent, we militiamen, are standing at the ready across our nation,” Ritzheimer said in an August YouTube video promoting the armed protest idea. “And when you strike, we will strike back. We will level and demolish every mosque across this country.”

Out of the Frying Pan

The ramping-up of anti-Muslim sentiment — in Irving and across the country — did not begin only after the Paris and San Bernardino attacks of late 2015. Recently released FBI hate crime statistics for 2014 show that hate crimes against Muslims rose that year by about 14%, even as hate crimes in every other major category dropped. The increase was apparently driven by reports of atrocities by the Islamic State, mainly in Africa and the Middle East. Although the 2014 rise was relatively small, there seems to be little doubt that when the 2015 numbers are published by the FBI in late 2016, they will reflect a dramatic jump.

The tone for 2015 already was set in January with the deadly assault by jihadist terrorists on *Charlie Hebdo*, a French satirical magazine, and other French targets. After that, it seemed American Muslims were powerless to cool the growing ardor of their haters. When a group gathered in Garland, Texas, later that month for an event themed “Stand with the Prophet against terror and hate,” anti-Muslim protests followed. “They were not grateful that local Muslim-Americans had taken it upon themselves to combat extremism, but rather outraged that Muslim-Americans would dare to gather publicly at all,” observed Vox’s Max Fisher.

Other attacks — mostly abroad but also including a thwarted attempt by two jihadists to shoot people gathered at a deliberately provocative Muhammad Art Exhibit and Contest held in Texas in May, and the July murders of four Marines and a sailor in Chattanooga, Tenn., by a Muslim gunman — only fueled the fire.

So did a media landscape that treats every issue as if it’s up for debate, fails to fact-check before it broadcasts, and repeatedly showcases pundits with histories of demonizing, ill-informed and factually inaccurate statements.

Following the attacks on *Charlie Hebdo*, for instance, Fox News “terrorism expert” Steve



Emerson claimed that certain parts of Europe are “no-go zones” where “non-Muslims just simply don’t go” — a baseless myth that earned him international criticism and mockery. Emerson later apologized, but that did not stop other Fox pundits and politicians from repeating and amplifying Emerson’s assertion — among them Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, a former GOP presidential candidate whose claims about British no-go zones were similarly ridiculed.

The problem goes beyond right-wing conspiracy theorists and haters on the Internet, and beyond the Fox News shows that regularly offer platforms to paranoid Islamophobes like Emerson and hate group leaders like Robert Spencer. Liberal satirist Bill Maher, an outspoken atheist whose broad critique of religion has become increasingly ugly when it comes to Islam, said of the faith: “What we’ve said all along, and have been called bigots for it, is when there’s this many bad apples, there’s something wrong with the orchard.” Richard Dawkins, an abrasive British scientist and fellow atheist, has

Muslims on the defensive: Recent attacks on Muslims have victimized the offices of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (clockwise from bottom right), three people murdered in North Carolina, and Sarkar Haq, who was beaten in New York.

also been relentless on the subject. “To hell with their culture!” he said of Muslims on Maher’s television show in November.

The Candidates Join In

But increasingly as 2015 drew to a close, the loudest Islamophobic voices came from Republican presidential candidates — most notably Donald Trump, who had also suggested that Mexico was deliberately sending “rapists” and “drug dealers” over the border, endorsed and publicized utterly bogus statistics about black crime that originated with an apparent neo-Nazi, and even declined to condemn the roughing up of a black protester by members of the audience at one of his rallies.

In September, Trump seemed to endorse the notion of expelling Muslims from America when

he responded to a supporter who claimed Obama was a Muslim and asked “When can we get rid of them?” by saying, “We’re going to be looking at that and many other things.” Speaking of Syrian refugees at a New Hampshire rally later that month, he told supporters, “If I win, they’re going back.”

Also in September, GOP presidential candidate Ben Carson, Trump’s chief competitor for the “outsider” vote, told NBC’s “Meet the Press” that he doesn’t believe Islam is consistent with the U.S. Constitution and that “I would not advocate that we put a Muslim in charge of this nation. I absolutely would not agree with that.”

Trump and Carson were speaking to a like-minded base. That same month, a survey by Public Policy Polling, a Democrat-affiliated polling outfit, found that 72% of North Carolina GOP primary voters thought a Muslim should not be president and 40% believed Islam should be illegal in the United States.

Trump’s anti-Muslim rhetoric amplified exponentially following the Nov. 13 Paris attacks, as he endorsed the notion of a database or national ID card for Muslim Americans, shutting down mosques that support extremism, and vastly increasing surveillance of American Muslims. Asked how the idea of a national Muslim registry differed from the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany in the mid-1930s, Trump responded repeatedly, “You tell me.”

“We’re going to have to do things that we never did before,” he told Yahoo News. “And certain things will be done that we never thought would happen in this country in terms of information and learning about the enemy. And so we’re going to have to do certain things that were frankly unthinkable a year ago.”



Ahmed Mohamed, 14, met with President Obama after he was dragged out of school in handcuffs in Irving, Texas, where Mayor Beth Van Duyne has made a series of anti-Muslim comments, because teachers mistook a clock he built for a bomb. Jon Ritzheimer (with sunglasses) led an armed anti-Muslim march outside a Phoenix mosque, while the so-called Bureau of American-Islamic Relations held a similar rally in Richardson, Texas.



GETTY IMAGES/CHIP SOMODEVILAKOMHAMED; AP IMAGES/LIM OTTERO (OVARO); AP IMAGES/RICK SCUTER (RITZHEIMER); GETTY IMAGES/JOHN MOORE (FALTY)

Other GOP presidential candidates were little better. On Nov. 15, responding to Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton's avoidance of the term "radical Islam" to describe Islamic State terrorists, Marco Rubio compared Muslims to Nazis: "I don't understand it. That would be like saying we weren't at war with the Nazis, because we were afraid to offend some Germans who may have been members of the Nazi Party, but weren't violent themselves," he said. "This is a clash of civilizations."

On Nov. 16, New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, another GOP presidential candidate, said the United States should not admit a single refugee from the Syrian civil war — not even "orphans under age 5." He was quickly joined by more than half of the nation's governors, including fellow GOP presidential candidate and Ohio Gov. John Kasich, in saying Syrian refugees would not be welcome in their states.

Republican presidential hopefuls Ted Cruz and Jeb Bush, meanwhile, proposed the use of religious tests to bar Muslim Syrian refugees while admitting Christian ones. "We can't roll the dice with the safety of Americans and bring in people for whom there is an unacceptable risk that they could be jihadists coming here to kill Americans," said Cruz. But, he added, "there is no meaningful risk of Christians committing acts of terror."

GOP presidential candidate Mike Huckabee seemed to agree, saying, "I don't know of any other group of people uniquely that are targeting innocent civilians and committing these acts of mayhem." Cruz's and Huckabee's assertions about the supposedly unique danger posed by Muslims are telling in light of the fact that since Sept. 11, 2001, domestic right-wing extremists have been responsible for about the same number of deaths in the United States as radical Muslims (48, as opposed to 45 killed by jihadists, according the New America Foundation) — including, most recently, the November murder of three people at a Colorado Planned Parenthood clinic (see story, p. 7) by a man who had earlier professed admiration for anti-abortion terrorists.

Trump, meanwhile, continued to ratchet up his rhetoric. On Nov. 21, he revived a completely debunked anti-Muslim myth when he claimed to remember seeing "thousands and thousands" of Muslims in New Jersey cheering as the World Trade Center collapsed following the 9/11 attacks. Confronted with police and media investigations that concluded decisively that such celebrations did not happen, Trump simply refused to back down.

On Dec. 7, he made his most extreme proposal yet. "Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete



shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on," began a press release that Trump read aloud to a crowd.

"It is obvious to anybody the hatred is beyond comprehension. Where this hatred comes from and why we will have to determine. Until we are able to determine and understand this problem and the dangerous threat it poses, our country cannot be the victim of horrendous attacks by people that believe only in Jihad, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life."

That announcement set off a firestorm of criticism. Some leaders within the GOP establishment, which previously trod very lightly on the subject of Trump, spoke out forcefully. Even some arch-conservatives condemned the proposal, including former Vice President Dick Cheney, who said: "[T]his whole notion that somehow we can just say no more Muslims, just ban a whole religion, goes against everything we stand for and believe in. I mean, religious freedom has been a very important part of our history and where we came from." GOP National Committee Chairman Reince Preibus echoed him, saying, "We need to aggressively take on radical Islamic terrorism but not at the expense of our American values."



Islamist attacks like the one that left five servicemen dead in Chattanooga, Tenn., helped spark anti-Islam rallies like a recent gathering in Garland, Texas.

AP IMAGES/TONY GUTIERREZ (RALLY); AP IMAGES/DOUG STRICKLAND, CHATTANOOGA TIMES FREE PRESS (SERVICEMEN)

“Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country’s representatives can figure out what is going on.”

And Paul Ryan, speaker of the House of Representatives, added: “This is not conservatism. What was proposed yesterday is not what this party stands for, and more importantly, it’s not what this country stands for. Not only are there many Muslims serving in our armed forces dying for this country, there are Muslims serving right here in the House, working every day to uphold and defend the Constitution. Some of our best and biggest allies in this struggle and fight against radical Islamic terror are Muslims. The vast, vast, vast, vast majority of whom are peaceful who believe in pluralism, freedom, democracy, individual rights.”

Even so, Ryan and many other Republican leaders have pledged to support whoever gets the party’s nomination, and polling suggests that 25% of American voters, and 42% of Republicans, approve of Trump’s plan to temporarily halt Muslim immigration to America.

Muslim Brotherhood has infiltrated the highest levels of government, once called for the revival of HUAC-like panels to grill American Muslims about their loyalties, and thinks the Oklahoma City bombing may have been the work of Saddam Hussein.

That Gaffney is so extreme that he’s been banned from the Conservative Political Action Conference, the conservative movement’s premiere yearly gathering, probably earns him points with Trump, who takes obvious pleasure in insulting establishment politicians on both sides of the aisle.

What may be most disheartening is that Trump’s rhetoric is only keeping pace with the worst instincts of a large portion of the population that, frightened by world events and goaded by many media outlets that encourage “debate” about the basic humanity of Muslims, has embraced a xenophobic and nationalistic world view.

In his comments on Dec. 6, Obama reiterated that Americans forget our values at our peril. “[J]ust as it is the responsibility of Muslims around the world to root out misguided ideas that lead to radicalization, it is the responsibility of all Americans — of every faith — to reject discrimination,” the president said. “It is our responsibility to reject religious tests on who we admit into this country. It’s our responsibility to reject proposals that Muslim Americans should somehow be treated differently. Because when we travel down that road, we lose.” ▲

72%

of North Carolina GOP voters think a Muslim shouldn’t be president

40%

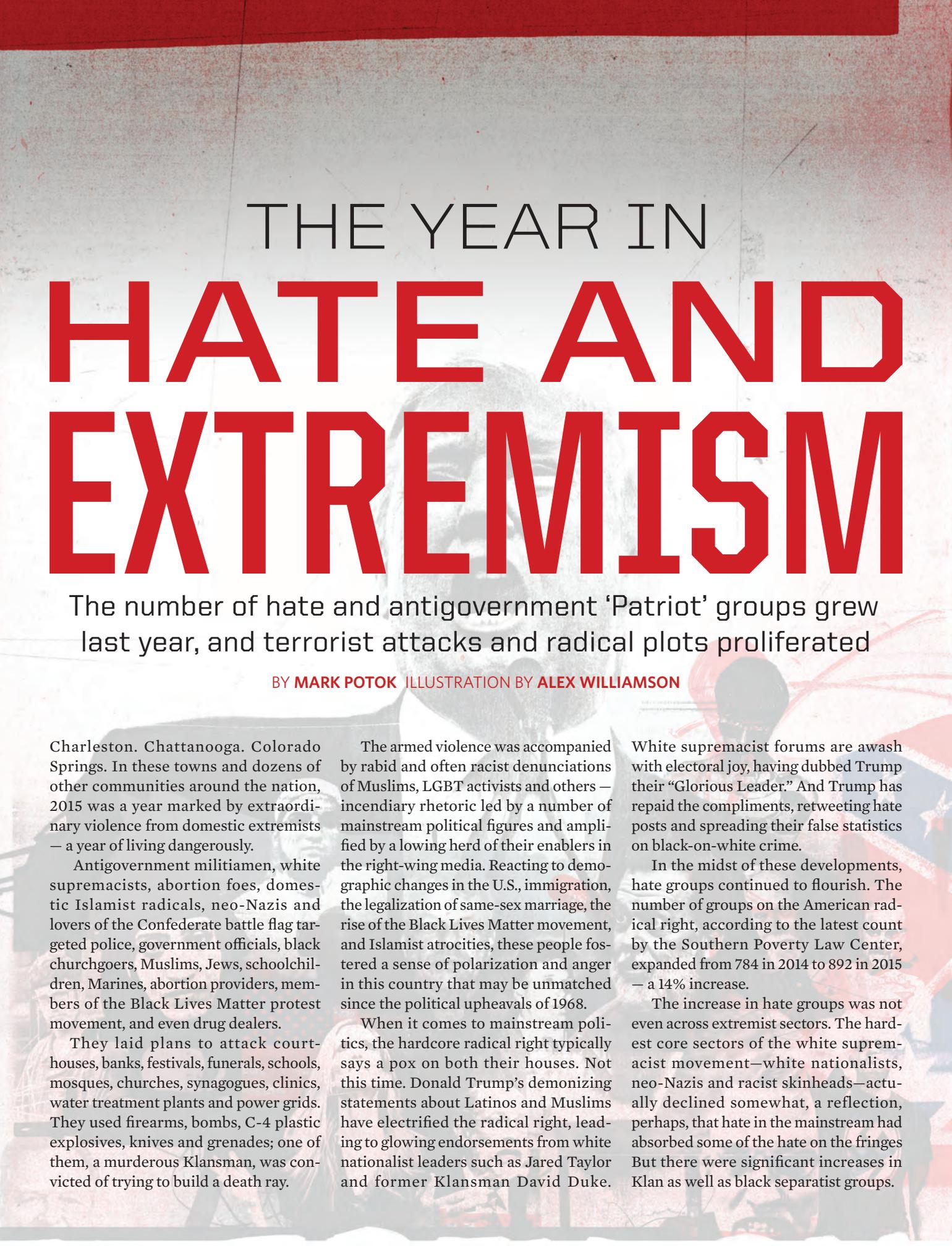
of North Carolina GOP voters think Islam should be illegal in the U.S.

Bogus Statistics for a Bogus Plan

Meanwhile, in announcing his proposal, Trump cited data from a poll by the Center for Security Policy supposedly showing that “25% of those polled agreed that violence against Americans here in the United States is justified as a part of the global jihad” and that 51% “agreed that Muslims in America should have the choice of being governed according to Shariah.” The statistics came from an “opt-in” poll that was unscientific and contradicted by others with starkly different results.

This reference also provided powerful evidence that Trump had not come up with these anti-Muslim ideas all by himself. Instead, he apparently was relying on the baseless claims of Center for Security Policy founder Frank Gaffney, an anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist who believes that the





THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

The number of hate and antigovernment 'Patriot' groups grew last year, and terrorist attacks and radical plots proliferated

BY **MARK POTOK** ILLUSTRATION BY **ALEX WILLIAMSON**

Charleston. Chattanooga. Colorado Springs. In these towns and dozens of other communities around the nation, 2015 was a year marked by extraordinary violence from domestic extremists — a year of living dangerously.

Antigovernment militiamen, white supremacists, abortion foes, domestic Islamist radicals, neo-Nazis and lovers of the Confederate battle flag targeted police, government officials, black churchgoers, Muslims, Jews, schoolchildren, Marines, abortion providers, members of the Black Lives Matter protest movement, and even drug dealers.

They laid plans to attack courthouses, banks, festivals, funerals, schools, mosques, churches, synagogues, clinics, water treatment plants and power grids. They used firearms, bombs, C-4 plastic explosives, knives and grenades; one of them, a murderous Klansman, was convicted of trying to build a death ray.

The armed violence was accompanied by rabid and often racist denunciations of Muslims, LGBT activists and others — incendiary rhetoric led by a number of mainstream political figures and amplified by a lowing herd of their enablers in the right-wing media. Reacting to demographic changes in the U.S., immigration, the legalization of same-sex marriage, the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, and Islamist atrocities, these people fostered a sense of polarization and anger in this country that may be unmatched since the political upheavals of 1968.

When it comes to mainstream politics, the hardcore radical right typically says a pox on both their houses. Not this time. Donald Trump's demonizing statements about Latinos and Muslims have electrified the radical right, leading to glowing endorsements from white nationalist leaders such as Jared Taylor and former Klansman David Duke.

White supremacist forums are awash with electoral joy, having dubbed Trump their "Glorious Leader." And Trump has repaid the compliments, retweeting hate posts and spreading their false statistics on black-on-white crime.

In the midst of these developments, hate groups continued to flourish. The number of groups on the American radical right, according to the latest count by the Southern Poverty Law Center, expanded from 784 in 2014 to 892 in 2015 — a 14% increase.

The increase in hate groups was not even across extremist sectors. The hardest core sectors of the white supremacist movement—white nationalists, neo-Nazis and racist skinheads—actually declined somewhat, a reflection, perhaps, that hate in the mainstream had absorbed some of the hate on the fringes. But there were significant increases in Klan as well as black separatist groups.

Klan chapters grew from 72 in 2014 to 190 last year, invigorated by the 364 pro-Confederate battle flag rallies that took place after South Carolina took down the battle flag from its Capitol grounds following the June massacre of nine black churchgoers by a white supremacist flag enthusiast in Charleston, S.C. Rallies in favor of the battle flag were held in 26 states — concentrated, but by no means limited to the South — and reflected widespread white anger that the tide in the country was turning against them.

On the opposite end of the political spectrum, black separatist hate groups also grew, going from 113 chapters in 2014 to 180 last year. The growth was fueled largely by the explosion of anger fostered by highly publicized incidents of police shootings of black men. But unlike activists for racial justice such as those in the Black Lives Matter movement, the black separatist groups did not stop at demands for police reforms and an end to structural racism. Instead, they typically demonized all whites, gays, and, in particular, Jews.

Just as the number of hate groups rose by 14% in 2015, so did the number of conspiracy-minded antigovernment “Patriot” groups, going from 874 in 2014 to 998 last year. The growth was fueled by

the euphoria felt in antigovernment circles after armed activists forced federal officials to back down at gunpoint from seizing cattle at Cliven Bundy’s ranch to pay his grazing fees. So emboldened were activists by the failure of the federal government to arrest anyone following their “victory” at the Bundy ranch that armed men, led by Bundy’s son, began occupying a wildlife refuge in Oregon in January 2016 as a protest against federal land ownership in the West.

The 2015 hate group count almost certainly understates the true size of the American radical right. White supremacists are increasingly opting to operate mainly online, where the danger of public exposure and embarrassment is far lower, where younger people tend to gather, and where it requires virtually no effort or cost to join in the conversation. The major hate forum Stormfront now has more than 300,000 members, and the site has been adding about 25,000 registered users annually for several years — the size of a small city.

The milieu of the web is an ideal one for “lone wolves” — terrorists who operate on their own and are radicalized online. Dylann Roof is the perfect example. His journey began with absorbing

propaganda about black-on-white crime from the website of the Council of Conservative Citizens, a hate group that enjoyed the attention of Republican lawmakers in the 1990s, and ended with the June massacre in Charleston. Like increasing numbers in white supremacist circles, Roof was convinced after drinking radical-right Kool-Aid on the Internet claiming that white people worldwide were the targets of genocide.

Violence Hits a New Peak

Last year brought more domestic political violence, both from the American radical right and from American jihadists, than the nation has seen in many years (see timeline of violence, below). According to a year-end report from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), “domestic extremist killers” slew more people in 2015 than in any year since 1995, when the Oklahoma City bombing left 168 men, women and children dead. Counting both political and other violence from extremists, the ADL said “a minimum of 52 people in the United States were killed by adherents of domestic extremist movement[s] in the past 12 months.”

Another tally, by the respected New America Foundation, found that by

A TIMELINE

THE YEAR IN DOMESTIC TERROR

The year 2015 was remarkable for the proliferation of radical-right and jihadist conspiracies, terrorism and related violence in America — a situation so bad, in fact, that the Anti-Defamation League reported in December that more people were killed by political extremists last year than in any year since 1995, when the Oklahoma City bombing left 168 people dead. What follows is a timeline of key events.

JAN. 7



The year has hardly begun when two Islamist gunmen burst into the offices of *Charlie Hebdo*, a satirical magazine in Paris that published what were deemed blasphemous cartoons of the prophet Muhammad. The pair murder 12 people, and five more are killed in related assaults in the next days, provoking an anti-terror march by 2 million people and 40 world leaders. Although the attack by Al Qaeda occurs in France, it stokes fears in America of Islamist violence.

FEB. 14

On Valentine’s Day, FBI agents arrest Jonathan Leo Schrader, a West Virginia man who officials say regularly espoused “venomous antigovernment, anti-law enforcement rhetoric.” They find C-4, dynamite and other weapons he allegedly intended to use to attack a federal courthouse, a bank, and the Mountain State Forest Festival in Elkins. Schrader also allegedly planned to use a sniper rifle to shoot at first responders to the scenes of the explosions he plotted.

FEB. 16



David Joseph Lenio is arrested in Montana after allegedly tweeting repeatedly about shooting up a school — “I bet I could get at least 12 unarmed sitting ducks” — and a rabbi. After being released from jail pending trial, Lenio, an anti-Semite who also accuses Jews of being behind 9/11, sends out a series of similar tweets, apparently violating the terms of his release. Lenio is vocally supported by Karl Gharst, a former leader of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations.

year's end, 45 people in America had been killed in "violent jihadist attacks" since the Al Qaeda massacre of Sept. 11, 2001, just short of the 48 people killed in the same 14-year period in "far right wing attacks." (Unlike the ADL, the foundation does not count non-political violence by extremists.)

The impact of terrorism goes far beyond the body count. Violence motivated by racial, ethnic or religious animus fractures society along its most fragile fault lines, and sends shock waves through entire targeted communities. More hatred and fear, particularly of diversity, are often the response.

Several political figures have harnessed that fear, calling for bans on mosques, Muslim immigrants and refugees fleeing violence in the Middle East. And terror can breed hate crimes, as evidenced by a string of physical attacks on mosques and Muslims, particularly after a jihadist couple in San Bernardino, Calif., murdered 14 people in December.

From start to finish, the year 2015 was remarkable for its terrorist violence, the penetration of the radical right and its conspiracy theories into mainstream politics, and the boost far-right ideas and groups received from pandering politicians like Donald Trump. And the

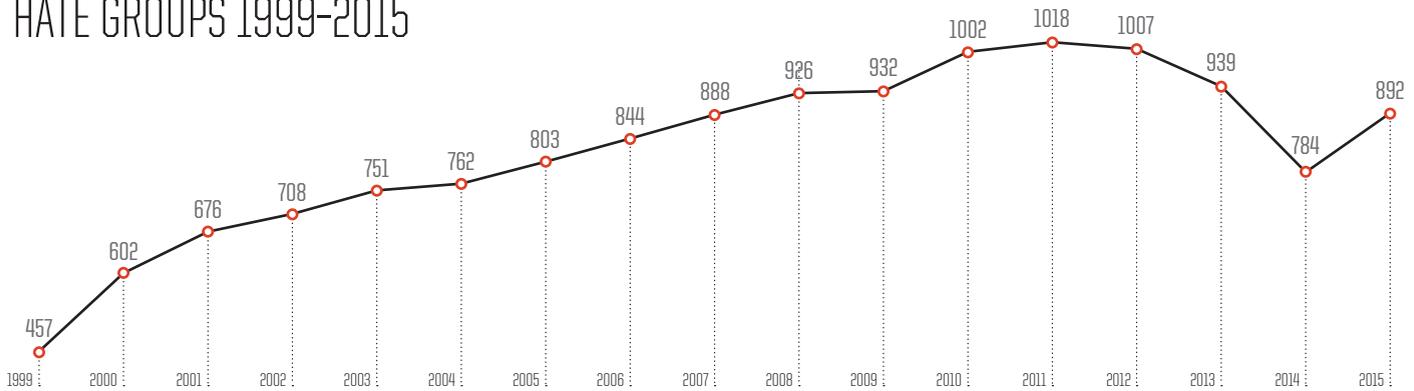
situation appears likely to get worse, not better, as the country continues to come to terms with its increasing diversity.

What's Going On?

Eight years after the election of our first black president, two years after the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement, and half a year after same-sex marriage was legalized, Americans are arguably as angry as they have been in decades.

The bulk of that anger is coming from beleaguered working-class and, to a lesser extent, middle-class white people, especially the less educated — the very same groups that most vociferously support

HATE GROUPS 1999-2015



MARCH 24

A longtime racist skin-head named Steven Snyder robs a bank in Wausaukee, Wis., murders a man as he hijacks a car a half hour later, and shoots to death a pursuing state trooper even as the trooper fatally shoots him. It is unclear what Snyder, who has a 20-year history of violence and onetime ties to the neo-Nazi National Alliance, may have been planning.

MARCH 25

Authorities in St. Louis, Mo., arrest David Michael Hagler, seizing a stockpile of 20 guns and thousands of rounds of ammunition. They cite informants who describe Hagler as a "Rambo" character who was living "off the grid" and plotting "mass attacks on [police] officers at funerals or fundraisers." Four months later, they accuse Hagler of a bizarre plot to kill police, then glue a gun to a black man's hand and shout "gun," leading officers to kill the man. The informants describe Hagler as filled with hate for the government, law enforcement, Muslims and African Americans, whose protests in nearby Ferguson infuriated him.

APRIL 2



Three alleged members of the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who are current or former employees of the Florida Department of Corrections are arrested in a plot to murder a black former inmate. Thomas Jordan Driver, David Elliot Moran and Charles Thomas Newcomb, who all worked at one time at the department's Lake Butler intake facility, are charged with conspiracy.

APRIL 4

Robert Daggart, who in 2014 came in third in a race to represent the 4th Congressional District in Tennessee, is accused of plotting to use guns and fire to destroy a community of black Muslims in upstate New York. Officials say Daggart tried to recruit "patriots" to join him in the attack on Islamburg, near Hancock, N.Y., and also said he would use machetes to "cut them to shreds." Daggart pleads guilty to communicating threats shortly after his arrest, but is indicted later on additional federal charges that could bring him 10 years in prison.

APRIL 11-12



Militiamen and fellow travelers gather at the Bunkerville, Nev., ranch of Cliven Bundy. They are there to celebrate the fact that a year after their armed standoff with law enforcement, no one has been arrested or charged despite the promises of authorities and the fact that several of Bundy's entourage pointed firearms at officials, a felony. The Bundys' apparent imperviousness to arrest clearly fosters their willingness to engage in further antigovernment actions.

Trump. They are angry over the coming loss of a white majority (predicted for 2043 by the Census Bureau), the falling fortunes of the white working class, worsening income inequality, the rise of left-wing movements like Black Lives Matter, major advances for LGBT people, growing numbers of refugees and undocumented workers, terrorism, and more.

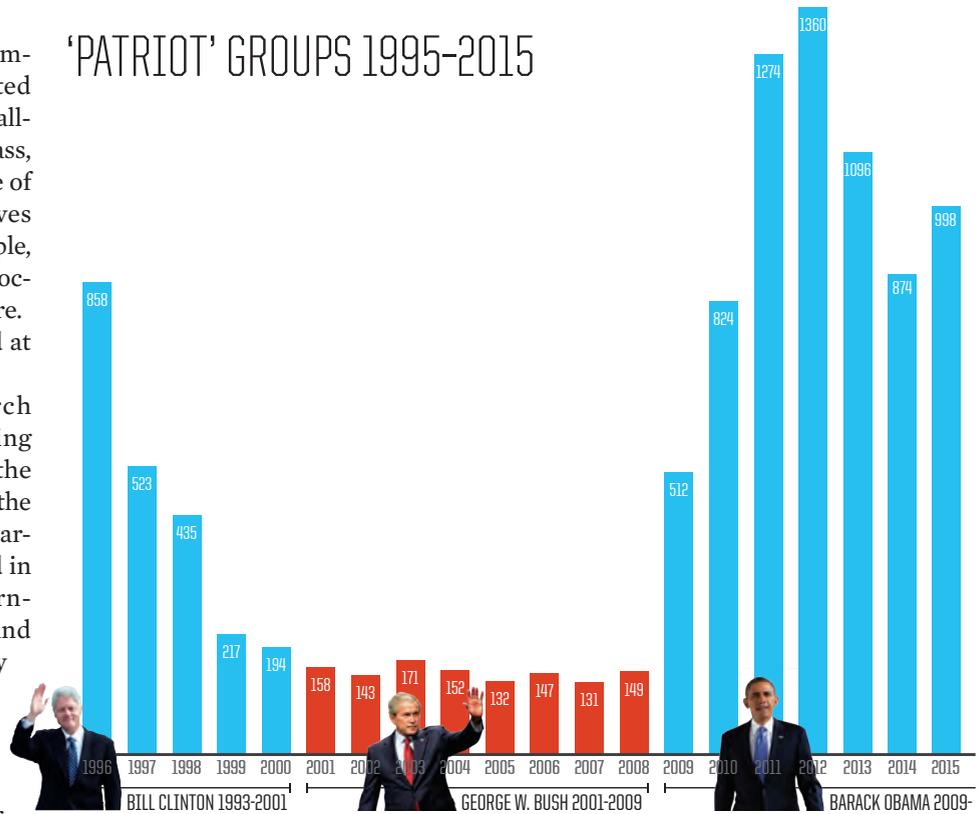
Their anger, above all, is directed at the government.

In November, the Pew Research Center reported poll results showing that just 19% of Americans trusted the federal government always or most of the time, a number that is less than a quarter of the 77% level of trust recorded in the late 1950s. Just 20% saw government programs as being well run, and 59% said the government needs “very major reform,” up from 37% under President Bill Clinton in 1997.

A January poll, this one by NBC and *Esquire*, found that the news makes 77% of Republicans and 67% of Democrats angry at least once a day. Whites were angriest, at 73%, compared to Latinos (66%) and blacks (56%).

“Such voters are nostalgic for the country they lived in 50 years ago, when non-Hispanic whites made up more

‘PATRIOT’ GROUPS 1995-2015

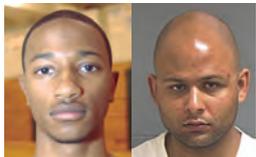


than 83 percent of the population,” *The New York Times’* Eduardo Porter wrote of lower-income whites in a trenchant essay this January. “Today, their share has shrunk to 62 percent as demographic change has transformed the

United States into a nation where others have a shot at power.

“Their fear is understandable. In general, the concerns of Hispanic and black American voters are often different than those of white voters. But the reaction

MAY 3



In Garland, Texas, anti-Muslim propagandist Pamela Geller holds a Muhammad cartoon contest, an obvious provocation that she bills as a “free speech” event. Two Arizona roommates, Elton Simpson and Nadir Soofi, attempt to attack the gathering in the name of radical Islam, but are almost immediately killed by a police officer with a pistol despite their body armor and semi-automatic weapons.

JUNE 3



A police officer and an FBI agent shoot dead Usaamah Rahim after he allegedly lunges at them with a military knife in Boston. Officials say Rahim initially planned to behead Pamela Geller, but instead attacked officers.

JUNE 17



In an attempt to start a “race war,” Dylann Roof murders nine black churchgoers at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, S.C., after accusing African Americans of raping white women and trying to “take over.” The massacre provokes a major backlash against the Confederate battle flag, which Roof venerated, and that in turn fuels enormous rage and pro-flag rallies on the radical right.

JULY 16



Four U.S. Marines are killed by Kuwaiti-born Muhammad Youssef Abdulazeez, a naturalized U.S. citizen, in an Islamist attack on a military recruiting office and a naval facility in Chattanooga, Tenn. Abdulazeez is also killed. Members of the III Percenters, an antigovernment group, later insist on guarding a number of other recruiting centers with guns despite officials’ requests that they not do so.

JULY 21

Former correctional officer Michael O’Neill blows off his own leg while building bombs in his parents’ garage in Wheatland, N.Y. While authorities do not know what O’Neill’s plans might have been, the garage is hung with white supremacist propaganda — including Nazi symbols, Klan posters and Confederate memorabilia — and O’Neill is ordered held without bail.

of whites who are struggling economically raises the specter of an outright political war along racial and ethnic lines over the distribution of resources and opportunities.”

Contributing to this war, remarkably, have been Trump and a number of other GOP presidential candidates. Trump, of course, has attacked Muslims, Mexicans and black people (he re-tweeted a neo-Nazi’s statistics falsely claiming that blacks are overwhelmingly responsible for the murder of whites). But Ted Cruz, Jeb Bush and others have made inflammatory comments about Muslims, Carly Fiorina has told false stories that demonize abortion providers, and Ben Carson and others have attacked LGBT activists and the Supreme Court over legalizing same-sex marriage. The U.S. House of Representatives took up a bill to end the resettlement of refugees, riding a wave of fear after the San Bernardino attacks. And others joined that anti-Muslim parade, ranging from Christian Right groups such as the American Family Association to the Klan.

Although many expected race relations would improve after the 2008 election of President Obama, that has not been the case. Several studies have

shown a rise in anti-black racism, and a November poll by CNN and the Kaiser Family Foundation found that 49% of all Americans see racism as a “big problem.” That’s way up from 28% in 2011, and eight points higher than the 41% who thought so in 1995.

America may be headed for a better place. But the Harvard scholar Robert Putnam has argued that as ethnic diversity rises, trust both between and within ethnic groups declines. As Putnam argues, that does not mean that multiculturalism is a failure, but rather that inter-communal bridgebuilding is important as diversity increases. In other words, the road ahead will not be an easy one, and Americans of all races and creeds will need to work to rebuild a true national community.

What follows are more detailed looks at sectors of the radical right.

ANTI-LGBT GROUPS

Years of fighting a losing battle against human rights for LGBT people culminated for anti-LGBT groups in 2015 with the Supreme Court’s June decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, ushering in national marriage equality. The ruling set off near hysteria among groups on the religious

right, with people like GOP presidential candidate Mike Huckabee warning that it would “criminalize Christianity.” Others on the Christian Right, including Family Research Council President Tony Perkins, Focus on the Family founder James Dobson and Liberty Counsel President Mathew Staver, warned that the decision would lead to armed conflict in America.

Obergefell was not the only loss for those opposed to gay rights. A lawsuit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) against JONAH, a New Jersey group that claimed to “cure” gay people of their homosexuality, resulted in its shutdown. And Illinois became the fourth state in the nation to ban the provision of JONAH-style “reparative therapy” to minors.

Facing so many defeats, anti-LGBT groups redoubled their efforts to pass so-called Religious Freedom Restoration Acts (RFRAs), meant to allow businesses to claim religious belief as a defense against discrimination lawsuits, at the state and federal level. Sixteen states considered RFRAs in 2015, and Arkansas and Indiana passed theirs. But in Indiana, a major backlash from the public and a large number of corporations convinced the legislature to backtrack

JULY 22



Officials in Arizona arrest Parris Frazier, Robert Deatherage and Erik Foster, border vigilantes with the Arizona Special Operations Group, and charge them in an alleged plot to rip off drug cartels. The men allegedly planned to steal and sell cocaine. Frazier also is accused of agreeing to murder a rival.

JULY 23



John Russell Houser walks into a movie theater in Lafayette, La., shoots two people dead and wounds nine others before killing himself as police close in. Earlier, in posts to neo-Nazi and racist websites, Houser praised Adolf Hitler, Timothy McVeigh, David Duke and lone wolf attacks, although his motives in the shooting are not clear. He also showed a keen interest in anti-Semitism.

AUG. 1

Three men in Gaston County, N.C., are arrested and accused of stockpiling weapons and making bombs in order to resist a military occupation. Walter Eugene Litteral, Christopher James Barker and Christopher Todd Campbell allegedly fear that a U.S. military exercise known as Jade Helm 15 is actually a plot to impose martial law, a widespread conspiracy theory on the far right.

AUG. 4

Charles Smith of Baldwin Borough, Pa., pleads guilty to possessing an illegal destructive device. Police who raided his home in 2014 found 20 bombs and a podium and business cards that indicated he ran a “White Church” that met there regularly. An array of white supremacist literature was also found. A federal judge later sentences Smith to 7½ years in prison.

AUG. 6



FBI agents arrest Shane Robert Smith of Whitehall, N.Y., for allegedly collecting an arsenal, including illegal machine guns and a silencer, to murder Jews and African Americans. Smith created the Facebook page NYND, which is said to stand for New York Nazi Division, and his interests, as listed on a Russian social media site, include “preserving my race ... and destroying the government.”

and approve an amendment saying that the new state law could not be used to deny service to anyone.

Anti-LGBT groups also ramped up efforts to deny transgender people access to bathrooms of their choice, notably in Houston, where voters repealed an anti-discrimination ordinance. Trans women, who the SPLC has found are the most targeted community in America by hate criminals, suffered through a terrible year, with at least 23 of them murdered — nearly double the known number in 2014.

ANTI-MUSLIM GROUPS

The year started out badly for Muslims, with the attack on the *Charlie Hebdo* satirical magazine in Paris, and ended even worse, with an Islamic State massacre in Paris and the similar murder of 14 people at a San Bernardino, Calif., office party — not to mention the call by Donald Trump for a ban on Muslim immigration.

Groups like Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy (CSP), which is being newly listed by the SPLC as a hate group, thrived in the wake of jihadist atrocities and counterattacks like that from Trump. In fact, Trump used a bogus "poll" from

CSP to claim that a quarter of American Muslims support violent jihadists like the members of the Islamic State — a complete falsehood, according to several serious polls and studies. Like Trump, two other GOP presidential hopefuls, Ben Carson and Ted Cruz, spoke at one or more CSP "National Security Action Summits" last year. There was also a smattering of armed anti-Muslim protests at mosques in Phoenix and elsewhere that were staged by groups even more radical than CSP.

The country's most influential anti-Muslim groups, CSP and ACT! for America, turned their attention about mid-year to opposing immigration by refugees from the Syrian civil war, drafting model statutes meant to ban the refugees at the county level. Some 30 state governors also said they would prohibit refugees.

After the San Bernardino attack in December, Muslim activists and others reported an enormous surge of anti-Muslim hate crimes, including shootings, mosque arsons, Koran desecrations, assaults and the bullying of schoolchildren. As the new year began, there was little evidence that the hatred was diminishing.

BLACK SEPARATIST GROUPS

Together with Klan groups, the category of black separatist groups was the other area of dramatic growth among hate groups in 2015, with several new groups forming and existing ones growing, often substantially. The number of these black separatist group chapters went up by 59%, from 113 in 2014 to 180 last year.

It seems clear that what drove this growth was an intense, nationwide focus on issues enraging many Americans, especially those of color, including the killings by police of black men, continuing institutional racism and other mistreatment of black people, often brought to public attention via homemade videos or cameras mounted on police cars or uniforms. But unlike activists in the Black Lives Matter movement and their sympathizers, black separatist groups are more interested in demonizing "the Jews" and whites than working for solutions to the very real racial problems in the country.

The new groups included the Black Hebrew Israelites in San Francisco; the Israelite School of Universal Practical Knowledge (11 chapters, based in Baltimore), and Israel United in Christ (based in Newburgh, N.Y., with 33

AUG. 21



Glendon Scott Crawford is convicted in upstate New York in connection with his protracted attempt to build a massive X-ray weapon with which he and a co-conspirator planned to mass-murder Muslims. Crawford was a member of the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

AUG. 28

Three Georgia militia members — Terry Eugene Peace, Brian Edward Cannon and Cory Robert Williamson — are sentenced to 12 years apiece for conspiring to use weapons of mass destruction. They hoped to attack power grids and water treatment facilities in a bid to start a war with the government, force it to impose martial law, and then bring in other militias to win the struggle.

AUG. 31



In Olathe, Kan., long-time neo-Nazi Frazier Glenn Miller is convicted of the murder of three people he mistakenly thought were Jewish at two Jewish institutions in Overland Park, Kan. Miller, who sieg-heiled the jury after he was convicted, is later sentenced to death, as he said he expected.

SEPT. 4



A Planned Parenthood clinic in Pullman, Wash., is fire-bombed, the first major attack on such a facility since the Center for Medical Progress' deceptive videos about the organization were released two months earlier. There were smaller arsons at abortion clinics in Aurora, Ill., and New Orleans on July 19 and Aug. 1.

SEPT. 22

Police in West Virginia arrest an antigovernment "sovereign citizen," part of a movement of people who don't believe most laws apply to them, and charge him with plotting to overthrow the state government and execute officials. Thomas David Deegan, who allegedly tried to recruit like-minded radicals to join him in a series of conference calls, thought rebellions in other states would soon follow.

AP IMAGES/SIP DICKSTEIN; THE ALBANY TIMES UNION (CRAWFORD); REUTERS/ALISON LONG/KANSAS CITY STAR/POOL (MILLER); AP IMAGES/CHAD SOKOL; THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW (PLANNED PARENTHOOD);

chapters). Others expanded enormously, including the New Black Panther Party (based in Atlanta, from nine to 18 chapters); the Israelite Church of God in Jesus Christ (New York City, from 18 to 29); the Black Riders Liberation Party (Los Angeles, from two to eight); and All Eyes on Egypt Bookstore (Milledgeville, Ga., from two to 10).

KU KLUX KLAN GROUPS

The year saw an apparent comeback of Klan groups, going from 72 in 2014 to 190 last year. But that growth is probably mainly accounted for by the disappearance last year of two major groups — the Fraternal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Knight Rider Knights of the Ku Klux Klan — and their members' likely move into other groups, many of them newly formed.

Still, Klan groups were to some extent genuinely revitalized last year, especially because of the post-Charleston denunciation of the Confederate battle flag and other Confederate symbols. That attack led to a backlash from the Klan and other groups, which collectively held at least 364 pro-Confederate flag rallies in 26 states as well as the District of Columbia.

The year also saw the rise of new Klan groups and the reappearance of older ones. The new groups were the Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (with 20 chapters), the Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Rebel Brigade Knights of the True Invisible Empire, and the Traditional Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. And the United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan came roaring back to life with 31 chapters. The Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan grew from one chapter in 2014 to 21 last year, and the Original Knight Riders of the Ku Klux Klan went from nine to 15 chapters.

NEO-CONFEDERATE GROUPS

The nation's premier neo-Confederate group, the League of the South, continued to grow more radical last year, with founder Michael Hill fantasizing about a "race war" which, he warned, black people will surely lose. The group also trafficked even more openly in anti-Semitism, culminating in *The Barnes Review*, the nation's leading journal of Holocaust denial, publishing a Hill essay.

That radicalism stirred up increasing controversy for public officials involved

in the group. Two lieutenants left the Anniston, Ala., Police Department — one resigned and one was fired — after their attendance at a group convention came to light. In addition, Alabama State Auditor Jim Zeigler defended himself heatedly against widespread criticism of his speech to the group's Alabama chapter.

The league took a leadership role among the many groups, including Klan groups, supporting the Confederate battle flag after the Charleston massacre. Neo-Confederates in general were heavily represented at the 364 documented pro-flag rallies that took place across the country in the six months after the murders.

NEO-NAZI GROUPS

The main drama on the neo-Nazi scene last year was the continuing meltdown of the remains of the National Alliance, once the best organized and financed hate group in America. Following the 2014 handoff of the group's leadership by Erich Gliebe to longtime activist William White Williams, scandals multiplied.

First, Williams got into a battle with his accountant, Randolph Dilloway, who had been trying to explain that the group needed to deal with various tax problems. Dilloway ended up fleeing the group's

NOV. 9

The FBI arrests Robert C. Doyle and Ronald Beasley Chaney III in Virginia for attempting to buy guns and explosives from undercover agents that they allegedly intended to use to attack black churches and synagogues. The men, who investigators say are planning for "the coming race war," are described as adherents of the Asatru neo-Pagan theology, which is popular among white supremacists.

NOV. 13



Members of the Islamic State launch a series of coordinated attacks in Paris and its suburb Saint-Denis, killing 130 people and injuring hundreds more. While the massacre does not occur in the United States, it again raises the specter of mass-casualty terrorism against the West. Less than a month later, Donald Trump will falsely claim that a quarter of American Muslims support violent jihad.

NOV. 23



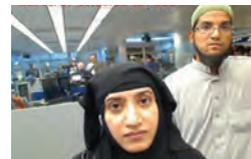
An apparent white supremacist, one of several who have been infiltrating and filming protests of police shootings by Black Lives Matter members in Minneapolis, shoots and wounds five protesters after being chased into an alley. Police later charge Allen "Lance" Scarsella with five counts of second-degree assault and three of his associates with armed second-degree riot. A local prosecutor says there is "no doubt" that the shootings were "racially motivated."

NOV. 27



In Colorado Springs, Colo., Robert Lewis Dear Jr. allegedly rampages through a local Planned Parenthood clinic, using a semiautomatic gun to kill three people and wound nine others. Dear, who is described by an ex-wife as a longtime opponent of abortion, reportedly tells an arresting officer "no more baby parts," making it clear he saw or knew about July's anti-abortion videos.

DEC. 2



An Islamist couple in San Bernardino, Calif., apparently inspired by the Islamic State, massacres 14 people at a work party before being shot to death themselves by police. In the weeks that follow, a frightening spate of anti-Muslim hate crimes, including attacks on mosques, sweeps the country in response to the killings.

West Virginia headquarters under police escort, and then gave the SPLC extensive details of the group's shady practices.

Then, by December, the always combative Williams was in similar fights with two other staffers — Garland DeCoursy and Michael Oljaca — who had moved to the compound following Dilloway's departure. After Williams allegedly assaulted DeCoursy in Oljaca's presence, both obtained restraining orders against him.

But Williams was arrested twice in one week for violating those orders and was asked to stay out of the state until a court hearing. The local prosecutor said Williams was under investigation for other possible crimes, including battery and larceny.

The year also brought what seems to be the final demise of another neo-Nazi group, the Aryans Nations, which has been in trouble since a successful SPLC lawsuit in 2000 and the death of

its founder in 2004 (see story, p. 22). Already, the group's once infamous compound outside Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, had been sold, its building burned and its members split into squabbling factions. In November, the group's last self-proclaimed leader, Morris Gullet, shut down his organization, which he had based in Converse, La. Shortly before that, another former leader, August Kreis III, was sentenced to 50 years in prison on three counts of sexually abusing a child.

'Nativist Extremist' Groups Dwindling Away

The number of "nativist extremist" groups — organizations that go beyond mere advocacy to personally confront suspected undocumented immigrants or those who hire or help them — dropped again last year, falling from 19 to just 17.

But that slight decline was not a reflection of diminishing hatred directed at immigrants to the United States. What appears to have happened is that figures in the political mainstream, along with numerous state legislatures, have essentially co-opted the issue, making the nativist extremist groups' activism unnecessary.

A recent example of that is Donald Trump's call for a ban on Muslim immigration and his description of Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers. Immigrant-bashing, whether of Latinos or Muslims, has gone mainstream.

The drop last year was the latest since the movement peaked in 2010 with 319 groups. The numbers fell off quickly at first, at a time when state legislatures were passing harsh nativist laws, but have been very low for three years now.

What follows is a list of nativist extremist groups active in 2015:

ARIZONA (2)

American Freedom Riders

Phoenix, AZ

Arizona Border Recon

Phoenix, AZ

CALIFORNIA (2)

Minuteman Project

Laguna Hills, CA

We the People Rising

Claremont, CA

FLORIDA (1)

Floridians for Immigration Enforcement, Inc.

Pompano Beach, FL

GEORGIA (1)

Dustin Inman Society, The

Marietta, GA

IOWA (1)

Minuteman Civil Defense Corps

Des Moines, IA

MARYLAND (1)

Help Save Maryland

Rockville, MD

MICHIGAN (1)

Michiganders for Immigration Control and Enforcement

Frankenmuth, MI

MINNESOTA (1)

Minnesotans Seeking Immigration Reform

Hanska, MN

NEW JERSEY (2)

New Jersey Citizens for Immigration Control

Carlstadt, NJ

United Patriots of America

Linden, NJ

NORTH CAROLINA (1)

North Carolinians for Immigration Reform and Enforcement (NCFIRE)

Wade, NC

OREGON (1)

Oregonians for Immigration Reform

McMinnville, OR

RHODE ISLAND (1)

Rhode Islanders for Immigration Law Enforcement

Central Falls, RI

TEXAS (2)

Stop the Magnet

Houston, TX

Texas Border Volunteers

Waxahachie, TX

WHITE NATIONALIST GROUPS

White nationalists — racists who generally eschew Klan or neo-Nazi uniforms and propaganda in favor of a more genteel, suit-and-tie approach — saw two major figureheads of their movement die in 2015: Gordon Baum, founder of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), and Willis Carto, who was involved in a series of racist organizations and publishers and a leader in denying the Holocaust.

Baum died in March, three months before his organization would become infamous for the online postings about black crime that Dylann Roof said radicalized him and ultimately led to the June Charleston massacre. Both the CCC's Kyle Rogers, the webmaster who made those postings, and CCC President Earl Holt were dragged through the media for their roles as propagandists. For a brief time, the press was bad enough that the CCC asked Jared Taylor, a far more articulate white nationalist than either of them, to act as its spokesman during a press barrage.

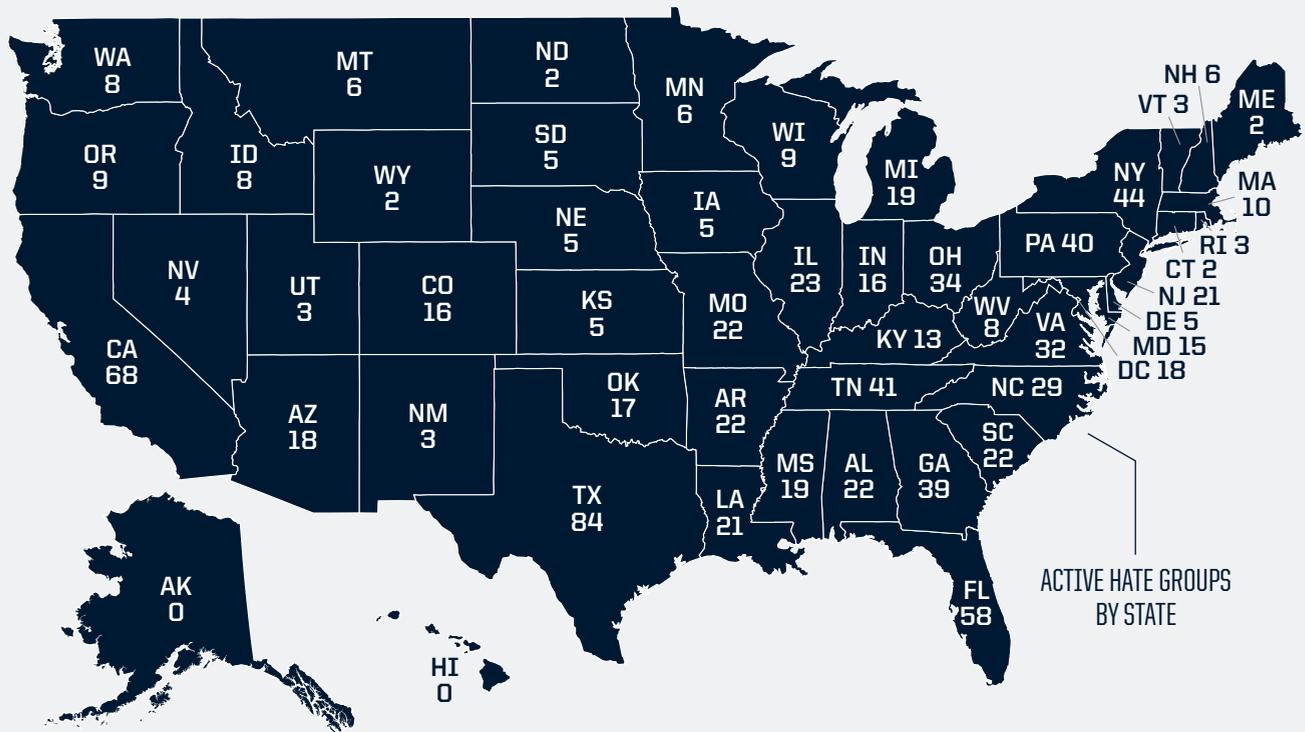
Carto, whose racist and anti-Semitic activism stretched back to the 1950s, died in October. He was the founder of an array of organizations and publications: the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby, the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review, Noontide Press, Youth for Wallace and *The Spotlight*, *American Free Press* and *The Barnes Review*. Although he at one time had friends in Congress and other centers of power, he was reviled by most politicians by the time he died. ▲

Contributors to this report included Heidi Beirich, Keegan Hanks, Stephen Piggott, and Evelyn Schlatter.

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

in the United States in 2015

This list of 892 active hate groups (map, p. 43), up from the 784 groups listed a year before, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources, web postings and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2015, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, among other activities, were counted in the listing. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be individual Web publishers who like to falsely portray themselves as powerful, organized groups. This listing contains all known chapters of hate organizations. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters and is marked with an asterisk (*).



OPEN HERE

detailed map inside

Groups are categorized as **KU KLUX KLAN**, **NEO-NAZI**, **WHITE NATIONALIST**, **RACIST SKINHEAD**, **CHRISTIAN IDENTITY**, **NEO-CONFEDERATE**, **BLACK SEPARATIST**, and **GENERAL HATE**. Because skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South. White Nationalist groups espouse white supremacy or white separatism but generally avoid anti-Semitism. General Hate groups espouse various ideologies of hatred and include the sub-categories of Anti-LGBT groups, Anti-Immigrant groups, Anti-Muslim groups, Holocaust Denial groups, Racist Music labels, Radical Traditionalist Catholic groups (which reject core Catholic teachings and espouse anti-Semitism), and Other (a variety of groups endorsing a hodge-podge of hate doctrines).

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

in the United States in 2015



892

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

▲	KU KLUX KLAN	190
☠	NEO-NAZI	94
✋	WHITE NATIONALIST	95
XXX	RACIST SKINHEAD	95
👑	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	19
✠	NEO-CONFEDERATE	35
★	BLACK SEPARATIST	180
○	GENERAL HATE	184

190 KU KLUX KLAN

With its long history of violence, the Klan is the most infamous — and oldest — of American hate groups. When the Klan was formed in 1865, it was a single, unitary organization. Today, there are dozens of competing Klan groups. Although black Americans have typically been the Klan's primary target, it has also attacked Jews, immigrants, homosexuals, and Catholics.

Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Converse, LA

Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Rosedale, MD

East Coast Knights Of The True Invisible Empire

Delaware*

Scranton, PA

Wilkes-Barre, PA

Eastern White Knights of the KKK, The

Parkersburg, WV*

North Carolina

Imperial Klans of America

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Dawson Springs, KY

International Keystone

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Vannsdale, AR*

Alabama
Monticello, AR

Georgia
Mississippi
Taylors, SC

Nashville, TN

Karolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Holly Springs, NC

KKKRadio

Harrison, AR

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Harrison, AR

Knights Party

Veterans League

Harrison, AR

Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Church Hill, TN*

Hazel Green, AL

Vance, AL

Willits, CA
Colorado Springs, CO

Cape Coral, FL

Hudson, FL

Kokomo, IN

Muncie, IN

Harrodsburg, KY

Springfield, MO

Hickory, NC

Plattsburgh, NY

Wheelersburg, OH

Tulsa, OK

Bally, PA

Oil City, PA

Wormleysburg, PA

Belvidere, TN

Butler, TN

Chattanooga, TN

Erwin, TN

Franklin, TN

Kingsport, TN

Knoxville, TN
Memphis, TN
Mooreburg, TN
Nashville, TN
Paris, TN
Gatesville, TX

Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Leasburg, NC*

Cullman, AL

Springdale, AR

California

Ellijay, GA

Clay City, IL

Kokomo, IN

Florida

Iowa

Louisiana

Mississippi

New Hampshire

New Mexico

Hampton Bays, NY

Norlina, NC

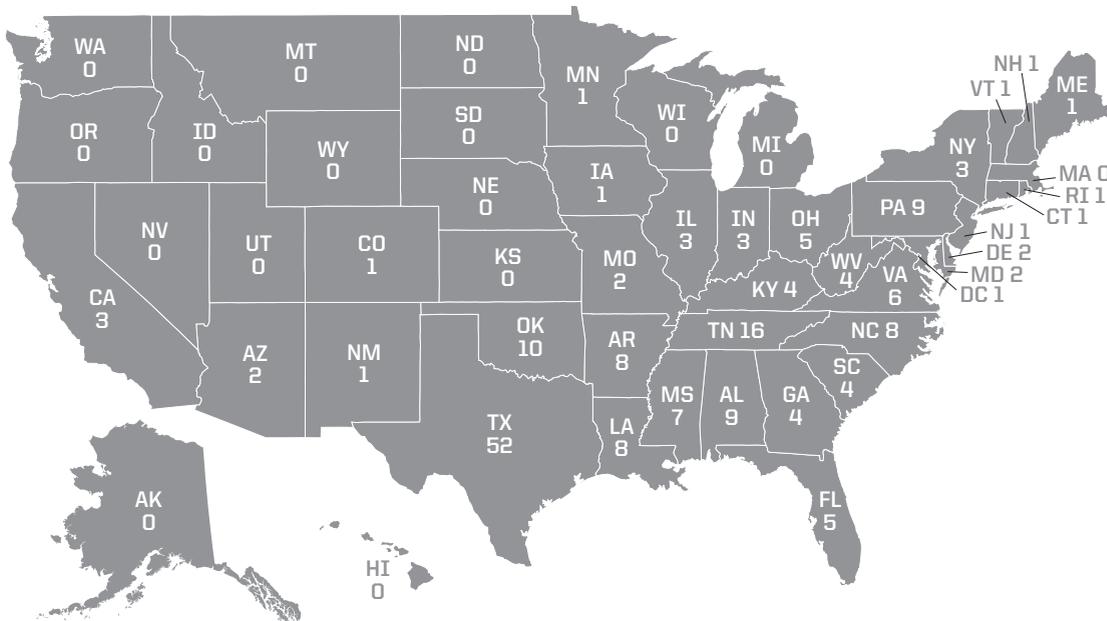
Pelham, NC

Ohio

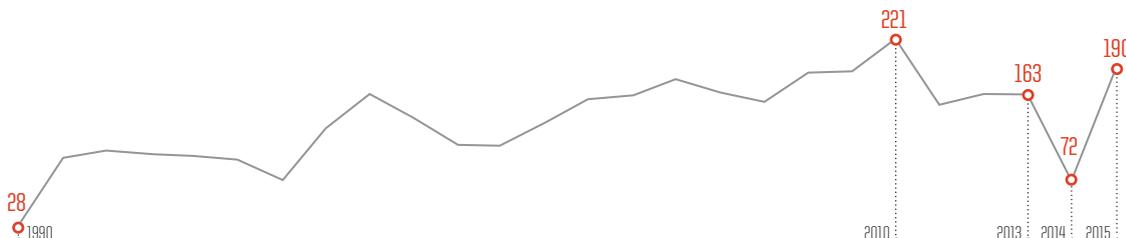
Oklahoma City, OK

Export, PA

South Carolina



THE COURSE OF THE MODERN KU KLUX KLAN



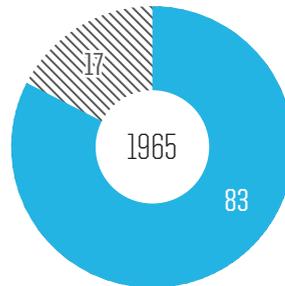
Tennessee
 Texas
 Martinsville, VA
 West Virginia
Militant Knights Ku Klux Klan
 Dixonville, PA*
 Alabama
 Arizona
 Arkansas
 California
 Connecticut
 Washington, DC
 Illinois
 Maine
 Minnesota
 Mississippi
 New Jersey
 New York, NY
 Gallia, OH
 Rhode Island
 South Carolina
 Gladeville, TN
 Virginia
 Burlington, VT
 West Virginia
Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Bruce, MS*
Oklahoma Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Broken Bow, OK
 Idabel, OK
 Hugo, OK
Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Beckley, WV*
 Alabama
 Delaware
 Florida
 Georgia
 Kentucky
 Louisiana
 Mississippi
 Moyock, NC
 Ohio
 Pennsylvania
 South Carolina
 Tennessee
 Livingston, TX
 Virginia
Rebel Brigade Knights of the True Invisible Empire
 Buchanan, VA*
 North Carolina
 Oklahoma
 Texas
 Martinsville, VA

Virginia
Soldiers of the Cross Training Institute
 Harrison, AR
Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 New Boston, TX*
 Atlanta, TX
 Austin, TX
 Avery, TX
 Beaumont, TX
 Cleveland, TX
 Dallas, TX
 DeKalb County, TX
 Fort Worth, TX
 Gatesville, TX
 Greenville, TX
 Killeen, TX
 Lufkin, TX
 Marshall, TX
 New Braunfels, TX
 San Antonio, TX
 Simms, TX
 Temple, TX
 Texarkana, TX
 Tyler, TX
 Waco, TX
Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Quinlan, TX*
 Shepherd, TX
Traditional Confederate Knights
 Winfield, AL
Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Potosi, MO*
 Highland City, FL
Traditional Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, The
 Braddock Heights, MD*
 Youngstown, OH
 Philadelphia, PA
Trinity White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Dry Ridge, KY
True Invisible Empire Knights
 Elkmont, AL
United Dixie White Knights
 Leakesville, MS*
 Jackson, MS
United Klans of America
 Ashland, AL
United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Chicago, IL*

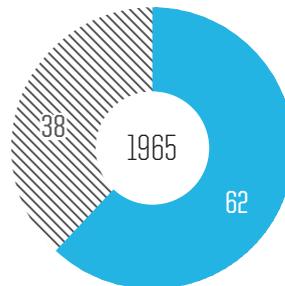
Rockledge, GA
United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 New Boston, TX*
 Lake Charles, LA
 Leesville, LA
 Ruston, LA
 Shreveport, LA
 West Monroe, LA
 Broken Bow, OK
 Haworth, OK
 Hugo, OK
 Lawton, OK
 Atlanta, TX
 Austin, TX
 Canton, TX
 Clarksville, TX
 Cleveland, TX
 Dallas, TX
 Fort Worth, TX
 Gainesville, TX
 Greenville, TX
 Houston, TX
 Killeen, TX
 Longview, TX
 Lufkin, TX
 Maud, TX
 Marshall, TX
 Mt. Pleasant, TX
 Paris, TX
 Sulphur Springs, TX
 Texarkana, TX
 Tyler, TX
 Waco, TX
Western White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Hualapai, AZ*
 Texas
White Camelia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 Cleveland, TX*
 Pasadena, TX

RACE AND RACISM

A brief look at contemporary reality



In 1965, 83% of voters were non-Hispanic whites.



In 1965, 62% of voters were non-Hispanic whites.

1995
41%

2011
28%

2015
49%

In 1995, 41% of Americans thought racism was a “big problem.” In 2011, the third year of Barack Obama’s presidency, that number had dropped to only 28%. By last year, however, it had shot back up to 49%.

94 NEO-NAZI

These groups share a hatred for Jews and an admiration for Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. While they also hate other minorities, homosexuals, and even sometimes Christians, they perceive “the Jew” as their cardinal enemy and trace social problems to a Jewish conspiracy that supposedly controls governments, financial institutions, and the media.

HATE BY STATE
The arrows at right indicate whether the number of hate groups in each state rose or fell in the last year. The three highlighted states saw the steepest inclines and declines.

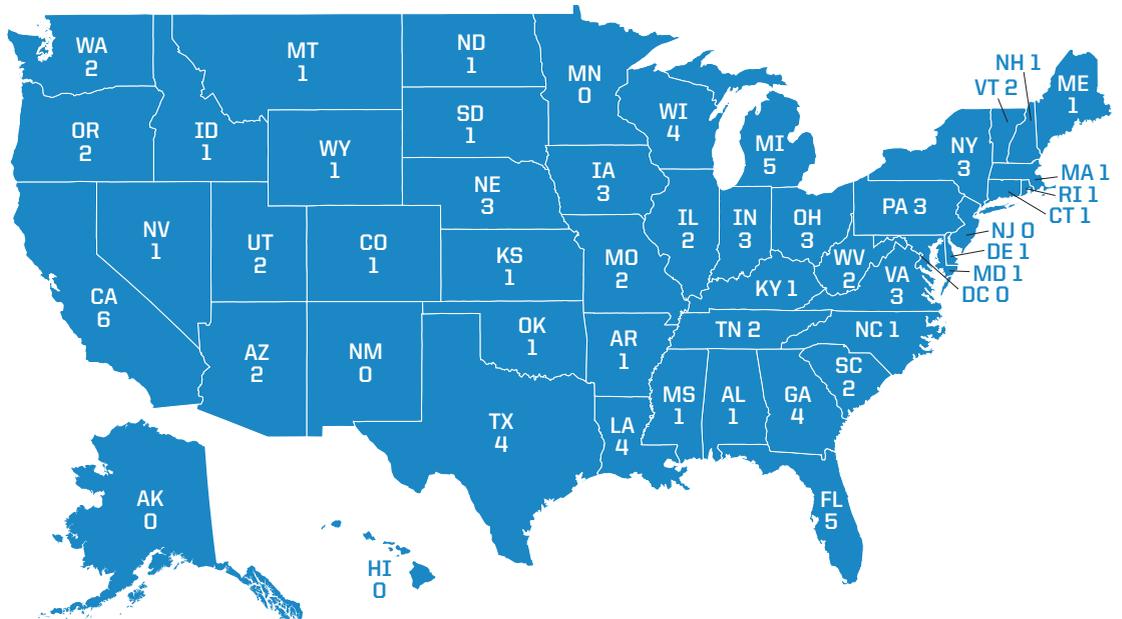
- AL ↑
- AK -
- AZ ↑
- AR ↑
- CA ↑
- CO ↑
- CT ↓
- DE ↑
- DC ↑
- FL ↑
- GA ↑
- HI -
- ID ↓
- IL ↑
- IN -
- IA ↑
- KS ↑
- KY ↓
- LA ↑
- ME -
- MD -
- MA ↓
- MI ↑
- MN ↓
- MS ↓
- MO ↑
- MT ↓
- NE ↓
- NV ↓
- NH -
- NJ ↓**
- NM -
- NY -
- NC ↑
- ND -
- OH ↑
- OK ↑
- OR -
- PA ↑
- RI ↑
- SC ↑
- SD ↑
- TN ↑**
- TX ↑**
- UT ↓
- VT ↓
- VA ↑
- WA ↓
- WV ↓
- WI ↓
- WY ↑

- American Nazi Party**
Westland, MI*
- Rialto, CA
- Texas
- Virginia
- West Virginia
- Aryan Nations (Louisiana)**
Converse, LA
- Aryan Nations Worldwide**
Villa Rica, GA
- Christian Defense League**
Mandeville, LA
- Creativity Alliance, The**
Georgia
- Pennsylvania
- South Carolina
- Utah
- Middlebury, VT
- Creativity Movement, The**
Bloomington, IL*
- Arizona
- California
- Michigan
- North Dakota
- Oregon
- South Dakota
- Texas
- Wisconsin

- Gallows Tree**
Tucson, AZ
- Wotansvolk Alliance**
Fresno, CA
- Grand Rapids, MI*
- Paso Robles, CA
- Panama City Beach, FL
- Tallahassee, FL
- Cedar Rapids, IA
- Indiana
- Wichita, KS
- Mauriceville, TX
- Golden Dawn**
Astoria, NY
- National Alliance**
Laurel Bloomery, TN*
- Hillsboro, WV
- National Alliance Reform and Restoration Group**
Carson City, NV
- National Socialist Freedom Movement**
Tulsa, OK
- National Socialist German Workers Party**
Lincoln, NE
- National Socialist Movement**
Detroit, MI*
- Alabama
- Arkansas

- Tucson, AZ
- Fresno, CA
- San Diego, CA
- Yucca Valley, CA
- Colorado
- Connecticut
- Delaware
- Florida
- Tallahassee, FL
- Atlanta, GA
- Savannah, GA
- Chicago, IL
- Idaho
- Indiana
- Des Moines, IA
- Iowa
- Kentucky
- Louisiana
- Maine
- Maryland
- Massachusetts
- Mississippi
- Springfield, MO
- Montana
- Nebraska
- New Hampshire
- New York
- Syracuse, NY

- North Carolina
- Cleveland, OH
- Toledo, OH
- Oregon
- Pennsylvania
- Rhode Island
- Myrtle Beach, SC
- Tennessee
- Dallas, TX
- Utah
- Vermont
- Chesterfield, VA
- Washington
- Wisconsin
- Wyoming
- New Order**
Milwaukee, WI
- NS Publications**
Wyandotte, MI
- Sadistic Souls Motorcycle Club**
Grovespring, MO*
- Florida
- Louisiana
- Crestline, OH
- Virginia
- Mount Vernon, WA
- Wisconsin
- Third Reich Books**
Fairbury, NE
- White Aryan Resistance**
Warsaw, IN
- White Church, The**
Pittsburgh, PA



95 WHITE NATIONALIST

White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of non-whites. Groups listed in several other categories — Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist Skinhead, and Christian Identity — could also be described as white nationalist.

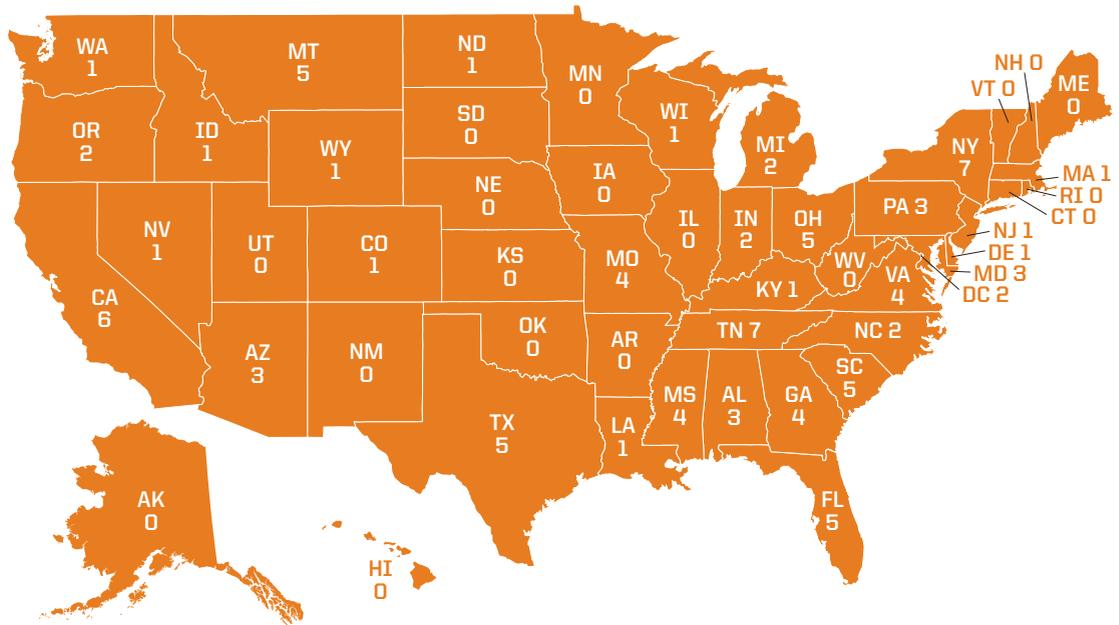
- Advanced White Society**
Pemberton Township, NJ*
- Alabama
- Delaware
- Maryland
- Mount Airy, NC
- New York, NY
- Ohio
- Tennessee
- Alternative Right**
Atlanta, GA
- American Eagle Party**
Gatlinburg, TN
- American Freedom Party**
New York, NY*
- Los Angeles, CA
- Bradenton, FL
- Lakewood Ranch, FL
- Indiana County, IN
- Montana
- Baldwyn, MS
- Grand Forks, ND
- Oregon
- Granbury, TX
- Wisconsin
- American Nationalist Association**
Porterville, CA
- American Nationalist Union**
Las Vegas, NV
- American Renaissance/
New Century Foundation**
Oakton, VA
- Bob's Underground**
- Graduate Seminar/BUGS**
Columbia, SC
- carolnyeager.net**
Kerrville, TX

- Confederate Patriot**
- Voters United**
Baldwyn, MS
- Council of Conservative Citizens**
St. Louis, MO*
- Eufaula, AL
- Silver Spring, MD
- St. Louis, MO
- New York, NY
- Springboro, OH
- Summerville, SC
- Franklin, TN
- Memphis, TN
- Irving, TX
- Council for Social and Economic Studies**
Washington, DC
- Conservative Citizens**

- Foundation, Inc.**
St. Louis, MO
- Counter-Currents Publishing**
San Diego, CA
- Daily Stormer, The**
Worthington, OH
- European American Action Coalition**
Pittston, PA
- European American Front**
Baldwyn, MS
- Faith and Heritage**
Southeast Texas
- Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation, The**
Vienna, VA
- Free American**
Tucson, AZ

- Free Edgar Steele**
Sagle, ID
- Heritage and Destiny**
Silver Spring, MD
- H.L. Mencken Club**
Elizabethtown, PA
- Identity Vanguard**
Grovetown, GA
- Malevolent Freedom**
Lowell, MA
- National Association for the Advancement of America**
McComb, MS
- Nationalist Movement**
Savannah, GA
- National Policy Institute**
Whitefish, MT
- National Youth Front**
Oakdale, CA
- Northwest Front**
Seattle, WA
- Occidental Dissent**
Eufaula, AL

CONTINUED »



KILLINGS 2015

52

The minimum number of people in the United States who were killed by adherents of domestic extremist movements, according to one recent study.

20/19

The number of deaths attributed to white supremacists vs. the number of deaths attributed to domestic Islamic extremists, according to another study.

45/48

Since September 11, 2001, the number of people killed in America in "violent jihadist attacks" vs. the number killed in "far right wing attacks."

WHITE NATIONALIST CONT'D

**Occidental Quarterly/
Charles Martel Society**
Atlanta, GA
Pacifica Forum
Eugene, OR
Patriotic Flags
Charleston, SC
Pioneer Little Europe
Kalispell Montana
Kalispell, MT
Political Cesspool, The
Bartlett, TN
**Racial Nationalist Party
of America**
Lockport, NY
Radix Journal
Whitefish, MT

Renegade Broadcasting
Sorrento, FL
Right Wing Resistance
Arizona
California
Missouri
New York, NY
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Scott-Townsend Publishers
Washington, DC
Social Contract Press
Petoskey, MI
South Africa Project
Mandeville, LA*
New York
South Knox Ten Milers
Knoxville, TN

Stormfront
West Palm Beach, FL
Traditionalist Worker Party
Cincinnati, OH*
Madisonville, KY
Knoxville, TN
**Traditionalist
Youth Network**
Cincinnati, OH*
Tucson, AZ
North Carolina
VDARE Foundation
Warrenton, VA
**Washington Summit
Publishers**
Whitefish, MT
Whitakeronline
Columbia, SC

**White Advocacy
Movement**
Florida
White Rabbit Radio
Dearborn Heights, MI
White Trash Rebel
Keller, TX
White Voice, The
New York, NY
World View Foundations
Porterville, CA
Wolves of Vinland
Lynchburg, VA*
Colorado
Wyoming
WTM Enterprises
Roanoke, IN

95 RACIST SKINHEAD

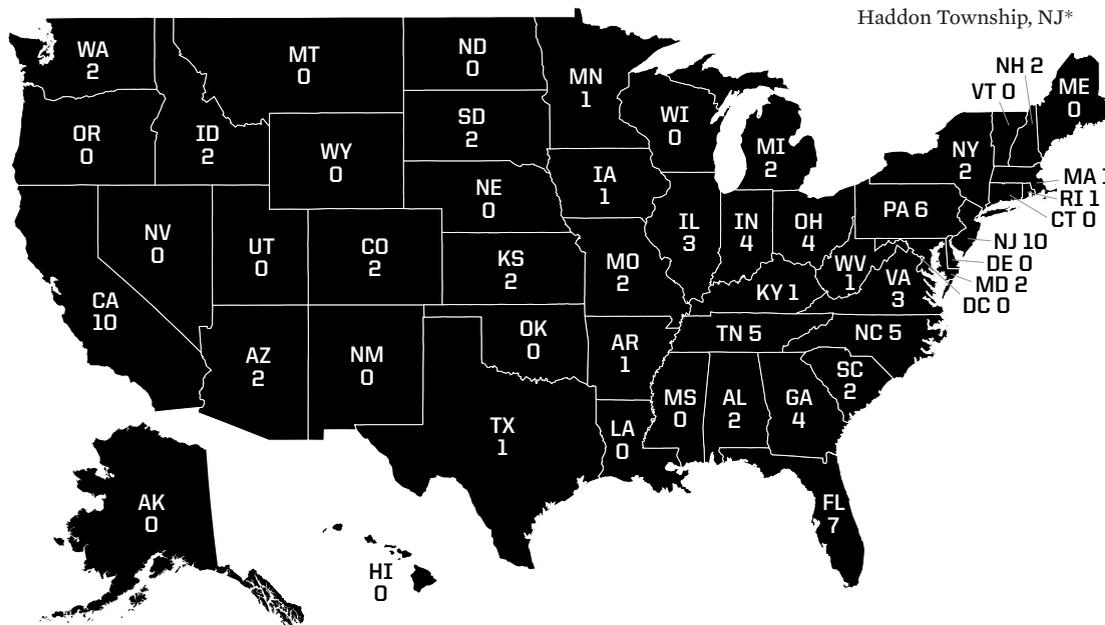
Racist skinheads form a particularly violent element of the white supremacist movement and have often been referred to as the “shock troops” of the hoped-for revolution. The archetypal skinhead look is a shaved head, black boots with red laces, jeans with suspenders, and an array of typically racist tattoos. Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups.

AC Skins
Atlantic City, NJ
American Front
Sacramento, CA*
Iowa
Hackensack, NJ
Haledon, NJ
Roselle, NJ

American Vikings
Knightstown, IN
Aryan Strikeforce
Somerville, NJ*
Arizona
Pine Bluff, AR
Colorado
Florida

Indiana
Kentucky
Massachusetts
Missouri
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Virginia
Aryan Terror Brigade
Haddon Township, NJ*

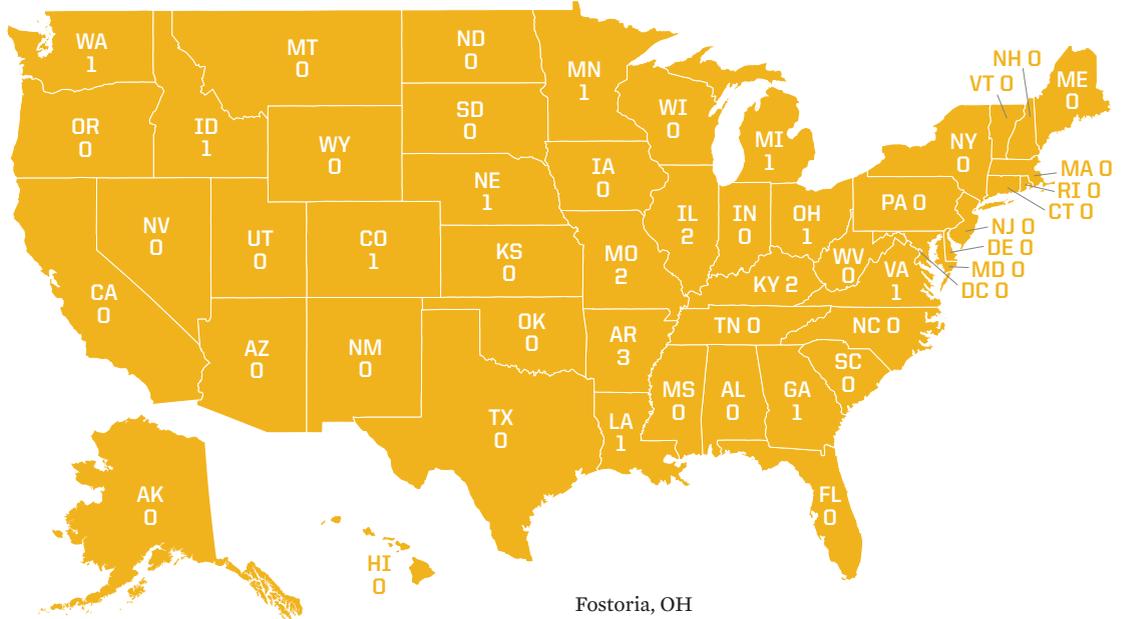
Florida
West Virginia
**Blood and Honour
Social Club**
Greensboro, NC*
Colorado
Florida
Georgia
Illinois
Indiana
Michigan
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
Blood and Honour U.S.A.
Woodbridge Township, NJ
California Skinheads
California
Confederate Hammerskins
Georgia
Jacksonville, FL
North Carolina
Columbia, SC
Nashville, TN
Richmond, VA
Crew 38
Birmingham, AL*
Huntsville, AL
California
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Wichita, KS



- Baltimore, MD
- New Hampshire
- North Carolina
- South Dakota
- Portland, TN
- Washington
- Eastern Hammerskins**
- Allentown, PA*
- New Hampshire
- Florida United**
- St. Cloud, FL
- Golden State Skinheads**
- Northern California
- Southern California
- Hated, The**
- Toms River, NJ
- Rhode Island
- Keystone State Skinheads**
- Harrisburg, PA*
- Philadelphia, PA
- Maryland State Skinheads**
- Baltimore, MD*
- Midland Hammerskins**
- Wichita, KS
- South Dakota
- Northern Hammerskins**
- Chicago, IL
- Detroit, MI
- Seattle, WA
- Northwest Hammerskins**
- Idaho
- Old Glory Skinheads**
- Mt. Airy, NC*
- Sacto Skins**
- Sacramento, CA
- Sadistic Souls Skinheads**
- Wood River, IL*
- Supreme White Alliance**
- Cincinnati, OH*
- Chatsworth, GA
- Missouri
- Montpelier, OH
- Allentown, PA
- Clarksville, TN
- Oak Ridge, TN
- Vinlanders**
- Knightstown, IN*
- Tucson, AZ
- San Diego, CA
- Florida
- Minnesota
- Cameron, NC
- Cherry Hill, NJ
- Point Pleasant Beach, NJ
- Texas
- Warlord Skins**
- Placer County, CA
- Western Hammerskins**
- San Diego, CA*
- Menifee, CA

19 CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and anti-Semitic. It asserts that whites, not Jews, are the true Israelites favored by God in the Bible. In most of its forms, Identity theology depicts Jews as biologically descended from Satan, while non-whites are seen as soulless “mud people” created with the other Biblical “beasts of the field.” Some groups listed in other categories, such as the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations and several Klan groups, also hold Christian Identity beliefs.



- America's Promise Ministries**
- Sandpoint, ID
- Christian Revival Center**
- Harrison, AR
- Church of the Sons of YHVH**
- Converse, LA
- Covenant People's Ministry**
- Brooks, GA
- Divine International Church of the Web**
- Morton, IL
- Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel (ECRCI)**
- Chicago, IL

- Faith Baptist Church and Ministry**
- Houston, MO
- Fellowship of God's Covenant People**
- Union, KY
- Kingdom Identity Ministries**
- Harrison, AR
- Kinsman Redeemer Ministries**
- Alexandria, KY
- Mission to Israel**
- Scottsbluff, NE
- Non-Universal Teaching Ministries**

- Fostoria, OH
- Our Place Fellowship**
- Colville, WA
- Scriptures for America Ministries**
- Laporte, CO
- Thomas Robb Ministries**
- Bergman, AR
- Virginia Publishing Company**
- Lynchburg, VA
- Watchmen Bible Study Group**
- Wappapello, MO
- Weisman Publications**
- Apple Valley, MN
- Yahweh's Truth**
- Linwood, MI

TOP FIVE STATES FOR HATE GROUPS 2015



1. TEXAS
2. CALIFORNIA
3. FLORIDA
4. TENNESSEE
5. PENNSYLVANIA

Though the number of hate groups fluctuates each year, states with large populations like Texas, California and Florida regularly have the most.

Oklahoma City, OK
 Portland, OR
 Allentown, PA
 Philadelphia, PA
 Pittsburgh, PA

Israelite School of Universal Practical Knowledge

Baltimore, MD*
 San Diego, CA
 Washington, DC
 Atlanta, GA
 Chicago, IL
 Indianapolis, IN
 New York, NY
 Syracuse, NY
 Oregon City, OR
 Philadelphia, PA
 West Virginia

Israel United In Christ

Newburgh, NY*
 Birmingham, AL
 Phoenix, AZ
 California
 Denver, CO
 Washington, DC
 Miami, FL
 Orlando, FL
 Tallahassee, FL
 Atlanta, GA
 Savannah, GA
 Chicago, IL
 Kansas City, KS
 Louisville, KY
 New Orleans, LA
 Boston, MA
 Detroit, MI
 St. Louis, MO
 Charlotte, NC
 Las Vegas, NV
 New Jersey
 Bronx, NY
 Ohio

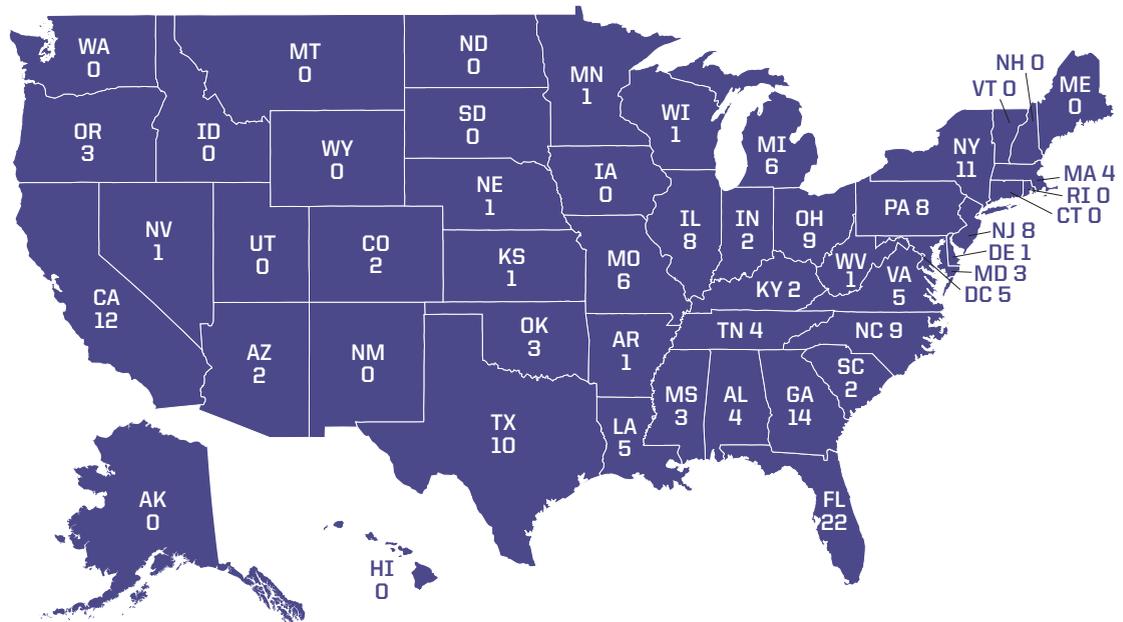
Oklahoma City, OK
 Oregon
 Pittsburgh, PA
 Memphis, TN
 Austin, TX
 Corpus Christi, TX
 Dallas, TX
 Houston, TX
 San Antonio, TX

Richmond, VA
Nation of Islam
 Chicago, IL*
 Birmingham, AL
 Mobile, AL
 Montgomery, AL

Pine Bluff, AR
 Phoenix, AZ
 Compton, CA
 Los Angeles, CA
 Oakland, CA
 Rialto, CA
 San Diego, CA
 Stockton, CA
 Denver, CO
 Washington, DC
 Wilmington, DE
 Fort Lauderdale, FL
 Gainesville, FL
 Miami, FL
 Orlando, FL
 Pensacola, FL
 St. Petersburg, FL
 Atlanta, GA
 Augusta, GA
 Brunswick, GA
 Columbus, GA
 East St. Louis, IL
 Rockford, IL
 Indianapolis, IN
 Lexington, KY
 Baton Rouge, LA
 Monroe, LA
 New Orleans, LA
 Shreveport, LA
 Boston, MA
 Springfield, MA
 Baltimore, MD
 Benton Harbor, MI
 Detroit, MI
 Grand Rapids, MI

Jefferson City, MO
 Kansas City, MO
 St. Louis, MO
 Holly Springs, MS
 Southaven, MS
 Charlotte, NC
 Durham, NC
 Greensboro, NC
 Greenville, NC
 Raleigh, NC
 Winston-Salem, NC
 Camden, NJ
 Newark, NJ
 New Brunswick, NJ
 Plainfield, NJ
 Willingboro, NJ
 Columbus, OH
 Cleveland, OH
 Brooklyn, NY
 Buffalo, NY
 Harlem, NY
 Rochester, NY
 Akron, OH
 Dayton, OH
 Springfield, OH
 Youngstown, OH
 Tulsa, OK
 Harrisburg, PA
 Philadelphia, PA
 Wilkinsburg, PA
 Charleston, SC
 Columbia, SC
 Chattanooga, TN
 Memphis, TN
 Austin, TX

Dallas, TX
 Fort Worth, TX
 Houston, TX
 Norfolk, VA
 Richmond, VA
 Milwaukee, WI
New Black Panther Party
 Atlanta, GA*
 Daytona Beach, FL
 Jacksonville, FL
 Miami, FL
 Orlando, FL
 Tallahassee, FL
 Tampa, FL
 Vero Beach, FL
 Augusta, GA
 Waycross, GA
 Springfield, IL
 St. Louis, MO
 Hattiesburg, MS
 Newark, NJ
 Dayton, OH
 Nashville, TN
 Houston, TX
 Virginia Beach, VA
War On The Horizon
 Washington, DC



184 GENERAL HATE

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

ANTI-IMMIGRANT (12)

American Border Patrol

Sierra Vista, AZ

American Immigration

Control Foundation/ Americans for Immigration

Control

Monterey, VA

Americans Have

Had Enough

Mauldin, SC

Americans for Legal

Immigration (ALIPAC)

Raleigh, NC

Californians for

Population Stabilization

Santa Barbara, CA

New York, NY

ProEnglish

Arlington, VA

US Border Guard

Mesa, AZ

ANTI-LGBT (48)

Abiding Truth Ministries

Springfield, MA

American College

of Pediatricians

Gainesville, FL

American Family

Association

Tupelo, MS*

Franklin, PA

American Vision

Powder Springs, GA

Citizens for Community

Values

Cincinnati, OH

Conservative Republicans

of Texas

Houston, TX

D. James Kennedy

Ministries

Fort Lauderdale, FL

Faith Baptist Church

Greenville, GA

Faith2Action

North Royalton, OH

Family Research Council

Washington, DC

Family Research Institute

Colorado Springs, CO

Mission: America

Columbus, OH

Pacific Justice Institute

Sacramento, CA

Pass the Salt Ministries

Hebron, OH

Pilgrims Covenant Church

Monroe, WI

Pray in Jesus Name

Colorado Springs, CO

Probe Ministries

Plano, TX

Providence Road

Baptist Church

Maiden, NC

Public Advocate of

the United States

Falls Church, VA

Ruth Institute

San Marcos, CA

Save California

Sacramento, CA

Sons of Liberty Media

Annandale, MN

Stedfast Baptist Church

Fort Worth, TX

TC Family (Traverse

City Family)

Traverse City, MI

Tom Brown Ministries

El Paso, TX

Traditional Values Coalition

Washington, DC*

Anaheim, CA

True Light Pentecost Church

Spartanburg, SC

United Families International

Gilbert, AZ

Westboro Baptist Church

Topeka, KS

Windsor Hills Baptist Church

Oklahoma City, OK

World Congress of

Families/Howard Center for

Family, Religion, and Society

Rockford, IL

ANTI-MUSLIM (34)

ACT for America

Virginia Beach, VA

American Defence

League, The

New York, NY

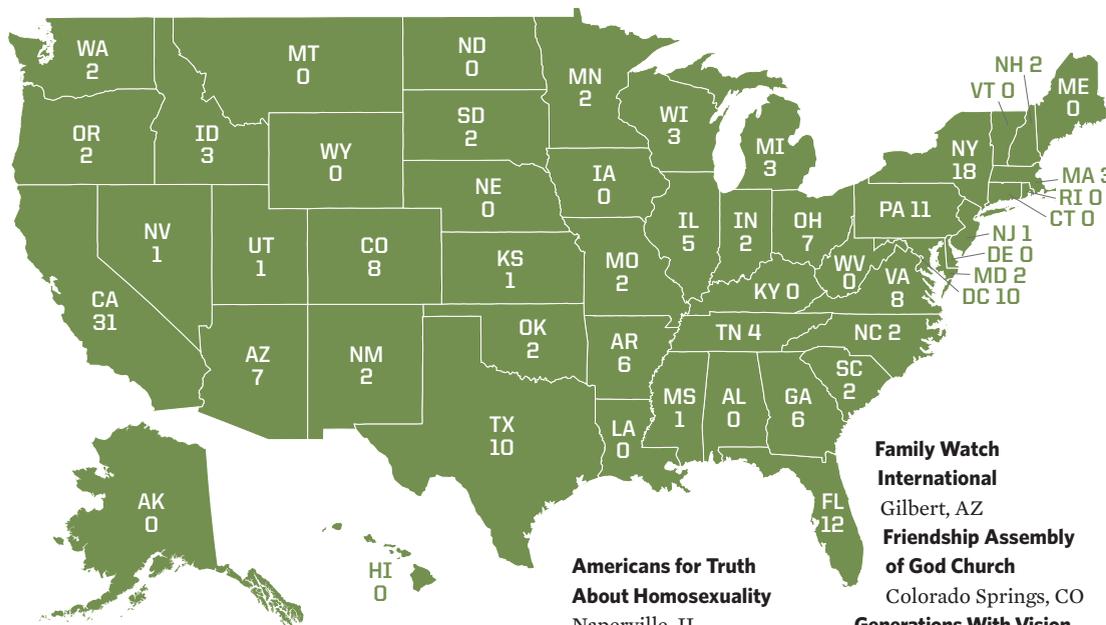
American Freedom

Defense Initiative

New York, NY

American Freedom

Law Center



Camp LoneStar

Brownsville, TX

Colorado Alliance for

Immigration Reform

Lakewood, CO

Federation for American

Immigration Reform

Washington, DC

National Coalition for

Immigration Reform

Huntington Beach, CA

New Yorkers for

Immigration Control and

Enforcement (NYICE)

Americans for Truth

About Homosexuality

Naperville, IL

ATLAH World Missionary

Church (All The Land

Anointed Holy)

New York, NY

Campus Ministry USA, The

Terre Haute, IN

Center for Family and

Human Rights (C-FAM)

New York, NY*

Washington, DC

Chalcedon Foundation

Vallecito, CA

Christ the King Church

Larkspur, CO

Family Watch

International

Gilbert, AZ

Friendship Assembly

of God Church

Colorado Springs, CO

Generations With Vision

Elizabeth, CO

Heterosexuals Organized

for a Moral Environment

(H.O.M.E.)

Downers Grove, IL

Illinois Family Institute

Carol Stream, IL

Jewish Political Action

Committee

New York, NY

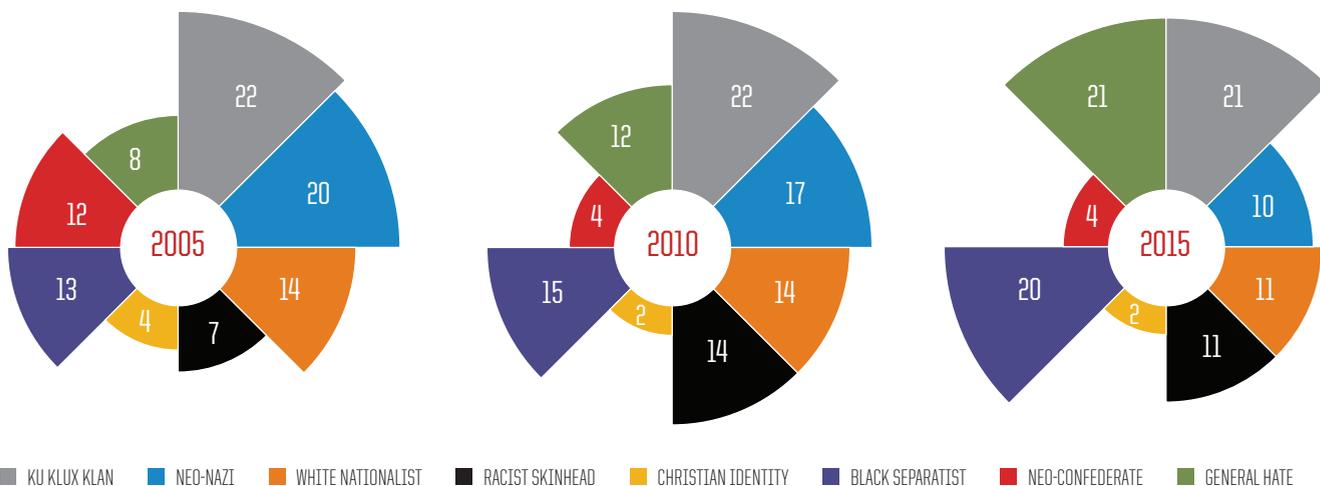
Liberty Counsel

Orlando, FL

Mass Resistance

Waltham, MA

HATE GROUP COUNT BREAKDOWN IN PERCENTAGES



Over the last decade, the composition of the hate movement has changed. The percentage of neo-Nazi hate groups has dipped, while the share of black separatist groups has grown. Rising anti-Muslim and anti-LGBT sentiment has contributed to considerable growth in the general hate category.

Ann Arbor, MI
Atlas Shrugs
 New York, NY
Bare Naked Islam
 Marina del Rey, CA
Bosch Fawstin
 New York, NY
Bureau on American Islamic Relations
 Irving, TX
Casa D'Ice Signs
 North Versailles, PA
Center for Security Policy
 Washington, DC
Christian Action Network
 Forest, VA
Christian Guardians
 San Francisco, CA
Citizens for National Security
 Boca Raton, FL
Citizen Warrior
 Nashville, TN
Counter Jihadist Coalition of Southern California
 Santa Monica, CA
David Horowitz Freedom Center
 Los Angeles, CA
Faith Freedom
 Bellevue, WA
Islam: Making a True Difference in the World -- One Body at a Time
 Marietta, GA
islam: the Religion of Peace

(and a big stack of dead bodies)
 Marietta, GA
Islamthreat.com
 Walnut Creek, CA
Jihad Watch
 Sherman Oaks, CA
Political Islam
 Nashville, TN
Prophet of Doom
 Saint Louis, MO
Radio Jihad
 New York, NY
Religious Awareness Network
 Washington, DC
Shoebat Foundation, The
 Newtown, PA
Silver Bullet Gun Oil
 Courtland, VA
Stop the Islamization of America (SIOA)
 New York, NY
Stop the Islamization of the World
 Houston, TX
Sultan Knish a blog by Daniel Greenfield
 New York, NY
Straight Way and More, The
 Venice, FL
Tennessee Freedom Coalition
 Nashville, TN
United West, The
 Lake Worth, FL

What Did Mohammad Do?
 Hemet, CA
HOLOCAUST DENIAL (10)
Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
 Washington, DC
Campaign for Radical Truth in History
 Coeur d'Alene, ID
Castle Hill Publishers
 New York, NY
Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust
 Drums, PA
Inconvenient History
 San Diego, CA
Institute for Historical Review
 Fountain Valley, CA
Institute for Historical Review Store
 Newport Beach, CA
International Conspiratological Association, The
 Coeur d'Alene, ID
Irving Books
 Key West, FL
Noontide Press
 Newport Beach, CA
HATE MUSIC (10)
Heritage Connection
 Harrison, AR
ISD Records
 Lancaster, OH
Label 56

Nottingham, MD
Micetrap Distribution
 Maple Shade Township, NJ
MSR Productions
 Wheat Ridge, CO
NSM88 Records
 Detroit, MI
Poker Face
 Allentown, PA
Resistance Records
 Chicago, IL
Stahlhelm Records
 Milwaukee, WI
Tightrope
 Calico Rock, AR
RADICAL TRADITIONAL CATHOLIC (17)
Alliance for Catholic Tradition
 Pleasant Unity, PA
Catholic Action Resource Center
 Orlando, FL
Catholic Counterpoint
 Broomall, PA
Catholic Family News/Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.
 Niagara Falls, NY
Christ or Chaos
 West Chester, OH
Culture Wars/Fidelity Press
 South Bend, IN
Fatima Crusader, The/International Fatima
Rosary Crusade
 CONTINUED »

GENERAL HATE CONT'D

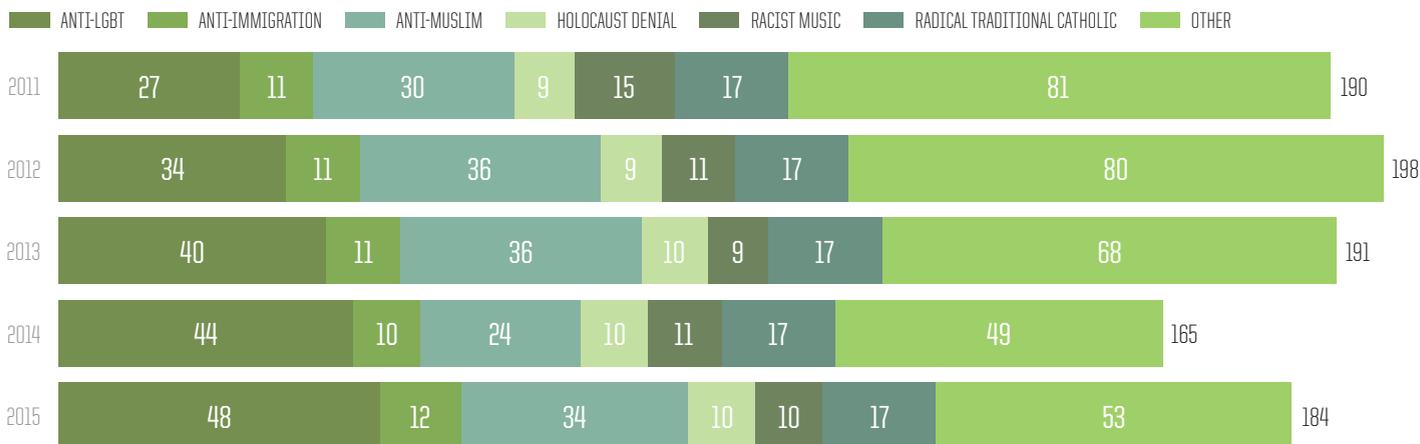
Constable, NY
IHM Media
 Richmond, NH
IHS Press
 Norfolk, VA
In the Spirit of Chartres Committee
 Carrollton, VA
Most Holy Family Monastery
 Fillmore, NY
OMNI Christian Book Club
 Palmdale, CA
Remnant, The/ The Remnant Press
 Forest Lake, MN
Robert Sungenis
 State Line, PA
Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary
 Richmond, NH
St. Michael's Parish/ Mount St. Michael
 Spokane, WA
Tradition in Action
 Los Angeles, CA
OTHER (53)
a2z Publications
 Las Vegas, NV
Active Democracy
 Washington, DC
Aggressive Christianity
 Fence Lake, NM*
 Berino, NM
American Free Press

Washington, DC
Artisan Publishers
 Muskogee, OK
As-Sabiqun
 Washington, DC*
 Los Angeles, CA
 Oakland, CA
 Sacramento, CA
 San Diego, CA
 Philadelphia, PA
Bill Keller Ministries
 St. Petersburg, FL
Brother Nathanael Foundation, The
 Frisco, CO
Chick Publications
 Ontario, CA
Christian Anti-Defamation Commission
 Vista, CA
Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement
 Framingham, MA
Cultural Studies Press
 New York, NY
Dakota Voice, The
 Rapid City, SD
European-American Evangelistic Crusades
 Carmichael, CA
Faithful Word Baptist Church
 Tempe, AZ
Florida Family Association

Tampa, FL
Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints
 Hildale, UT*
 Colorado City, AZ
 Custer, SD
Geauga Constitutional Council
 Mayfield Heights, OH
Holy Nation of Odin
 Kingsburg, CA
Insight USA
 Longwood, FL
Invictus Books
 Wentzville, MO
Jamaat al-Muslimeen
 Baltimore, MD
Jewish Task Force
 Fresh Meadows, NY
Lordship Church
 Coeur d'Alene, ID
Masjid al Islam
 Oakland, CA
National Prayer Network
 Clackamas, OR
New Nation Productions
 Shamokin, PA
Official Street Preachers
 Los Angeles, CA
Ozark Craft, LC
 Harrison, AR
Power of Prophecy
 Austin, TX
Reformation-Bible Puritan-Baptist Church

Newmanstown, PA
Rense Radio Network
 Ashland, OR
Repent Amarillo
 Amarillo, TX
Samanta Roy Institute of Science and Technology
 Shawano, WI
Sharkhunters International
 Hernando, FL
Society for the Practical Establishment and Perpetuation of the Ten Commandments
 Eatonton, GA
Sons of Aesir Motorcycle Club
 Irapuato, AZ
Tea Party Nation
 Franklin, TN
Tony Alamo Christian Ministries
 Fouke, AR*
 Fort Smith, AR
 Canyon Country, CA
 New York, NY
 Texarkana, TX
Truth At Last
 Marietta, GA
White Pride Home School Resource Center
 Bergman, AR ▲

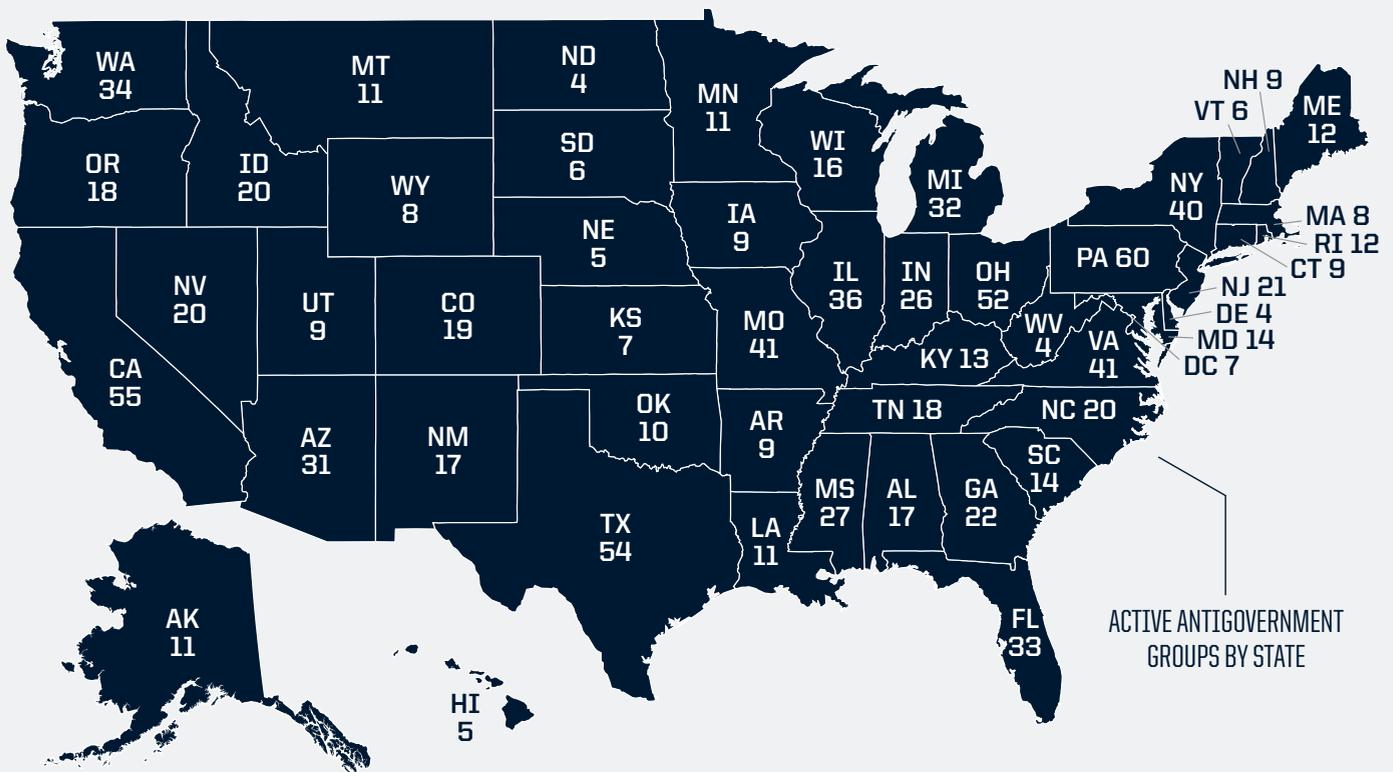
GENERAL HATE COUNT BREAKDOWN



The mix of certain types of hate groups has changed over the last five years. The anti-LGBT movement has steadily expanded as battles over same-sex marriage and related issues spread. Racist music groups have declined as the selling of hate music has spread to more mainstream websites. Other sectors, such as the radical traditional Catholic and anti-immigration groups, have remained steady for several years.

ACTIVE ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS

in the United States in 2015



THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT IDENTIFIED 998 EXTREME ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS THAT WERE ACTIVE IN 2015. Of these groups, 276 were militias, marked with an asterisk, and the remainder included “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries, and citizens’ groups. Generally, such groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order,” engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, group publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located.

ALABAMA (17)**Alabama Constitutional Militia***

Verbena

Bibb Rifles Militia*

Shelby County

Constitution Party of Alabama

Montgomery

Eagle Forum

Birmingham

Freedom Yell

Ozark

Free Patriot Press

Birmingham

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Jefferson County

John Birch Society

Mobile

LewRockwell.com

Auburn

Oath Keepers

Bay Minette

Outlaw Militia*

Shelby County

South Alabama Militia*

Dothan

Southeast Constitutional Militia*

Statewide

THREE%ER

Pinson

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Shelby County

Republic for the united States of America

Dothan

Watchmen of Alabama*

Statewide

ALASKA (11)**Alaska Citizens Militia***

Nikiski

Anchorage Municipality**Defense Force***

Anchorage

Central Alaska Militia*

Delta Junction

Fairbanks

Constitution Party of Alaska

Haines

Eagle Forum

Cordova

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Kenai Peninsula Militia*

Kenai

Oath Keepers

Anchorage

South Central Patriots*

Wasilla

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Statewide

ARIZONA (31)**American Patriot****Friends Network**

Peoria

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Arizona Militia*

Glendale

Arizona State Militia*

Flagstaff

Kingman

Parker

Phoenix

Sierra Vista

Tucson

Committee of Safety

Mesa

Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association

Higley

Constitution Party

Tempe

Eagle Forum

Glendale

Freedom's Phoenix

Glendale

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Hour of the Time

Eagar

Molon Labe

Phoenix

Oath Keepers

Chino Valley

Green Valley

Maricopa County

Pima County

Pinal County

Prescott Valley

Statewide

Outpost of Freedom

Tucson

Riders United for a Sovereign America, Corp.

Phoenix

Surprise Tea Party Patriots

Surprise

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Navajo County

We the People

Phoenix

Scottsdale

You Have the Right

Statewide

ARKANSAS (9)**Arkansas State****Militia Corps***

Fayetteville

Constitution Party of Arkansas

Fayetteville

Eagle Forum

Little Rock

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Van Buren

Secure Arkansas

Little Rock

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Faulkner County

We the People

North Little Rock

Russellville

CALIFORNIA (55)**III% United Patriots***

Sunnyvale

American Independent Party

Vacaville

Christian Exodus

Citrus Heights

Constitution Club, The

Hemet

Constitution Party

Statewide

DEMOCRATS AGAINST**U.N. AGENDA 21**

Santa Rosa

Dprogram.net

Sebastopol

Eagle Forum

Santa Rosa

Educate Yourself

Costa Mesa

Freedom Advocates

Santa Cruz

Freedom Law School

Phelan

Free Enterprise Society

Fresno

Free Republic

Fresno

Guardians of the Oath

Orange County

HISAdvocates.org

Costa Mesa

Jeremiah Films

Los Angeles

Liberty Under Fire**Freedom Fighters**

Taft

Oath Keepers

Anaheim

Apple Valley

Citrus Heights

Escondido

Huntington Beach

Merced

Orange County

Redding

Riverside

Roseville

Sacramento

San Diego County

San Luis Obispo

Victorville

West Sacramento

Post Sustainability**Institute, The**

Santa Rosa

Pro Trust Academy

Oakland

Radio Liberty

Soquel

Resistance--Mark Dice's**Official Website, The**

San Diego

Second Amendment**Committee**

Hanford

Southern California**State Militia***

Riverside

San Diego

Tenth Amendment Center

Los Angeles

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Fresno County

Three Percenters Club*

Statewide

Truth Radio

Nipomo

United States Justice**Foundation**

Ramona

Ventura County Tea Party

Ventura County

Washitaw Empire de**Dugdahmoundyah**

San Pedro

Watchmen of California

Statewide

We Are Change

Bakersfield

Banning

Fresno

Orange County

Riverside

San Diego

San Francisco

San Leandro

COLORADO (19)**American Constitution Party**

Arvada

American Freedom Network

Johnstown

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Christian Exodus

Loveland

Discharge Debt

Broomfield

Eagle Forum

Brighton

Freedom First Society

Colorado Springs

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Aurora

SteveQuayle.com

Pueblo West

Team Law

Grand Junction

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Douglas County

We Are Change

Fort Collins

Lakewood

La Veta

Statewide

Walsenburg

We the People

Colorado Springs

Delta

CONNECTICUT (9)**Connecticut Survivalist Alliance**

Middlefield

Eagle Forum

Ridgefield

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Hartford

Post & Email, The

Stafford

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Hartford County

We Are Change

Wallingford

Waterbury

DELAWARE (4)**Constitution Party****of Delaware**

Bear

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Kent County

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (7)**Constitutional Rights PAC**

Washington, DC

National Committee**Against the U.N. Takeover**

Washington, DC

Renew America

Washington, DC

Special Operations Speaks

Washington, DC

We Are Change

Washington, DC

WND Books

Washington, DC

WorldNetDaily

Washington, DC

FLORIDA (33)**Agenda21Today**

Shady Grove

American Coalition**4 Property Rights**

Indian River

Martin

Palm Beach

St. Lucie

American Patriot Party

Statewide

Constitution Party of Florida

The Villages

Eagle Forum

Sanibel

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Florida Militia*

Tampa

Freedom Law School

Brooksville

John Birch Society

Pensacola

KrisAnne Hall

Wellborn

Now the End Begins

Jacksonville

Sarasota Patriots

Sarasota

Southeast Constitutional Militia*

Sarasota

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Orange County

Tri-County Tea Party

Oxford

We Are Change

Orlando

Palm Beach

Port Saint Lucie

Tampa

We the People

Cape Coral

Dunedin

Fort Lauderdale

Hudson

Jacksonville

Naples

New Port Richey

North Palm Beach

Sanford

Tampa

Tarpon Springs

GEORGIA (22)**American Patriot Party**

Statewide

Constitution Party of Georgia

Woodstock

Discount Book Distributors/**The Patriot Depot**

Powder Springs

Eagle Forum

Marietta

Freedom Fighter Radio

Martinez

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

John Birch Society

Barnesville

Liberty Alliance

Powder Springs

Moorish Science Temple**of America 1928, The**

Atlanta

Oath Keepers

Duluth

Southeast Constitutional Militia*

Statewide

Sovereign Filing Solutions

Morrow

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Wilkinson County

True Patriots

Dallas

We the People

Atlanta

Cumming

Duluth

Gainesville

Jefferson

Marietta

Richmond Hill

Woodstock

HAWAII (5)**Eagle Forum**

Honolulu

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Honolulu County

We Are Change

Maui

Pahoa

IDAHO (20)**AVOW (Another Voice of Warning)**

Rigby

Constitution Party of Idaho

Coeur d'Alene

Eagle Forum

Ada County

Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)

Statewide

Idaho Light Foot Militia*

Ada County

Benewah County

Bonner County

Boundary County

Canyon County

Gem County

Kootenai County

Priest River

Shoshone County

Idaho Observer

Spirit Lake

Micro Effect, The

Kamiah

Oath Keepers

Moyie Springs

Outlaw Militia*

Butte County

Three Percenters-**III%ers, The**

Lemhi County

We Are Change

Lewiston

We the People

Parma

ILLINOIS (36)**American Patriot Party**

Statewide

Constitution Party**of Illinois**

Belleville

Eagle Forum

Arlington Heights

Get Out Of Our House

(GOOOH)	Garrett	III%ers, The	Perspectives Incorporated
Statewide	Hardinsburg	Ellsworth County	Bangor
Illinois Sons of Liberty*	Holton	KENTUCKY (13)	Get Out Of Our House
Adams County	Indianapolis	Central-Kentucky Militia*	(GOOOH)
Brown County	Kingman	Lexington	Statewide
Bureau County	Kokomo	Constitution Party	Maine Militia*
Champaign	Kurtz	of Kentucky	Bangor
Clark County	Lyons	Lexington	Oath Keepers
Clay County	New Castle	Eagle Forum	Gardiner
Cook County	Plymouth	Frankfort	Three Percenters-
Ford County	Speedway	Get Out Of Our House	III%ers, The
Hamilton County	Warren	(GOOOH)	Piscataquis County
Henry County	Oath Keepers	Statewide	Watchmen of Maine*
Jackson County	Bedford	Kentucky Tea Party	Kennebunkport
Kane County	Outlaw Militia*	Statewide	Sanford
Kankakee	Hamilton County	KY County Rangers*	We Are Change
Macoupin County	Three Percenters-	Bath County	Bangor
McHenry County	III%ers, The	Oath Keepers	We the People
Peoria	Hamilton County	Ekron	Warren
Rockford	Three Percenters Club*	Rowan County	York County
Saline County	Statewide	PatriotResistance.com	MARYLAND (14)
Shelbyville	Watchmen of Indiana*	Lexington	III Percent Patriots
Statewide	Statewide	Take Back Kentucky	Gaithersburg
St. Clair County	We Are Change	Clarkson	American Patriot Party
Warren County	Lafayette	Three Percenters-	Statewide
Will County	IOWA (9)	III%ers, The	America's Survival, Inc.
Martial Law Survival	American Patriot Party	Bullitt County	Owings
Thomson	Statewide	Watchmen of America	Cecil County Patriots
Oath Keepers	Constitution Party of Iowa	Lexington	Elkton
Woodstock	Eldon	We Are Change	Constitution Party
Restore the Republic	Eagle Forum	Ashland	of Maryland
Northbrook	Orange City	LOUISIANA (11)	Rockville
Three Percenters-	Get Out Of Our House	American Patriot Party	Eagle Forum
III%ers, The	(GOOOH)	Statewide	Frederick
DeWitt County	Statewide	Constitution Party	Get Out Of Our House
Three Percenters Club*	Oath Keepers	of Louisiana	(GOOOH)
Springfield	Iowa	Minden	Statewide
We Are Change	Three Percenters-	Eagle Forum	Institute on the Constitution
Chicago	III%ers, The	Shreveport	(aka American View), The
Rockford	Story County	Get Out Of Our House	Pasadena
We the People	Three Percenters Club*	(GOOOH)	Kerodin.com
Chicago	Des Moines	Statewide	Gaithersburg
Evanston	We the People	Oath Keepers	Oath Keepers
INDIANA (26)	Burlington	Baton Rouge	Statewide
American Patriot Party	Davenport	Covington	Save A Patriot Fellowship
Statewide	KANSAS (7)	Lake Charles	Westminster
Constitution Party	American Patriot Party	Ville Platte	Three Percenters-
of Indiana	Statewide	Outlaw Militia*	III%ers, The
Evansville	Eagle Forum	Tangipahoa Parish	Maryland
Constitution Preservation	Olathe	Three Percenters-	Three Percenters Club*
Hammond	Get Out Of Our House	III%ers, The	Baltimore
Eagle Forum	(GOOOH)	Avoyelles Parish	We the People
Indianapolis	Statewide	Three Percenters Club*	Frederick
Get Out Of Our	Oath Keepers	Alexandria	MASSACHUSETTS (8)
House (GOOOH)	El Dorado	MAINE (12)	Constitution Party
Statewide	Patriot Freedom Alliance	Citizens of the American	of Massachusetts
Indianapolis Baptist Temple	Hutchinson	Constitution	Framingham
Indianapolis	Prophecy Club Resources,	Bingham	Get Out Of Our House
Indiana Sons of Liberty*	The	Eagle Forum	(GOOOH)
Chandler	Topeka	South Portland	Statewide
DeMotte	Three Percenters-	EPI - Environmental	John Birch Society

Worcester	Kent County	East Central	Lebanon
Oath Keepers	Ionia County	Northeast	Maysville
Ware	Montcalm County	Northwest	Rolla
Three Percenters-III%ers, The	West Michigan Volunteer Militia*	Southeast	Springfield
Worcester County	Kent County	Southwest	St. Joseph
Watchmen of Massachusetts*	Muskegon County	Statewide	St. Louis
Statewide	Newaygo County	West Central	West Plains
We Are Change	Oceana County	Mississippi Tea Party	Oath Keepers
Springfield	Ottawa County	Jackson	Clinton
Worcester County	We the People	Oath Keepers	Jackson County
MICHIGAN (32)	West Bloomfield	Saucier	Joplin
American Patriot Party	MINNESOTA (11)	Outlaw Militia*	St. Louis
Alger County	American Patriot Party	Leake County	Power Hour, The
Constitution Party (U.S. Taxpayers Party of Michigan)	Statewide	Southeast Constitutional Militia*	Versailles
Grand Rapids	Central Minnesota Tea Party	Statewide	Three Percenters-III%ers, The
Delta 5 Mobile Light Infantry Militia*	Central Minnesota	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Cole County
Calhoun County	Constitution Party of Minnesota	Petal	We the People
Eaton County	Redwood Falls	Three Percenters Club*	Cedar Hill
Eagle Forum	Eagle Forum	Jackson	High Ridge
Birmingham	St. Paul	We the People	William Lewis Films
Heartland USA, The	Genesis Communication Network	Oxford	Columbia
Crystal Falls	Eagan	Perkinston	MONTANA (11)
Jack Van Impe Ministries International	Oath Keepers	MISSOURI (41)	Eagle Forum
Troy	Aitkin	2nd Amendment Patches.com	Billings
Liberty Tree Radio	Hennepin County	Halltown	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Dexter	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Constitution Party of Missouri	Missoula
Lost Horizons	Crow Wing County	Piedmont	John Birch Society
Commerce Township	Three Percenters Club*	Eagle Forum	Great Falls
Michigan Downriver Volunteer Militia*	Saint Paul	Statewide	Liberty Defense League
Wayne County	We Are Change	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Kalispell
Oath Keepers	Cedar Falls	Statewide	Lincoln County Watch
Jackson	We the People	Heal Our Land Ministries	Bozeman
Marquette County	Duluth	Branson	Oath Keepers
Orion Charter Township	MISSISSIPPI (27)	John Birch Society	Helena
Southeast Michigan Volunteer Militia*	Citizens Militia of Mississippi*	St. Louis	Kalispell
Genesee County	Batesville	Missouri Citizen Militia*	Townsend
Livingston County	Calhoun County	Adair County	Stand Up America U.S.
Monroe County	DeSoto County	Cooper County	Bigfork
Southwest Michigan Volunteer Militia*	Forrest County	Crawford County	Three Percenters-III%ers, The
Ingham County	Hancock County	Daviess County	Fergus County
Lapeer County	Harrison County	Greene County	We the People
Shiawassee County	Itawamba County	Johnson County	Billings
Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Webster County	Oregon County	NEBRASKA (5)
Isabella County	Constitution Party of Mississippi	Ste. Genevieve County	III% United Patriots*
Three Percenters Club*	Seminary	Texas County	Comstock
Lansing	Eagle Forum	Warren County	American Patriot Party
We Are Change	Jackson	Washington County	Statewide
Detroit	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Wayne County	Eagle Forum
Grand Rapids	Statewide	Missouri Militia*	Bancroft
West Central Michigan Volunteer Militia*	Mississippi Militia*	Cameron	Oath Keepers
	Southaven	Cape Girardeau	Omaha
	Mississippi Preparedness Project*	Columbia	Three Percenters-III%ers, The
		El Dorado Springs	Custer County
		Houston	NEVADA (20)
		Joplin	Constitution Party (Independent American Party)
		Kansas City	

Carson City
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Eagle Forum
 Elko
Nevada Light Foot Militia*
 Churchill County
 Douglas County
 Elko County
 Eureka County
 Humboldt County
 Lander County
 Lyon County
 Pershing County
 Storey County
 Washoe County
 White Pine County
Oath Keepers
 Las Vegas
Save Our Sheriff
 Las Vegas
Southern Nevada Militia*
 Clark County
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Henderson
 Las Vegas
NEW HAMPSHIRE (9)
American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Constitution Party of New Hampshire
 Auburn
Eagle Forum
 Merrimack
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Conway
Oath Keepers
 Alstead
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Belknap County
We Are Change
 Manchester
What Really Happened
 Concord
NEW JERSEY (21)
Constitution Party
New Jersey
 Palmyra
Eagle Forum
 Bergenfield
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide

John Birch Society
 Cranford
 Flemington
 Hainesport
 Holmdel
 Mantua Township
 Mercer County
 Ringwood
Oath Keepers
 Cape May
 Manville
 Morristown
 Newton
 Southampton Township
 Statewide
R.V. Bey Publications
 Pleasantville
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Monmouth County
tomatobubble.com
 Saddle Brook
We the People
 Monmouth
 Ocean Township
NEW MEXICO (17)
Christian American Patriots Militia*
 Bernalillo County
Constitution Party of New Mexico
 Los Lunas
Eagle Forum
 Alamogordo
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
New Mexico Citizen's Militia*
 Chaves County
 Doña Ana County
 Grant County
 Otero County
 Sandoval County
 San Juan County
Southern New Mexico Militia*
 Doña Ana County
 Eddy County
 Grant County
 Lea County
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Torrance County
We the People
 Albuquerque
 Los Lunas
NEW YORK (40)
American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Constitution Party of

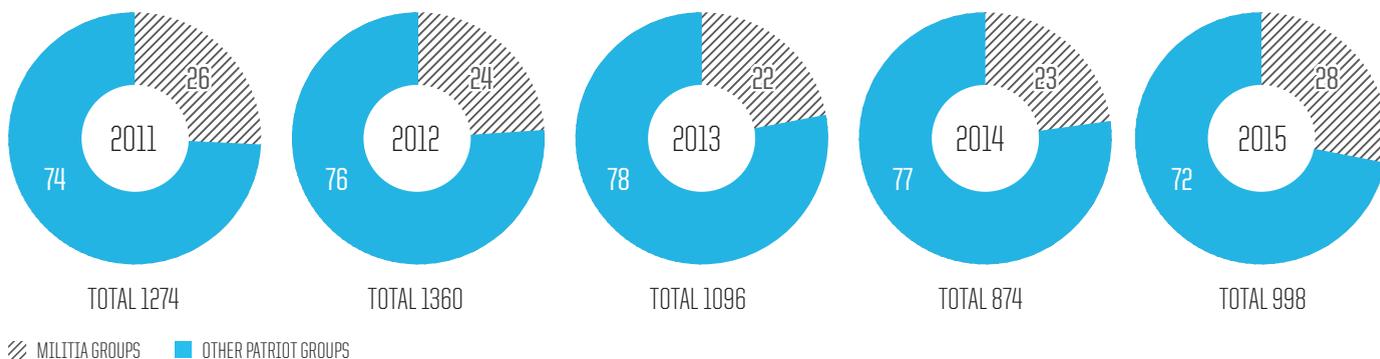
New York
 Buffalo
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Nassau County
 New York
New York Mutual Assistance Group*
 Suffolk County
Oath Keepers
 Elmira
 Erie County
 Franklin County
 Fulton County
 Herkimer
 Livingston County
 Madison County
 Malone
 Marion County
 Nassau County
 New York County
 Ontario County
 Orange County
 Otsego County
 Rochester
 Schenectady County
 Staten Island
 Statewide
 Swan Lake
 Thornwood
 Warren County
Sovereign News, The
 Old Chelsea Station
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Herkimer County
We the People
 Albany
 Binghamton
 Cooperstown
 Lake Luzerne
 Lewis
 Middletown
 New Baltimore
 Pleasant Valley
 Syracuse
 Queensbury
 Watertown
NORTH CAROLINA (20)
American Patriot Party
 Statewide
America's Remedy
 Charlotte
Constitution Party of North Carolina
 Charlotte
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
Free North Carolina

Cape Carteret
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
NCRenegade
 Raleigh
NORTH-CAROLINA American Republic
 Charlotte
 Gaston County
 Haywood County
 Lincoln County
 Rowan County
 Rutherford County
 Yadkin County
Oath Keepers
 Faith
 Mount Gilead
 Statewide
Stokes County Militia*
 Pinnacle
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Wake County
We the People
 Winston-Salem
NORTH DAKOTA (4)
Eagle Forum
 Bismarck
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Fargo
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Sheridan County
OHIO (52)
American Patriot Party
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Eaton
Eagle Forum
 Uniontown
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Columbus
 Delaware
Oath Keepers
 Akron
 Columbus
 Dayton
 Marietta
 Statewide
 Toledo
Ohio Defense Force
Home Guard*
 Northeast
 Northwest

Southeast	Outlaw Militia*	Allentown	New Kensington
Southwest	Creek County	Armstrong	WING TV
Zanesville	Overpasses for America	Berks County	State College
Ohio Minutemen Militia*	Tecumseh	Bucks County	RHODE ISLAND (12)
Adams County	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Cambria County	American Patriot Party
Ashtabula County	Pottawatomie County	Carlisle	Statewide
Athens County	We the People	Chester	Oath Keepers
Auglaize County	Tulsa	Clinton County	North Kingstown
Belmont County	OREGON (18)	Crawford County	Smithfield
Clark County	American Patriot Party	Girard	Statewide
Clinton	Ashland	Greensburg	Rhode Island Citizen Militia*
Coshocton County	Statewide	Huntingdon County	East Providence
Defiance County	Eagle Forum	Hyndman	Middletown
Franklin County	Portland	Jim Thorpe	North Smithfield
Gallia County	Embassy of Heaven	Lackawanna County	Richmond
Geauga County	Stayton	Lake Ariel	Statewide
Hamilton	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Lancaster County	West Warwick
Hardin County	Statewide	Lebanon County	Three Percenters-III%ers, The
Jefferson County	McCutcheons Ink.	Luzerne County	Statewide
Licking County	Central Point	Lycoming County	We Are Change
Lorain County	News With Views	Mifflin County	Providence
Lucas	Merlin	Millersburg	SOUTH CAROLINA (14)
Morrow County	Oath Keepers	Monroe County	Christian Exodus
Perry County	Douglas County	Montgomery	Fort Mill
Pike County	Josephine County	New Brighton	Constitution Party of South Carolina
Preble County	Portland	Northampton	Taylors
Putnam County	Redmond	Perry County	Eagle Forum
Richland County	Oregon Light Foot Militia*	Pike County	Columbia
Sandusky	Josephine County	Pittsburgh	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Stark County	Oregon Militia Alliance*	Punxsutawney	Statewide
Statewide	Bend	Reading	Oath Keepers
Union County	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Schuylkill County	Charleston
Washington County	Crook County	Somerset County	Outlaw Militia*
Wyandot County	Three Percenters Club*	Statewide	Horry County
Silver Shield Xchange	Voice of Freedom, The	Sugar Grove	South Carolina Light Foot Militia*
Cleveland	Klamath Falls	Susquehanna County	Horry County
Sons of Liberty Academy	We the People	Tioga County	Southeast Constitutional Militia*
Cleveland	Grants Pass	Union County	Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Junction City	Uniontown	Three Percenters-III%ers, The
Knox County	PENNSYLVANIA (60)	Washington County	Sumter County
Three Percenters Club*	Alt Market	Pennsylvania American Patriot Radio	Three Percenters Club*
Columbus	Pittsburgh	Crawford County	Columbia
We the People	American Patriot Party	Pennsylvania Light Foot Militia*	We Are Change
Lebanon	Statewide	Cumberland County	Columbia
OKLAHOMA (10)	Constitution Party of Pennsylvania	Jefferson County (2)	Myrtle Beach
American Patriot Party	Osceola	Lackawanna County	We the People
Statewide	Eagle Forum	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Fort Mill
Constitution Party of Oklahoma	Pittsburgh	Northumberland County	Rock Hill
Chandler	West Chester	Three Percenters Club*	SOUTH DAKOTA (6)
Eagle Forum	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	State College	Constitution Party of South Dakota
Oklahoma City	Statewide	Unsolicited Opinion with Maggie, The	Sioux Falls
Oath Keepers	Liberty Dollar of Chambersburg	Norristown	Eagle Forum
Oklahoma City	Marion	Western PA Liberty Forum	Pierre
Oklahoma Defense Force*	Oath Keepers	Grove City	Get Out Of Our House
Inola		We the People	
OK SAFE, Inc. (Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise)		Delaware County	
Tulsa		Greensburg	

(GOOOH)	Church of God Evangelistic Association	San Antonio	Herndon
Statewide	Waxahachie	We Are Change	Eagle Forum
Oath Keepers	Constitution Party of Texas	Dallas	Statewide
Sioux Falls	Princeton	El Paso	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)
Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Dallas City Troop (DCT)*	Fort Worth	Statewide
Stanley County	Carrollton	Houston	GrassTopsUSA Inc.
Three Percenters Club*	Eagle Forum	Lubbock	Lorton
Kennebec	Anderson	Waco	Gun Owners of America
TENNESSEE (18)	Freedom School	We the People	Springfield
Black Robe Regiment	Austin	Austin	IRS Zoom
Springfield	Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Conroe	Arlington
Christian Exodus	Liberty Hill	Dallas	Oath Keepers
Savannah	Golden Triangle Militia*	Denton	Accomac
Eagle Forum	Orange	Grapevine	Alleghany County
Nashville	Groups Against Agenda 21	Guyton	Bedford County
East Tennessee Mountain Militia*	Sulphur Springs	Hideaway	Botetourt County
Knoxville	Infowars.com	Point	Charlottesville
Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)	Austin	Tyler	Chesterfield
Statewide	John Birch Society	UTAH (9)	Craig County
Lawful Path	Houston	American Patriot Party	Culpeper
Lynnville	Temple	Statewide	Forest
Oath Keepers	Oath Keepers	Constitution Party of Utah	Franklin County
Knoxville	Dallas	Bountiful	Fredericksburg
Outlaw Militia*	Houston	Eagle Forum	Goochland
Davidson County	Operation Patriot	South Jordan	Hampton
Salt and Light Institute	Rally Point*	Liberty RoundTable	Madison
Nashville	Tarrant County	Highland	Mechanicsville
Southeast Constitutional Militia*	Outlaw Militia*	Oath Keepers	Mecklenburg County
Statewide	Hamilton County	Salt Lake City	Middlesex County
Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Republic Broadcasting	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Montgomery County
Smith County	Round Rock	Sevier County	Norfolk
Three Percenters Club*	Republic of Texas	Three Percenters Club*	Orange
Nashville	Bastrop County	Gunnison	Prince William County
United States Patriots Union, The	Rule of Law Radio	Utah Light Foot Militia*	Roanoke
Hermitage	Austin	Tooele County	Scottsville
Veteran Defenders of America	Silver Bear Café	We the People	Staunton
Dickson	Garland	Ogden	Vinton
We the People	Texas Eagle Forum	VERMONT (6)	Winchester
Etowah	Dallas	Eagle Forum	Outlaw Militia*
Fayetteville	Texas Lightfoot Militia*	Burlington	Albemarle County
Maryville	Cherokee County	John Birch Society	Rappahannock Guard*
Nashville	Smith County	Statewide	Fredericksburg
TEXAS (54)	Texas Militia, The*	Oath Keepers	TAX-FREEDOM.com
Adask's Law	Conroe	Randolph	Arlington
Utopia	Conroe	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	Three Percenters-III%ers, The
American Open Currency Standard, The	Corpus Christi	Orange County	Buckingham County
Frisco	Dallas	We Are Change	We Are Change
American Patriot Party	Huntington	South Burlington	Blacksburg
Statewide	Lubbock	We the People	We the People
Anti-Shyster Magazine	Midland	Williston	Fredericksburg
Utopia	Statewide	VIRGINIA (41)	WASHINGTON (34)
Brave New Books	Victory County	American Patriot Party	American Patriot Party
Austin	Waco	Statewide	Statewide
	Three Percenters-III%ers, The	American Policy Center	Church of Sovereigns: Sacred Family Temple of the Living Saint
	Comanche County	Remington	Satsop
	Three Percenters Club*	Constitution Party of Virginia	Citizen Review Online
	Austin	Vienna	Sequim
	TURF - Texans Uniting for Reform and Freedom	Declaration Alliance	

ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOT' ORGANIZATIONS IN PERCENTAGES



The number of “Patriot” antigovernment groups has fluctuated wildly in the last two decades, peaking in 2012 with 1,360 groups. But the percentage of the count that consists of militias, meaning groups that actively engage in military-style training, has diminished over the years. This may be the result of several criminal conspiracies involving militias in recent years that led to the demise of some of them.

- Constitution Party of Washington**
- Spokane Valley
- DTM Enterprises**
- Ephrata
- Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)**
- Statewide
- John Birch Society**
- Lynden
- National Association of Rural Landowners (NARLO)**
- Fall City
- Issaquah
- Oath Keepers**
- Colville
- Sovereign-Citizenship.net**
- Satsop
- Sovereign Project, The**
- Clark County
- Stevens County Assembly**
- Chewelah
- Washington Lightfoot Militia***
- Benton County
- Clark County
- Cowlitz County
- Grant County
- Skamania County
- Spokane County
- Yakima County
- Washington State Militia***
- Central Washington
- Northeast Washington
- Northwest Washington

- Southeast Washington
- Southwest Washington
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**
- Pierce County
- Three Percenters Club***
- Yakima
- We Are Change**
- Spokane
- We the People**
- Bellevue
- Camas
- McKenna
- Olalla
- Onalaska
- Prosser
- WEST VIRGINIA (4)**
- Constitution Party of West Virginia**
- Martinsburg
- Oath Keepers**
- Statewide
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**
- Statewide
- Three Percenters Club***
- Sutton
- WISCONSIN (16)**
- :David-Wynn: Miller**
- Milwaukee
- American Opinion Foundation, Inc.**
- Appleton
- American Patriot Party**
- Statewide

- Constitution Party of Wisconsin**
- Milwaukee
- Eagle Forum**
- Milwaukee
- John Birch Society**
- Appleton
- John Birch Society Shop**
- Appleton
- Oath Keepers**
- Port Washington
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**
- Marathon County
- Three Percenters Club***
- Wausau
- We Are Change**
- Marinette
- Milwaukee
- We the People**
- Janesville
- Madison
- Peshtigo
- Wisconsin Light Foot Militia***
- Wood County
- WYOMING (8)**
- American Patriot Party**
- Statewide
- Constitution Party of Wyoming**
- Torrington
- Get Out Of Our House (GOOOH)**
- Statewide

- Natural News**
- Cody
- Oath Keepers**
- Cody
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**
- Fremont County
- Three Percenters Club***
- Casper
- We the People**
- Casper ▲

LIFE AFTER HATE

Staffed by former racists, an ‘exit’ program aimed at disillusioned white supremacist radicals in the U.S. is picking up steam

There is a life after hate. And there are people who know the road there.

The first of what have become known as “exit” programs developed in the 1990s in Sweden, based in part on the ideas of Tore Bjørgo, a social anthropologist interested in helping racist activists abandon white supremacy. The Swedish program also found ideas in a pre-existing Norwegian program, Project Exit: Leaving Violent Youth Gangs, not specifically tailored to people on the radical right, according to the London-based Institute of Race Relations (IRR).

In 1998, the idea was exported to Germany, which like the Scandinavian nations had experienced a dramatic upsurge in neo-Nazi activity in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet bloc early in the decade. In the years since, similar programs have appeared in Italy and Australia. In 2011, an international network called Against Violent Extremism with complementary aims was inaugurated by Google Ideas, and in 2013, 26 organizations from 14 members of the European Union formed the Europe Network of Deradicalisation, the IRR reported.

Last year, a major gathering was held in the United Kingdom to explore the possibility of building an exit program in that country, the IRR said. And also in 2014, the European Commission recommended that all European Union members set up programs of their own, aimed at transforming radicalized individuals.

Now, a Chicago-based group called Life After Hate is starting an American program. The group’s recently inaugurated ExitUSA program (www.exitusa.org) is mainly staffed, like most exit programs around the world, by former racist activists. “At ExitUSA,” the group says, “we are dedicated to helping individuals leave the white-power movement and start building a new life, just like we did.”

Some of the older exit programs have come under occasional criticism for ignoring the social basis for racism, for glorifying former extremists as newly minted “experts,” for failing to root out participants’ ingrained racism and anti-Semitism, and for being used by state security apparatuses. But there seems to be little question that in at least some cases, they have done important work.

To better understand the significance of exit programs and in particular the work of ExitUSA, the *Intelligence Report* talked to five people. Three of them — Christian Picciolini, Tony McAleer and Angela King — are former white-power activists and principals of Life After Hate. Two others — Pete Simi of the University of Nebraska and Kathleen Blee of the University of Pittsburgh — are academics who have investigated the radical right. Both Simi and Blee were funded by the National Institute of Justice for an ongoing study, “Research and Evaluation on Domestic Radicalization to Violent Extremism: Research to Support Exit USA.”



CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

LIFE AFTER HATE, CO-FOUNDER AND BOARD CHAIR

Tell us about the beginnings of Life After Hate.

Life After Hate initially started as a literary magazine for us to basically publish short stories about our lives. It was a blog, essentially. We quickly started to realize that people from all around the country and all around the world had similar stories they wanted to share about the mindset of someone who goes from a relatively normal kid to somebody who is politicized and brought into this violent extremism subculture.

In the time you've spent helping people leave the movement, are there some overarching truths you've been able to discern?

Happy people don't plant bombs, and happy people don't behead people, and happy people don't paint swastikas on synagogues. It's just not the case. Disenfranchised, lonely, self-loathing people do that. There is something missing from their life, something that they didn't get, whether it was as a child or maybe they were abused or maybe they came from a broken home or something was missing. Even for me, who came from a relatively normal household, there was something missing.



ANTONY McALEER

LIFE AFTER HATE, PRESIDENT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

How does understanding that reality lead to a successful "intervention" to get someone out of an extremist movement?

It's about changing their perspective just a little bit. Because often when you change their perspective just a little bit, it allows them to see the cracks in the foundation of the ideology that they believe in. I don't force it. I let them come to the conclusion on their own. At least that's the goal.

I approach every one of these cases differently. I do my homework. I try to build a rapport and I try to listen, mostly, and I offer opportunities and solutions that will take them out of the lifestyle into a better place, because you talk to just about anybody in the movement and they're miserable. They're miserable with their status, they're miserable with everything, and they can never figure out why. It's because of their ideologies, it's because it can never get better.

As a former racist, please describe the process of leaving the movement.

It breaks down into two components of the journey. And that is disengagement and deradicalization. What the research shows is that the number one issue for someone entering an extremist group is childhood trauma. That information is useless from a preventative standpoint, but from an understanding of why people get into those movements, I think it's crucial.

How so?

From my own personal journey, I grew up in a middle-class family. I was a bright, sensitive kid in a house where it wasn't safe to be sensitive, where emotions were treated as weakness and shamed and ridiculed. I was beaten at Catholic school and shut down even further. I came into this world as a very bright, curious kid and became a very angry kid with what was happening to me.

I never dealt with the stuff that made me angry and it made the choice to join the movement make sense. I went from the skinhead scene to the polar opposite, the rave scene. But I never dealt with the stuff that got me there. I disengaged from the movement, but I was still an angry person.



So for you, anger was very much a driving force?

I believe that unresolved anger always expresses itself as violence. And because of that, I chose a youth subculture, I chose a music scene, and ultimately I chose a radical ideology that gave me permission to justify my anger.

What led you to finally leave?

My daughter. The interesting thing about young children is it's safe to love them, it's safe to open up, it's safe to allow yourself to feel again with them, because they're not going to shame you, they're not going to ridicule you, they're not going to reject you. That started a process of thawing and opening up the heart.

ANGELA KING

LIFE AFTER HATE, DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Do you think having personal experience in the movement has helped you better understand how to help people disengage from hateful ideologies?

I think so. We are uniquely positioned to draw from our experiences, being "formers" ourselves. We are able to look back in retrospect at the catalyst that drove us into the far right, whether that be specific experiences or a shared misunderstanding.

Was there also a catalyst for your leaving the movement?

There was, actually: Timothy McVeigh.

After Oklahoma City, I decided I didn't want to be responsible for that kind of destruction. But at the time, I was still at a point in my life where I very much needed to belong somewhere. And as we know from experience, being involved in far-right extremism isn't something that leaves someone free to wake up one day and say, "See you later. I changed my mind. Have a nice life."

The turning point came for me when I was doing time in a federal prison for my part in an armed robbery that was a hate crime.

How so?

When I was first incarcerated, I went in with the mentality that I was not responsible. I just sat in the car [during the robbery]. But I very much thought I was going to be in there fighting for my life every minute, with my back against the wall.

The most ironic thing happened in there. Women of color, women who I never would have met, who I never would have shown any type of respect or human kindness toward, showed me kindness and compassion even knowing that I was a skinhead and serving time for a hate crime.

Up until that point in my life, I dealt with everything pretty much with anger, aggression and violence. And to be shown kindness, it completely disarmed me. I had no idea how to react to that. Once I started to kind of re-form the bonds of human connection and started actually

finding the human being in myself again, the fallacies, the stereotypes, those white lies that are told by the far right, it started to kind of just crumble away on its own.

Are those types of transformative experiences critical in getting someone to leave the movement? And what are they?

A transformative experience can be anything. It doesn't have to be a large-scale event. It could be something as simple as witnessing an act of kindness. Having a family, starting to grow up a little bit and take responsibility and do some critical thinking about what we see around us.

Even the smallest thing could be enough to plant a seed in a person's mind that may not sprout that day. It may not sprout in a week or even a month, but at some point that experience, that thought, is going to come up and that person is willing to think about it.

KATHLEEN BLEE

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY

Why do you think programs like ExitUSA are important?

They're important because leaving a racist group is a process. It's a process that requires people to rebuild their identity, rebuild their social network, often rebuild their economic livelihood.

For all those things, people need a great deal of support. If people are going



to successfully leave racist groups, they need people they can turn to for advice, people who have been through the same process, people who can help them build a new set of friends and a new set of supporters outside of that racist world.

So the process is a long one?

People are not in the group one day and out of the group another day. Leaving a racist group is like leaving any kind of a world that people are in. It can be a real back-and-forth process. People can start to leave, go back, pull out again, go back and forth for a long time.

Also, people have to exit on many levels. They have to exit in the sense of breaking their ties with people, changing who they're hanging around with. They exit in terms of leaving the lifestyle, maybe the criminal actions or the violent actions they were associated with. And they exit in terms of changing their ideas.

How do individual departures affect the overall white power movement?

We have to go after the groups by attacking them at their base and their leadership. One of the things that exiting does is it shows people who are currently in the group that the group has weaknesses. One of the reasons these groups hold together is because there's a sense of invincibility. It's an us-against-them mentality. Watching people exit can be a really powerful message both to potential recruits and to people in the groups.



PETE SIMI

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY

Do exit programs work?

As a social scientist, that's a very sensitive question and one that should be taken very seriously. When we talk about the "effectiveness" of exit programs in common conversation, we use that word far too loosely.

I mean, we still use Scared Straight programs in our juvenile justice system. You walk into any [juvenile justice] program anywhere in the country and there's bound to be some project, some program, that is based on the logic of Scared Straight despite decades and mountains of evidence that shows that Scared Straight programs don't work and actually might even be counterproductive.

Effectiveness is a tricky thing.

But is there something to experiencing transformative moments?

We have to be careful about assuming that people, after the fact, when they look back, are identifying these critical moments. Interviewing people who have left not through a program but usually through some naturally occurring set of events, I find that it seems like it's a very gradual process. They're experiencing doubts at various points along the way. They have a lot of personal dissatisfaction with the things that are happening while they are involved.

But it is possible?

Yes. The movement's not really fulfilling their needs the way that they thought. They had these expectations going in, and then their expectations really aren't being met. It's a learning curve, really.

At some point you get to where you realize, "Oh, wait a second, now I'm kind of banging my head against the wall. I was hoping that I was going to have this brotherhood, and there was going to be excitement and all these things. I was going to be fighting for this cause." Then, at some point in time, they realize they're going to wind up dead or in prison. Enough of those things pile up and they're like, "This doesn't make much sense to continue."

So what's your conclusion about exit programs?

Everything always has to be considered part of a larger toolbox. There's never any program that's ever going to be your catchall. But I think it is an important tool in the toolbox. We just don't know which way to exactly formulate the tool. I think having programs that try and address these issues is critical, but we have to figure out how to best do that. ▲



For the Record

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES listed here are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the 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 between August and December of 2015. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website.

SPLCENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

ALABAMA

Cullman County · Dec. 5, 2015

Klan fliers were distributed across the county in an attempt to recruit members to work against the spread of Islam.

ARKANSAS

Jonesboro · Dec. 12, 2015

Fliers depicting swastikas and other Nazi imagery were placed in mailboxes. They also denounced the mayor and a member of the Jonesboro police force.

CALIFORNIA

Buena Park · Dec. 14, 2015

A Sikh temple was vandalized.

San Bernardino · Dec. 2, 2015

Two Islamic extremists, Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik, killed 14 people and injured 21 after opening fire at the Inland Regional Center during a Christmas party for the health department.

Tracy · Dec. 29, 2015

A Molotov cocktail involving a wine bottle containing a rag and accelerant was thrown at a mosque.

COLORADO

Colorado Springs · Nov. 27, 2015

Robert Lewis Dear, 57, opened fire in a Planned Parenthood building, killing three people.

INDIANA

Bloomington · Oct. 19, 2015

Ticeten Bickford, 19, was arrested for assaulting a Muslim woman. Bickford attacked the 47-year-old woman and attempted to pull off her headscarf, restricting her breathing.

Henry County · Oct. 1, 2015

Ku Klux Klan fliers in gravel-filled plastic bags were distributed in several driveways.

FLORIDA

Jacksonville · Nov. 23, 2015

Ku Klux Klan fliers with anti-LGBT and anti-immigrant messages were distributed.

Palm Beach · Dec. 4, 2015

Joshua Warren Killets, 27, was

found by authorities to have intentionally selected the Islamic Center of Palm Beach for an attack.

GEORGIA

Villa Rica · Nov. 24, 2015

Ku Klux Klan recruitment fliers were distributed in driveways.

IDAHO

Twin Falls · Dec. 5, 2015

The words "Hunt Camp" were spray-painted on plywood covering the windows of the Twin Falls Islamic Center. The term is thought to refer to Japanese internment camps created during WWII.

ILLINOIS

Willowbrook · Dec. 16, 2015

A 17-year-old pleaded guilty to punching 53-year-old Inderjit Mukker, whom the teenager believed was Muslim.

KENTUCKY

Lexington · Dec. 1, 2015

The Islamic Center of Lexington received a phone threat.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis · Nov. 24, 2015

Four men espousing white supremacist ideology were arrested for shooting five members of a Black Lives Matter protest.

MISSOURI

Blue Springs · Nov. 12, 2015

Connor B. Stottlemire, 19, a Northwest Missouri State University freshman, was charged with two counts of making a terrorist threat. He threatened on social media to shoot black students.

St. Louis · Nov. 12, 2015

Tyler Bradenberg, 19, was charged with a felony count of making terrorist threats aimed specifically toward African Americans at the Missouri University of Science and Technology.

NEBRASKA

Omaha · Oct. 29, 2015

A security camera recorded an image of a masked man unsuccessfully trying to break

the glass of a door at the Omaha Islamic Center.

NEW JERSEY

Lyndhurst · Oct. 22, 2015

Fliers advising recipients to join the Ku Klux Klan were distributed in neighborhoods.

NEW YORK

Albany · Dec. 17, 2015

Eric Feight, 57, pleaded guilty for his role in a 2014 plot to use an 'X-ray machine' to kill Muslims. He was sentenced to eight years.

Brooklyn · Nov. 20, 2015

A postal worker spit on two Muslim women walking with a child.

New York · Dec. 6, 2015

A teen knocked over and smashed a menorah in a park near Gracie Mansion on the first night of Hanukkah. Shortly after the menorah was put back up, the teen returned to the park and destroyed it again.

Patchogue · Dec. 26, 2015

Racist leaflets were placed on cars parked at Brookhaven Memorial Hospital.

NORTH CAROLINA

Granite Quarry · Dec. 23, 2015

The East Coast Knights of the True Invisible Empire placed fliers in multiple locations.

Marshall County · Dec. 18, 2015

The Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed fliers tucked into small plastic bags.

OHIO

Eaton · Dec. 1, 2015

Ku Klux Klan fliers were distributed at homes.

OREGON

Portland · Nov. 20, 2015

A student from Rwanda at Lewis & Clark College was assaulted on campus by three white men yelling racial slurs. He was hit, held down and forced to swallow an unknown liquid.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown · Oct. 22, 2015

Samuel Negron Jr., 46, was

charged with using racial slurs, assaulting a man with a stick and pulling a gun on him.

Lancaster · Nov. 30, 2015

A black Franklin & Marshall College student received racist phone messages and his apartment was ransacked. The incidents are being investigated as potential hate crimes.

Pittsburgh · Nov. 30, 2015

A man shot a 38-year-old taxi driver from Morocco in the upper back because he assumed the man was involved with the terrorist group Islamic State.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence · Oct. 15, 2015

Anti-Semitic and racist fliers, along with 15 small packets of an unknown substance, were left in a neighborhood.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Walterboro · Oct. 24, 2015

Ku Klux Klan fliers were left in driveways and mailboxes.

TEXAS

Plano · Dec. 7, 2015

A Muslim family had large rocks thrown into their windows twice, shortly after moving into a new neighborhood.

UTAH

Salt Lake City · Dec. 14, 2015

Two businesses owned by Middle Easterners were spray-painted with slurs.

VERMONT

Burlington · Oct. 31, 2015

Ku Klux Klan posters were placed on doors.

Burlington · Oct. 31, 2015

Two men, Cameron Cappella, 18, and Derrik Demone, 18, were charged with vandalizing a mosque.

WASHINGTON

Bellingham · Nov. 30, 2015

A 19-year-old student at Western Washington University was arrested and jailed on suspicion of felony malicious harassment involving racist threats. ▲

The Oregon Standoff ... After Dark

Social media explodes with 'erotic fan fiction' lampooning the Bundys, their militia supporters and the standoff in Burns

BY RYAN LENZ

In what quickly became a wildly entertaining trend, social media users in January began micro-blogging the standoff at Oregon's Malheur Wildlife Refuge with homoerotic vignettes about the macho occupiers and their armed antics.

On Twitter, the hashtag #BundyEroticFanFic invited users from around the world to mock and malign the antigovernment "Patriots" who began an armed standoff on Jan. 2 to protest the prison sentences of two local ranchers and demand that federal lands be handed over to the county. By all accounts, the trend began shortly after the remote birding refuge was taken over, when Colin Meloy, frontman of the Portland, Ore.-based indie band, The Decembrists, took to Twitter.

"Jason pressed Jed against a rack of 'Birds of Oregon' books; his breath was sweet with jerky," Meloy tweeted on Jan. 5. "Somewhere an egret cried."

The next day, the wave was born. Twitter user @asuther13905 wrote: "Ammon put his arm around Jed. 'It's OK. We're all minute men sometimes.'" A few hours later, @Rthey chimed in with, "Zek had fired some big guns before, but this would be his first true magnum." Hundreds of other Twitter users joined in with savage blue humor aimed at emasculating the cowboy constitutionalists.

That kind of mockery of the occupation led by Ammon and Ryan Bundy — sons of the Nevada rancher who led a successful 2014 standoff with federal law enforcement officials — didn't stop with a few off-color jokes. When the pair sent out a nationwide call for supplies, asking for coffee creamer and tampons, a whole new world of possible ways to lampoon the protagonists revealed itself.

The men inside the wildlife center near Burns, Ore. — who would have much preferred discussing the Constitution and the tyranny of the federal government — were reduced to opening package after package of what turned out to be sex toys. One person even sent a "bag of dicks" — gummy candies molded into suggestive shapes. But then, seeking and surely succeeding in an attempt to outdo everyone, Max Temkin, co-founder of Cards Against Humanity, sent along a 55-gallon drum of "Passion Natural Water-Based Lubricant," priced at \$1,175.



The Oregon standoff, which was still ongoing at press time, is a serious business. A group of perhaps two dozen men has illegally seized the refuge and they have knocked down fences and done other property damage. But federal and local law enforcement officials have been wary of starting a confrontation, wanting to avoid bloodshed and seeing no immediate danger in holding back.

That left the job, at least for the moment, to the American public. And if the goal was to annoy the lawbreakers, the public has done rather well.

Jon Ritzheimer, the hardline former Marine who once led an armed march outside a Phoenix mosque and who filmed a tearful (and, he said, possibly final) farewell to his family before heading to Oregon, posted a video of himself

talking about the packages the men have received. In it, he looks none too happy.

"It was really mind-blowing that people would ... spend and waste their money of [sic] all this hateful stuff to send out here to us," he says, standing in front of a table laden with the offending gifts. "Rather than going out and doing good, they spend all their money on hate, and hate, and hate, and hate."

The pious anger Ritzheimer displays toward "hate" is rich. This is a man who regularly wears T-shirts emblazoned with "Fuck Islam" as he strolls in front of mosques. He once announced plans to "arrest" Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.) for treason because she supported the Iran nuclear deal. The FBI warned local officials after he posted a YouTube video of himself holding a firearm and threatening the staff of *The Islamic Post*, which had described him as "an American Taliban."

The mockery seems unlikely to end, given the rich material the standoff participants keep producing. Their armed camp has been marked by fistfights, scares over supposedly imminent raids, the revelation that one big-time combat veteran in their midst had never seen fighting at all, and even an arrest for auto theft.

In the end, the Bundy bunch — who also have been ridiculed as "Y'All Qaeda" and "Vanilla ISIS" — will either decide to finally go home, or law enforcement officials will find a way to address the crimes they have committed. Perhaps, in that respect, Jon Ritzheimer, for once, has a point worth considering.

"Enough talk," Ritzheimer roars in his video before violently sweeping box upon box of dildos, racy gummy bears and personal sex toys off the table in front of him. "Now it's time for action." ▲