

HATE IN THE RACE: DONALD TRUMP AND EXTREMISM



Intelligence Report

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SUMMER 2016 // ISSUE 161



'LINE IN THE SAND'

'Constitutional Sheriffs' Movement, Proposing Defiance
of Government, Spreading in Rural America

PLUS

OATH KEEPERS GO PARAMILITARY
RACISTS BUILD 'WHITE LIVES MATTER'

The Beast Reawakens

BY MARK POTOK

From the candidacy of Donald Trump to the British decision to leave the European Union (EU), from the rise of a radical movement of antigovernment county sheriffs to a metastasizing rage aimed at political and economic elites, something important and incredibly dangerous is happening in the Western world.

The beast of populism is reawakening.

When author Martin Lee titled his 1997 book *The Beast Reawakens*, the phrase he coined referred to the resurgence of Nazism in Europe. Today, it describes a far larger and far more dangerous set of movements that threaten to tear apart societies in both the United States and Europe. Their ideology is populist — the idea

that “pits a virtuous and homogenous people against a set of elites and dangerous ‘others’ who are depicted as depriving the sovereign people” of their prosperity and rights, according to scholars Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell.



In the United States, Trump is appealing directly to working- and lower middle-class whites and suggesting that their very real problems and insecurities are the fault of self-interested social elites — traditional politicians of both parties and media leaders — and of “dangerous others,” particularly Mexicans and Muslims. And, in typical populist manner, Trump offers himself up as the strongman who can solve seemingly intractable problems with bold, simple strokes.

In Europe, the leaders of the “Brexit” campaign managed to convince some 52% of voters that the cause of their economic and cultural malaise was a refugee and immigrant crisis enabled by the leaders of the European bloc. Those who voted to quit the EU were overwhelmingly older whites, many of them from the British equivalent of Rust Belt states in America. The sad irony is that those are the very areas that have been subsidized with huge amounts of money from the EU.

In the United States, the disaffection is helping drive a radical movement that seeks to delegitimize government, something seen in the “constitutional sheriffs” movement and the Bundy standoffs examined in this issue. In Europe, beyond the United Kingdom, it is reflected in the rise of populist, and often anti-Semitic and racist, political parties in places like France, Germany, Poland and Hungary.

The causes are complex. Globalization has increasingly knit nations together in a world economy, spurring huge movements of both workers and capital and causing

enormous dislocations as a result. Manufacturing wages have been declining across the West for decades, income inequality is at historic levels, and the digital revolution has left those without university-level education far behind.

At the same time, major cultural changes — the rise of large immigrant communities, for instance, and the advance of same-sex marriage — increasingly are making many whites feel that the world they grew up in is disappearing. The idea that the future holds better things is under assault in both America and Europe.

Anne Marie Slaughter, who heads the New America Foundation, compares the present moment to the upheavals seen at the beginning of the 20th century, another period of brutal change. “What we are seeing,” she told *The Atlantic* in July, “is anger at the disruption of our economy and, really, our social order — of the magnitude we saw when the agricultural age gave way to the industrial age.”

“The digital revolution ... is completely upending how we work,” she said, “what the sources of value are, how people can support their families, if they can at all, and creates tremendous fear and rage in the sense that you are at the mercy of forces you cannot control.”

In an essay for the History News Network, scholar Stephen W. Campbell analyzed the roots of Trump voters’ anger but also pointed out that the white working class still has long had it better than American minorities. “Part of [their] anger stems from economic inequality, but a major part, whether they will admit it or not, stems from the fear of rapid demographic change,” he wrote. “They are losing the privilege that has accumulated and redounded to their advantage over generations and almost no one willingly gives up privilege without a fight.”

This kind of rage, nurtured by opportunistic politicians and pundits riding the wave of political discontent, can be hard to quell. In the past, it has led to historic horrors like the rise of populism and racial nationalism that very nearly destroyed Europe in the 1930s and ’40s.

In the wake of the Brexit vote — which was preceded days earlier by the assassination of a pro-EU legislator by a neo-Nazi — Britain experienced a major wave of hate crimes against a whole array of minorities. On our side of the ocean, anti-Muslim violence and terrorist plots against government agencies reflect the rise of populist fury.

To suggest that the West is headed into the kind of social turmoil that led to fascism in Italy and Spain and Nazism in Germany is, hopefully, going too far. But to put the beast of populism back to sleep will require the best efforts of wise leaders, thoughtful voters, and effective government programs — all of which have been in short supply in recent years. ▲

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2016 // ISSUE 161



ON THE COVER

30 'Line in the Sand'

A radical movement of “constitutional sheriffs” has been growing since the 2009 formation of the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association. A survey of sheriffs shows that the movement, which pushes plainly unconstitutional claims like the idea that officers can defy the government and decide which laws they enforce, is exploiting issues like gun, environmental and land use regulation with real success.



14 Hate in the Race

Ever since he opened his presidential bid by describing Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers, Donald Trump has brought a remarkable flood of political vitriol to the race. A month-by-month account describes the extremism that Trump, and to a lesser extent Ted Cruz, have helped push into the political mainstream.



22 670 Days

The saga of the Bundy family of Nevada, beginning with an armed standoff at their ranch in 2014 and concluding with the arrest of three family members this February, lasted some 22 months. In the period in between, the Bundys' apparent imperviousness to arrest helped the antigovernment “Patriot” movement grow by leaps and bounds.



44 'White Lives Matter'

The radical right has responded to the Black Lives Matter movement with one of its own that is an unvarnished example of white supremacist hate. White Lives Matter, a slogan that is increasingly prominent among neo-Nazis and their ilk, appears to be in large part the project of a 40-year-old Tennessean named Rebecca Barnette.

Intelligence Report

INTELLIGENCE REPORT EDITOR
Mark Potok

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR
Heidi Beirich

ONLINE EDITOR/SENIOR WRITER
Ryan Lenz

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INVESTIGATIONS
Laurie Wood

DATA MANAGER
Keegan Hanks

RESEARCH TEAM LEAD
Stephen Piggott

RESEARCH ANALYSTS
Rose Falvey, Evelyn Schlatter,
Sarah Viets, Dylan Waite

PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
Karla Griffin

DESIGN DIRECTOR
Russell Estes

DESIGNERS
Shannon Anderson, Valerie Downes, Michelle Leland,
Sunny Paulk, Scott Phillips, Kristina Turner

PRODUCTION MANAGER
Regina Collins

SOCIAL MEDIA COORDINATOR
Alex Amend

MEDIA AND GENERAL INQUIRIES Heidi Beirich

LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES Laurie Wood

SUBSCRIPTION REQUESTS Karla Griffin
Southern Poverty Law Center
400 Washington Ave. • Montgomery, AL 36104
(334) 956-8200 • intelligenceproject.org

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S
INTELLIGENCE PROJECT



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER PRESIDENT
J. Richard Cohen

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER FOUNDERS
Morris Dees
Joseph J. Levin Jr.

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Alan B. Howard, *Chair*
Henry Solano, *Vice Chair*
Jocelyn Benson, Bryan Fair, Bennett Grau,
Marsha Levick, Will Little, Howard Mandell,
James McElroy, Lida Orzeck, Elden Rosenthal,
James Rucker, Ellen Sudow

The *Intelligence Report* is published two times a year by the staff of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved. © 2016 Southern Poverty Law Center. All rights reserved.



37 Seeds of Sedition

The Oath Keepers, an antigovernment group including members of law enforcement and the military, is now training paramilitary “Community Preparedness Teams.”

40 ‘Battle of Sacramento’

In the aftermath of the stabbing of seven people in a street fight between racist radicals and anti-racists, a key white nationalist leader discusses the state of the movement.

DEPARTMENTS

3 Intelligence Briefs

A radical schools association is rejected; a British assassin is tied to U.S. neo-Nazis; a woman-hating rape advocate’s international “meet up” plans flop; and other glimpses of extremism.

47 For the Record

A sampling of hate crimes and hate group activities from the first half of 2016 is summarized in state-by-state listings.

49 The Last Word

The Stormfront hate forum insistently celebrates Aryans and their “European” culture. But the wannabe writers who inhabit the website’s Poetry and Creative Writing section may not make the best examples.

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.





[RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM]

Schools Association Rejected After Founder's Past Surfaces

Thirteen years ago, an evangelical minister in Idaho who was about to headline a “history” conference at the University of Idaho at Moscow ran head-on into a massive political firestorm. The cause was a book pastor Douglas Wilson had co-authored that offered up an unusual take on antebellum American slavery.

“Slavery as it existed in the South ... was a relationship based upon mutual affection and confidence,” according to *Southern Slavery, As It Was*. “There has never been a multiracial society which has existed with such mutual intimacy and harmony in the history of the world.” And there was this: “Slavery was to them [slaves] a life of plenty, of

simple pleasures, of food, clothes and good medical care.”

An uproar ensued, with the presidents of two local universities, numerous editorials, scores of letters to the editor, participants in several rallies and any number of other sources condemning Wilson’s sorry scholarship. Historians pilloried Wilson for a rose-colored version of slavery as it never was.

Earlier this year, Wilson, in a form, was back.

In February, the Tennessee state Senate considered a Republican bill that would have allowed church schools to be accredited by the Association of Classical and Christian Schools — started by Wilson years before to accredit

such schools as his own Logos school in Moscow. The association’s site still carries Wilson essays like “Nurturing Masculinity,” and includes in its recommended readings an essay by R.L. Dabney, a Confederate chaplain who once described black people as a “morally inferior race,” a “sordid, alien taint” marked by “lying, theft, drunkenness.”

Wilson has also called for the execution of adulterers, said LGBT people should be exiled, argued that a rapist should be able to pay his victim’s father in order to make her his bride, and said women are made to depend on men. He no longer has an official position with the association, but Raw Story reported that he was to

Slavery apologist Douglas Wilson, who worked for years to create a “Christian” empire, saw his schools accreditation organization summarily rejected after some of his unusual views of history came to light.

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

People around the world, like these three women at a June event in New York City, condemned rape advocate and self-described “pickup artist” Daryush Valizadeh’s call for “meet ups” in 43 countries earlier this year. In the end, “Roosh V’s” macho-man organizing plans developed a case of the vapors and fainted dead away.

give the group’s annual conference plenary speech earlier this year.

In the end, Wilson’s comments came to public attention, and the bill offered by state Sen. Brian Kelsey (R-Germantown) went down to defeat. Apparently, Wilson’s views were too much even for conservative lawmakers.

[MISOGYNY]

Gathering Called By ‘Neo-Masculinist’ Rape Advocate Flops

Daryush “Roosh V” Valizadeh had billed Feb. 6 as the day that his “neo-masculinist” — read woman-hating and rape-advocating — followers would emerge “from the shadows and not have to hide behind a computer screen” any longer.

The organizer of the “International Meet Up” had been rightly dubbed by the Daily Dot in 2014 the “web’s most infamous misogynist.” His plans were to have his followers arrive at pre-arranged public spaces, query each other with secret passcodes (which Roosh V himself had posted publicly online), and then proceed to the secret locations of 165 meet-ups in 43 countries. Or so he promised.

By Feb. 3, though, visitors to Roosh’s personal website found only a short message in a large, bold, black font: “Meetup Cancelled.” Under immense pressure internationally, Roosh’s promises had dissolved into nothing.

To know Roosh’s anti-woman extremism — on full display at his online network, Return of Kings — is to understand why 40,000-plus people in Canada last year signed a petition urging that he be refused entry under that country’s speech laws; why an all-woman boxing club in Toronto promised to confront any meet-ups they found;



and why media figures, innumerable online commenters and even a leading Australian Green Party member denounced his organizing effort.

Roosh’s misogyny is as sensational as it dangerous. He has openly advocated for the legalization of rape, so long as it occurs on private property. He has self-published nearly 20 books in which the self-described “pick-up artist” instructs readers on how to “bang” women in different countries. Taking his lead, his online followers have discussed the best spots to rape women in some of those countries. And, in the buildup to his failed day of woman hate, he encouraged followers to “exact furious retribution” from any female who confronted them — videotape them, post those videos online, identify and then collectively harass them.

Roosh V’s following, his efforts notwithstanding, is essentially an online movement, part of a larger cyberworld peopled by misogynists and known as the “manosphere.” But one need only remember the women who were mercilessly harassed by “GamerGate” trolls to understand how serious online terror can be. During that campaign, men viciously harassed women who pointed out sexism in the



electronic gaming industry, to the point that at least one had to flee her home.

It was ironic that the tactics endemic to the manosphere were turned on Roosh, who has not hidden his real identity, and his followers. Reacting to the vitriol directed their way, Roosh tweeted, “Anonymous doxxed my family’s address. Whatever I’ve done in life, they don’t deserve to be harassed or harmed.”

And about that, if only that, Daryush Valizadeh was surely right.

[FINANCING HATE]

PayPal, Slow to Kick Out Haters, is Attacked by Them

After last year’s massacre of nine black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C., PayPal, one of the world’s largest online pay processors,

ERIK MCGREGOR/PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET VIA GETTY IMAGES (PROTEST); WIKIPEDIA (VALIZADEH); REUTERS/BECK DIERENBACH (PAYPAL) OPPOSITE PAGE

finally suspended the account of a major white supremacist group known as the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). Mass murderer Dylann Roof had left writings making clear he got his inspiration from the CCC, a group obsessed with black-on-white crime.

PayPal also banned a few other groups on the very farthest reaches of the radical right, including Stormfront, a white supremacist forum run by a former Alabama Klan leader; Vanguard News Network Forum, a neo-Nazi discussion board; and the Daily Stormer, a particularly rancid website that takes its name from Nazi propagandist Julius Streicher's pornographic *Der Stürmer* newspaper.

The groups were suspended for violating PayPal's longstanding Acceptable Use Policy, which forbids using the service "for activities that relate to transactions involving the promotion of hate, violence, racial intolerance or the financial exploitation of a crime." That action had the effect of making it harder for those hate groups

to raise money through donations or selling racist products.

But PayPal has been slow to move on many others.

Eighty-one groups listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) were still using PayPal services at press time, despite numerous requests to PayPal from the SPLC that the firm adhere to its own use policy. The remaining groups include *American Renaissance*, which has said black people are incapable of maintaining civilization, and the National Alliance Reform and Restoration Group, which seeks to bring America's once-leading neo-Nazi group back to life.

So it's ironic that PayPal is now under fire from two organizations listed as anti-LGBT hate groups by the SPLC — the American Family Association and the Family Research Council. These religious-right groups are upset about PayPal's decision to cancel plans for a major global operations center in Charlotte, N.C., following Gov. Pat McCrory's signing of H.B. 2, the "bathroom bill" that mandates that transgender people use

bathrooms consonant with their biological sex.

PayPal CEO Dan Schulman explained the decision to kill the company's North Carolina expansion project like this: "Legislation has been abruptly enacted by the State of North Carolina that invalidates protections of the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender citizens and denies these members of our community equal rights before the law. The new law perpetuates discrimination and it violates the values and principles that are at the core of PayPal's mission and culture."

The American Family Association, which regularly boycotts companies whose policies are seen as too gay-friendly, said it was quitting PayPal.

And the Family Research Council did the same thing. "Good riddance!" it wrote to supporters. "Now that Big Business has been co-opted by LGBT activists, it's not just demanding — but punishing — anyone who thinks the safety and privacy of our daughters is too much to pay for political correctness."



Online pay processor
PayPal has been criticized for allowing hate groups to use its service. Recently, two religious-right organizations listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate groups went after the giant firm for entirely different reasons.



Smith



Lane

[HOLOCAUST DENIAL]

Radical-Right Leader and One Who Helped are Dead

Bradley Smith, a principal architect of Holocaust denial in America who was once a character witness for an infamous Canadian neo-Nazi, died this February in San Diego from complications of cancer. He was 86.

Smith came late to Holocaust denial, after reading Robert Faurisson's *The Problem of the Gas Chambers* at the age of 49. But once convinced, he became an extremely energetic promoter of the denial movement, a role that made him famous and well respected across the radical racist right.

Smith's principal vehicle was the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) and, as the name implies, he postured as a defender of free and honest speech. But he was close to some of the nation's leading anti-Semites, including Willis Carto, who died last year. For a time, Smith worked as media project director at Carto's Institute for Historical Review (IHR), which for decades has been the premier Holocaust-denying institution in America.

Smith also traveled to Canada in 1985 to testify as a character witness for neo-Nazi Ernst Zündel, who 20 years later would be deported to his native Germany and jailed for Holocaust denial, during a hate speech trial. The trial related to claims that Zündel made in his book, *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*.

Smith was best known for CODOH's Campus Project, which lasted from the group's formation in 1987 until 2001. In that time, he paid for and placed full-page ads in some 350 student newspapers proposing "debates" on the

veracity of the Holocaust. The ads were framed to suggest that anyone opposed was an enemy of free speech afraid to face open debate. In 2015, Smith restarted those efforts, announcing a new website, A Light on Campus.

Another, more enigmatic figure with links to Holocaust denial also died earlier this year. Mark Lane, a lawyer, sometimes leftist, and the nation's first major Kennedy assassination conspiracy theorist, died in May of a heart attack at his home in Virginia at the age of 89. An extremely colorful character, Lane at various times was a New York state legislator, a Freedom Rider and friend of Dick Gregory and Jane Fonda, the author of four books on the JFK assassination, and a lawyer for Jim Jones who was present in Guyana when the Peoples Temple leader led some 900 followers to their deaths by way of poisoned Kool-Aid.

Lane was known as an exaggerator and self-promoter. But nothing was stranger than the fact that Lane, who was Jewish, was for years close to Carto, who despised Jews and Israel. In 1991, Lane represented Carto's Liberty Lobby in a long-running battle with Holocaust survivor Mel Mermelstein, who had sued for libel. Mermelstein earlier won a \$90,000 judgment from Carto's IHR after it offered a reward for proof that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz.

Lane also represented Liberty Lobby when it was sued over an article in the group's *Spotlight* newspaper alleging that former CIA operative E. Howard Hunt was involved in the Kennedy assassination. And he represented Carto in 1993, when Carto was struggling with IHR staff over control of that group. Carto eventually lost the battle, which was set off by a large bequest left to IHR that Carto claimed as his own, and control of IHR.



[LEGISLATIVE EXTREMISM]

Statehouses inundated with discriminatory bills and laws

The legalization of same-sex marriage, the Syrian refugee crisis, the continuing threat of Islamist terrorism and simmering discontent over federal control of public lands have sparked an upsurge in hardline state legislation. What is most remarkable is how many of the proposed laws appear plainly unconstitutional.

The biggest hunk of them came in reaction to advancing LGBT rights. As of this spring, more than 100 bills sought to legalize discrimination against LGBT people in one way or another. One of the most restrictive was Mississippi's H.B. 1523, which was signed into law in April and allows both government and private business to deny a range of services to LGBT people, and also creates legal safeguards protecting those entities from being sued for discrimination.

North Carolina's H.B. 2 took just 12 hours to win legislative approval. It removes protections

Mississippi burning: The Human Rights Campaign organized a major rally in May against Mississippi's latest draconian anti-LGBT legislation.

FACBOOK (SMITH); MARKLANECOM (LANE); AP IMAGES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/ JAMES PATTERSON (PROTEST)



for LGBT people, denies transgender people access to the bathroom matching their gender identity, and bars any claims of discrimination under state law. Georgia's H.B. 757, which also allowed denial of services to LGBT people on the basis of religious belief, passed the legislature but was vetoed by Gov. Nathan Deal in March. Tennessee's S.B. 1556, allowing therapists to refuse LGBT and other clients on the basis of "sincerely held principles," became law.

Oklahoma was something of a record-setter in this regard, with 27 bills offered this year. One would have allowed any business to refuse service to LGBT people. Another would have made it illegal to ban "reparative therapy" — which purports to be able to "cure" gay people — as five states and two cities have already done in the case of minors. All 27 bills, however, died in the legislative session.

Meanwhile, more than 30 states sought to bar Syrian refugees in the aftermath of the Islamist attacks in Paris last November, despite the fact that the states have no jurisdiction over refugee resettlement and cannot ban it. A particularly extreme case came in South



"Years from now, do you want to get the phone call from your kids or grandkids saying, 'Mom, Dad, the sodomite police or the population police just came and took my husband away. Dad, Mom, why didn't you fight evil when you could?'"

—**CAL ZASTROW**, co-founder of Personhood USA, urging a Nashville audience in **early December** to back a state law to nullify the Supreme Court's same-sex marriage decision



"I agree, just kill them all and close Gitmo, that's fine."

—Fox co-host **KIMBERLY GUILFOYLE** during a **Dec. 18** edition of "The Five," advocating the extrajudicial killings of detainees



"Trump should deport Nikki Haley."

—Far-right author **ANN COULTER** on Twitter on **Jan. 12**, attacking South Carolina's Republican governor, the daughter of immigrants, over Haley's stance on immigration



"Run them over. Keep traffic flowing and don't slow down for any of these idiots who try and block the street."

—St. Paul, Minn., police Sgt. **JEFF ROTHECKER**, who has since resigned, in a racist rant about Black Lives Matter demonstrators posted to Facebook on **Jan. 16**



"It was not so much a racist thing but a vigilante thing to keep law and order. ... It made a lot of people straighten up."

—Georgia state Rep. **TOMMY BENTON** (R-Jefferson), describing the Ku Klux Klan in an interview published by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on **Jan. 29**



"The ACLU and their fellow communist friends, the League of Women Voters — you can quote me on that, the communist League of Women Voters — the ACLU and the communist League of Women Voters sued."

—Kansas Secretary of State **KRIS KOBACH**, speaking at the state Republican convention on **Feb. 20** about the nonpartisan voting rights group



"Heterosexual sex is very healthy in a loving marital relationship. Homosexual sex, however, kills."

—Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice **REBECCA BRADLEY**, in one of numerous hate-filled pieces written for the *Marquette Tribune* in the early 1990s and exposed by One Wisconsin Now on **March 7**



"I was asked to name two things commonly found in cells. Apparently, 'Blacks' and 'Mexicans' were NOT the correct answers."

—One of a string of bigoted jokes forwarded from an old work account by **TOM ANGEL**, the now former chief of staff to Los Angeles County Sheriff Jim McDonnell, as revealed by the *Los Angeles Times* on **April 27**



"Yeah, I know the genocide. I know which race he has targeted. ... He's a mad man."

—Far-right talk radio host **MICHAEL SAVAGE**, in the **May 3** edition of his show, agreeing with a caller who claimed, as many white supremacists do, that President Obama is systematically eliminating Caucasians in the United States

Rick Tyler (with glasses), who erected a billboard in Tennessee urging voters to “Make America White Again,” was only one of several extremist candidates running for office recently. Others (clockwise from Tyler) included Taylor Rose, Tony Horvater, Michele Fiore and Jim Condit Jr.

Carolina, where S.B. 997 would create an online registry of refugees’ personal information and hold refugees’ sponsors liable for any crime committed by their charges. The bill was referred to the Senate’s Judiciary Committee.

In Florida, H.B. 1095, the “Prevention of Acts of War” bill, would allow the governor to use police and the National Guard to keep refugees from any nation where terrorist groups exist from entering the state and would prohibit state officials from helping integrate refugees. Arizona, Kansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska and Tennessee saw bills similar to those in Florida and South Carolina.

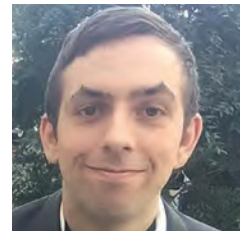
Eight Western states also considered some 30 bills that were aimed at removing control of public lands from the federal government and turning it over to the states, even though a series of legal cases in the 1980s established that those lands are legally under the control of the federal government. In addition, a federal law that would strip the federal Bureau of Land Management and U.S. Forest Service of their law enforcement functions was introduced in Congress.

[EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM]

Fringe Racists, Conspiracy Theorists Make Bids for Office

Most of those who follow extremism and extremist candidates in the political mainstream are focused tightly on the presidential bid of Donald Trump. But there are a number of other races featuring unusual candidates around the country.

In Tennessee, Rick Tyler, an independent candidate for the state’s 3rd Congressional District, put up a billboard that read, “Make America White Again,”



and specifically credited Donald Trump for “loosen[ing] up the overall spectrum of political discourse.” According to Raw Story, he also planned another billboard, this one reading, “Mamas, don’t let your babies grow up to be miscegenators.”

In Montana, Taylor Rose, who was once vice president of the now-defunct racist campus group Youth for Western Civilization, is running for District 3 of the state House of Representatives. Rose is a former writer for WorldNetDaily, a “news” site that once ran a six-part series claiming that eating soy causes homosexuality. In 2011, he travelled to Europe and met with members of the extreme-right Vlaams Belang party, where he was seen communing with German extremists.

Tony Horvater, a self-described white nationalist, is running for the New Carlisle, Ohio, City Council. Last year, Horvater was a participant in a conference hosted by the

white supremacist *American Renaissance* journal, which regularly publishes articles characterizing black people as “psychopathic.” Horvater has denounced “third world immigration,” worried that white men’s taxes are too high, and claimed that Jews are a driving force behind gun control. He is running as the first-ever candidate of the Traditionalist Workers Party, another racist group.

In Ohio, Jim Condit Jr. ran on the Green Party ticket for the state’s 8th Congressional District in a special election to serve the remainder of the term of House Speaker John Boehner, who resigned in October 2015. Condit has charged that the Federal Reserve Bank is working to force the United States into a socialistic “New World Order,” accused

FACEBOOK (BILLBOARD); BALLOTEDIA (TYLER); TAYLORROSEFORCONGRESS (ROSE); TWITTER (HORVATER); AP IMAGES/JOHN MINICHILLO (CONDIT); AP IMAGES/CATHLEEN ALISON (FIOR)

“Zionists” of infiltrating the Vatican II conference of the 1960s that renounced anti-Semitism in the Catholic Church, and claimed that Israel planned to benefit from the 9/11 terror attacks.

Condit announced in May that he would be interviewing on his radio show Christopher Bollyn, “[t]he man viewed by many as the world’s top Investigative Reporter.” Bollyn is a raging anti-Semite who called the 9/11 attack “a monstrous Jewish-Zionist crime” whose authors were “protected by a gang of like-minded Jewish Zionists in the highest positions of the U.S. government.” Condit also said he would be exploring “the hidden origins of Communism” in an upcoming show.

But Condit lost the June election, taking just over 2% of the vote.

And then there’s Michele Fiore, the two-term Nevada assemblywoman who ran for the state’s 3rd Congressional District. Fiore is famous for supporting the Bundy gang in their 2014 armed standoff with federal officials in her state, and their subsequent standoff in Oregon earlier this year. Last November, Fiore told a radio host: “I am not okay with Syrian refugees. I’m not okay with terrorists. I’m okay with putting them down, blacking them out. Just put a piece of brass in their ocular cavity and end their miserable life. I’m good with that.” She also said this year that if a police officer pointed a gun at her, she would shoot to kill. She later claimed she had only been referring to agents of the Bureau of Land Management — the nemesis of the Bundys and their supporters, many of whom now face criminal charges.

Arguing for a bill that would allow doctors to try unapproved treatments for the terminally ill, Fiore, who has no medical training, suggested that “cancer, which I believe is a fungus,” could be “flushed out” with a salt water solution.

It all proved too much for Nevada voters. In the state’s June primary, Fiore lost her congressional bid, coming in third with just 18% of the vote.

[ANTI-LGBT HATE]

As ‘Bathroom Bill’ Debates Heat Up, Transgender People Die

As the American “culture wars” increasingly focus on the rights and plight of transgender people, violence directed at the trans community — for years, one of the most victimized groups in the country — appears to be reaching new heights.

In the first six months of this year, 14 trans people have been murdered, according to the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs. That puts the year on track to exceed the 21 murders counted by the group in 2014. (The coalition has been criticized for including killings that have not been proven to be hate attacks. On the other hand, it’s likely that cases that were murders of trans people inspired by hatred were missed because of poor reporting by law enforcement officials.) Earlier, the coalition counted 14 murders of trans people in 2013, and 12 in 2014.

It was already known that trans people are victimized by hate crime more than others. Several years ago, the *Intelligence Report*, using 14 years of FBI hate crime statistics, found that LGBT people were far more likely to suffer violent hate attacks than any other group. Within that community, anecdotal evidence strongly suggests that trans people, and especially trans women of color, were the most victimized of all. Most of the trans murder victims of the last two years fit that description.

The latest round of attention paid to trans people — much of it negative and some of it violently antagonistic — has come as battles developed in state after state over the use of bathrooms. When President Obama issued a directive to public schools across the nation mandating that officials allow trans students to use the bathroom matching their gender identity, many conservatives erupted.

In March, North Carolina passed a “bathroom bill” that required people to use public bathrooms matching their birth sex. A few weeks later, Mississippi followed with a copycat bill. Similar bills have been filed in at least 10 other states, and on May 25, 11 states sued the Obama administration over its directive.

Opponents argue that men will claim to be transgender, enter women’s rest rooms, and sexually attack women and girls there. Virtually no such attack has been recorded, but that hasn’t stopped anti-LGBT groups like the Alliance Defending Freedom from

Ku Klux Klan attacks on transgender people are only a small part of a larger movement targeting America’s most vulnerable minority.

TRANSGENDER
Is an abomination according to the Kings James Bible
Deuteronomy 22:5
“A woman shall not wear that pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman’s garment: For all that do are an abomination unto the Lord Thy God.
These freaks are jeopardizing the safety of bathrooms all across the nation for our women and children. This needs to STOP
There is no confusion
If you have a PENIS – Use the MENS ROOM
If you have a VAGINA – Use the LADIES ROOM
If your confused and don’t know what sex you are today
USE A TREE OUT IN THE BACK YARD
JOIN AND HELP US STAND UP AND BOYCOTT THIS ABOMINATION
Hotline 24/7
336-432-0386
The Loyal White Knights of KKK
www.kkkknights.com
www.loyalwhiteknights.com
* Donations accepted on website
The KKK
Wants You!

issuing high-pitched warnings of a sex crime epidemic. The Klan, too, has joined in, distributing threatening anti-trans fliers around the country that suggested, without directly saying so, that trans people should be lynched.

The battle reached a fever pitch with the April announcement by Target that the department store would allow trans people to use the bathrooms of their choice. That sparked a call to boycott Target, signed by almost 1.5 million people, and a spate of ugly protests. A bomb exploded in one Target restroom, a protester at another so frightened shoppers that police were called, and Anita Staver, president of the anti-LGBT Liberty Counsel, said she'd carry a pistol in Target bathrooms.

[NEO-NAZI CRIME]

Accused British Assassin Linked to U.S. Neo-Nazi Group

Just days before Britain held a referendum on leaving or staying in the European Union (EU), a man yelling "Britain first" stabbed and shot to death a pro-EU and pro-immigrant member of Parliament at a meeting with constituents.

Although that phrase suggested that Thomas Mair, who was arrested moments after the June 16 killing of Jo Cox, had extreme-right views —British white supremacists violently oppose membership in the EU because it facilitates non-white immigration — little was initially

known about the suspect. Early British press reports described him as a "loner" with a history of "mental illness," although they also reported that Britain First was the name of a far-right, anti-EU party.

But within hours, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) published receipts showing that Mair, between 1999 and 2003, had spent more than \$620 on books from the National Alliance, at that time America's leading neo-Nazi group. The books included weapons manuals and an illustrated 1942 Nazi handbook.

That was followed rapidly by other revelations. The SPLC reported several days later that Mair had attended a 2000 meeting in London that was organized on behalf of National Alliance leader

BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

MARCH 3

Charges against David Joseph Lenio, 30, involving tweets in which he said he wanted to kill more children than the 20 who died at Sandy Hook Elementary School in 2012, were dropped under a deferred prosecution agreement in **Flathead County, Mont.** Lenio, who also tweeted that he wanted to kill Jewish leaders and shoot at synagogues, must avoid legal trouble for two years and report where he is living to escape the charges being reinstated. **Kalispell, Mont.**, police who arrested Lenio last year found he had two rifles, one pistol and a large quantity of ammunition.

MARCH 22

Steven Joshua Dinkle, the 30-year-old exalted cyclops of the **Ozark, Ala.**, chapter of the **International Keystone**

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was returned to federal prison for 10 months after violating his supervised release by burning a cross at the entrance to a black neighborhood in his hometown. Dinkle had served less than a year of a two-year sentence when he was released under supervision for three years and then failed to show up for a required mental health evaluation, fled Ozark for **Tuscaloosa** and was found in possession of a firearm, which is illegal for a convicted felon.

MARCH 30

Pete Santilli, the foulmouthed radio host who once said he wanted to shoot Hillary Clinton in the vagina, pleaded innocent to federal charges related to urging armed militants to join a 2014 standoff with law enforcement officials



at Cliven Bundy's ranch in **Bunkerville, Nev.** A month earlier, Santilli, 50, of **Cincinnati**, was released while awaiting trial for his role in another standoff, earlier this year, involving the Bundys at a wildlife refuge near **Burns, Ore.** Santilli was also charged in **Newton, Ohio**, last December with illegally carrying a concealed weapon in his car.

APRIL 8

Ryan Elliott Giroux, a 42-year-old former member of the **Hammerskin Nation** racist skinhead group who was later involved in the **Aryan Brotherhood** prison gang, pleaded guilty in **Maricopa County**,

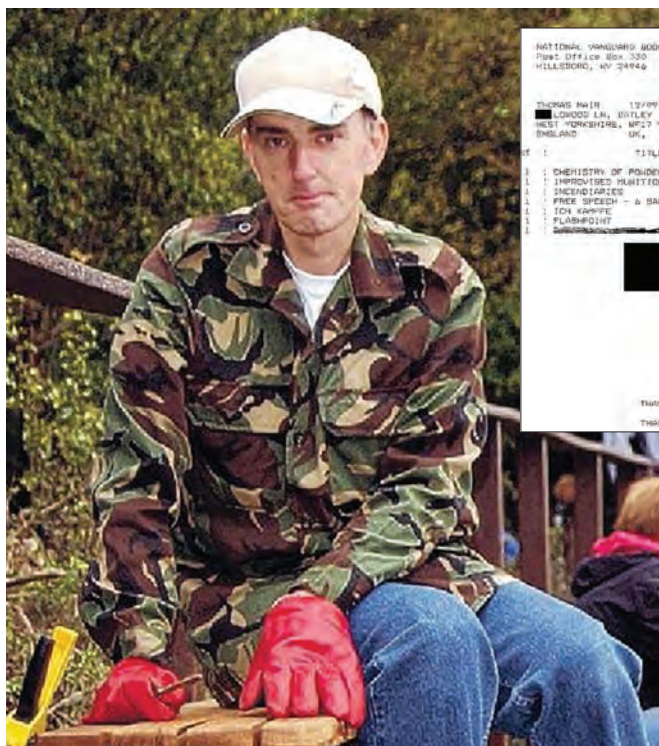
Ariz., Superior Court to 23 charges that included murder, attempted murder and aggravated assault. The charges related to a 30-minute rampage in **Mesa** that left one person dead and five wounded. Giroux has a 20-year criminal record that includes assaults on police officers and others.

APRIL 15

What began as an eight-hour standoff after law enforcement officials in **Vienna, Ga.**, responded to a domestic disturbance call ended with the apparent suicide of J.J. Harper, who had fired repeatedly on the officers. Harper, 52, was known for his tiny **American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**, which he described as "The One Man Klan." Harper wore a gas mask and bullet-proof vest and was armed with several pistols and a shotgun

William Pierce by operatives of the British National Party, a neo-fascist, whites-only organization. Pierce was trying to expand his white power music empire in the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe.

Todd Blodgett, who at the time was a paid informant working for the FBI and the host of the meeting, said Mair appeared to be connected to the Leeds unit of the National Alliance. He also recounted that when he mentioned Winston Churchill, Mair “kind of made a face and he referred to Churchill as a kike-loving bastard.” He said that Mair enthused about a book by David Irving, a self-described “historian” who is a leading Holocaust denier a judge once described as “pro-Nazi.”



Thomas Mair, accused of the June assassination of a pro-immigrant member of the British Parliament, was a neo-Nazi who ordered several books from the U.S.-based National Alliance.

during the standoff preceding his death.

MAY 4

Robert C. Doyle, 34, was sentenced in a **Richmond, Va.**, federal court to 17½ years in prison for his part in a **white supremacist** plot to bomb synagogues and African-American churches and to rob and murder a local coin dealer to finance those attacks. Two co-conspirators, Ronald Cheney III, 33, and Charles Halderman, 30, pleaded guilty earlier. The men were arrested after allegedly trying to buy weapons, a silencer and an explosive device from undercover agents. Authorities said the three were adherents of a racist version of **Asatru**, a pre-Christian Norse religion.

MAY 6

The FBI arrested Michael

Ray Emry at his **John Day, Ore.**, home and charged the self-described “Picasso of machine guns” with illegally possessing an unregistered, fully automatic .50-caliber machine gun with its serial number filed off. Emry, 54, was a “reporter” during the standoff earlier in the year at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge near **Burns, Ore.**, who broadcast on The Voice of Idaho, a pro-occupation website he created. In 2004, Emry avoided prison for building 66 illegal machine guns and a bomb by testifying against a cocaine dealer in **Tennessee**.

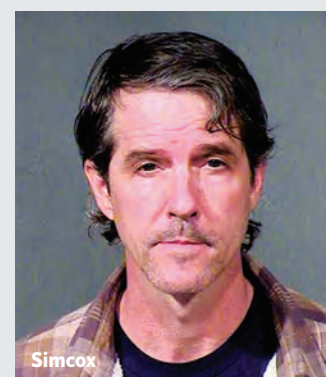
MAY 25

Two members of the **Shomrim**, a Hasidic neighborhood watch group that has been accused of vigilantism, pleaded guilty to unlaw-

ful imprisonment for a 2013 attack that left a black man permanently blind in one eye. Abraham Winkler, 42, and Pinchas Braver, 22, had faced gang assault charges before the deal. Prosecutors say Winkler and Pinchas attacked Taj Patterson while screaming anti-gay slurs as the 25-year-old walked through the **Brooklyn, N.Y.**, neighborhood of **Williamsburg**. Another man, Mayer Herskovic, 24, still faces trial in the attack.

JUNE 8

Chris Simcox, founder of the anti-immigrant group **Minute-man Civil Defense Corps** and co-founder of the **Minute-man Project**, was found guilty in **Phoenix** of two counts of child molestation and one of furnishing pornography to a minor and faces up to 37



years in prison. The 55-year-old border vigilante, who once claimed to have personally seen Chinese Red Army troops on the **Mexico-Arizona** border, was acquitted of even more serious charges of sexual conduct with a minor under 12. The jury found that Simcox, who saw three of his own daughters testify against him, had molested a 5-year-old playmate of his daughters in 2012 and 2013.

The SPLC also published copies of letters Mair wrote to a pro-apartheid magazine in which he attacked “White liberals and traitors” as “collaborators” and “anti-apartheid morons.” His focus on white “traitors” appeared to relate to the reason that Cox, who welcomed Muslim and other immigrants, was killed.

When Mair appeared at his first hearing, he seemed to confirm that view. Asked his name, he responded with a shout: “Death to traitors, freedom for Britain!”

[‘SOVEREIGN CITIZENS’]

Murders, Bombs a Reminder of Movement’s Danger

Way back in 2010, the FBI labeled “sovereign citizens” — conspiracy-minded people who believe that most laws and tax requirements don’t apply to them — as a “domestic terrorist” movement. This June, there was another reminder of why.

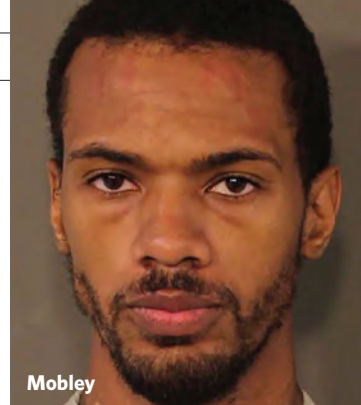
On a Monday afternoon that month, four men were using a chainsaw to clear wood on a

property adjacent to the Great Capacon, W.V., home of Erick Shute, a former singer for the death metal band Pyrexia. Shute, who was said to have had a prior dispute with the men, allegedly hid behind a tree, raised an AR-15 semi-automatic rifle, and killed three of them. An eight-hour manhunt ensued, with Shute posting claims of self-defense as it wore on, that ended in Pennsylvania.

Morgan County, W.V., Sheriff Vince Shambaugh said Shute was a sovereign citizen. Officials said he also had a history of violence, including an arrest in 2011 for the aggravated assault of a police officer, resisting arrest and obstruction.

In Ohio two months earlier, there was another example. Two men, Alphonso Mobley Jr. and Roberto Innis, were charged with aggravated arson and explosives violations after Mobley blew his own hands off while mixing chemicals. Officials alleged the pair was building a bomb to rob a bank or armored car. A Columbus Fire Department spokesman described the two men as sovereign citizens.

In January, Kern County, Calif., sheriff’s deputies searched the



home of Todd Sloan after being told of threats Sloan allegedly made against law enforcement officials. Officers said they found booby traps and explosives, and arrested Sloan, a sovereign who supported the militants who occupied an Oregon wildlife refuge in January, on illegal explosives charges. He was held on \$2 million bond.

And in Detroit, police in April arrested Ryon Travis after searching his home in connection with an identity fraud case. In a cell phone seized during the search, they found pornographic pictures of a girl, allegedly Travis’ 5-year-old daughter. Returning for a second search three weeks later, they discovered a 25-year-old woman chained to a stripper’s pole. Travis was arrested and charged with producing, transporting and possessing child pornography and also sex trafficking.

Although several of these cases do not appear to have a political motive, they once again illustrated the violence that is endemic to the sovereign movement. ▲

Former death metal band singer Erick Shute, a reported antigovernment “sovereign citizen” with a penchant for violence, allegedly ambushed and murdered three men in Pennsylvania.



FACEBOOK (SHUTE); FRANKLIN COUNTY SHERIFF’S OFFICE (MOBLEY AND INNIS)



Anaheim, Calif.

Feb. 27, 2016

Chaos erupted when an SUV carrying six Klansmen pulled up to Pearson Park to protest, in the words of one of them, “illegal immigration and Muslims.” Seconds after the men climbed out of their vehicle, they were set upon by a crowd of about 30 counter-protesters. In the melee that followed, Klansmen stabbed two of the anti-racist demonstrators with a knife and another one, who was critically injured but later upgraded, with the point of a flagpole. At first, Anaheim police arrested five of the Klan members and seven protesters, who included five men, one woman, and one male juvenile. But when police reviewed video of the event and spoke to witnesses, they released all the Klansmen, saying they had merely been acting in self-defense when the crowd attacked them, setting off a series of brawls. In June, seven of the counter-protesters were charged with a series of misdemeanors. Many observers were highly critical of the police, who knew about the demonstration in advance but failed to send any officers to the site until after the violence began.





IN THE RACE

A remarkable level of vitriol has characterized the Republican contest for president. And it's showing no signs of letting up

BY STEPHEN PIGGOTT

GETTY IMAGES/TOM PENNINGTON

In the 12 months since Donald Trump opened his bid for the presidency with a mid-June 2015 speech attacking Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers, the GOP primary season has been marked by often shocking levels of vitriol. Much of that vitriol has come directly from Trump and, to a lesser extent, his now-defeated primary rival, Sen. Ted Cruz of Texas. Trump has seemed to encourage violence against those who disagree with him, at one point offering to pay the legal fees of those who attacked counter-demonstrators at Trump rallies; at the same time, some vociferous Trump supporters have been arrested in racist and other crimes. The hatred bubbling up in the presidential race has also been seen in the form of alliances the two men made over the course of the year with anti-LGBT and anti-Muslim bigots. And white supremacists, neo-Nazis and members of the Ku Klux Klan have flocked to support Trump, even as he has seemed to go to great lengths to avoid publicly condemning them. What follows is a month-by-month account of some of the low-lights of the last year in the Republican presidential primary race.

JUNE 2015

The nation got its first taste of Donald Trump as a candidate when the New York billionaire real estate developer opened his campaign with a June 16 speech that horrified Latinos, immigrants and millions of others. “When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best,” he said. “They’re sending people that have lots of problems and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists.” Two weeks later, under criticism across the political spectrum, he insisted his claims were “totally accurate.”

The speech left white nationalists overjoyed — they could hardly believe that views so close to their own were being expressed by such a public figure. Members of the White Genocide Project, which promotes the myth that white people worldwide are being subjected to mass murder, started a petition to honor Trump for “opposing white genocide.” Jared Taylor, who heads the racist journal *American Renaissance* and has said black people are incapable of sustaining civilization, said his followers “have been dreaming of a candidate who says the obvious, that illegal immigrants from Mexico are a low-rent bunch that includes rapists and murderers.”

JULY 2015

Ted Cruz, who had announced his presidential bid in March, submitted a video speech to the National Security Action Summit in New Hampshire. The event was organized by the anti-Muslim Center for Security Policy, which is headed by Frank Gaffney. Gaffney is known for his paranoid ideas about Muslims, including the claim that the Muslim Brotherhood has infiltrated American government. At one point, he even accused two leading conservatives of being Brotherhood agents.



AUGUST 2015

Trump introduced a six-page immigration plan that read like the playbook of the radical anti-immigration movement in America — deportation of some 12 million people, a border wall to be paid for by Mexico, and gutting the 14th Amendment guarantee of citizenship to anyone born in this country. The plan was devised with the help of nativist lawyer Kris Kobach, the Kansas secretary of state who also serves as an attorney for the legal arm of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a far-right anti-immigration group. Kobach is known for promoting and defending anti-immigrant legislation and voter ID laws.

Neo-Nazi and former Klan leader David Duke praised Trump’s immigration plan, telling followers that “he has really said some incredibly great things recently. So whatever his motivation, I don’t give a damn. I really like the fact that he’s speaking out on this greatest immediate threat to the American people.”

The presidential race in the last year has been marked by an astounding level of vitriol, much of it directed against minorities by Republican contenders Ted Cruz and, especially, Donald Trump.



One day after Donald Trump seemed to justify an attack on a black protester at one of his rallies, he retweeted a white supremacist's utterly false claim about black murders of white people.

One echo of Trump's rhetoric was seen when two brothers in Boston beat a homeless Latino man with a metal pipe and urinated on him. After their arrest, one told police, "Donald Trump was right, all these illegals need to be deported."

Following a clash with Fox News host Megyn Kelly, Trump told CNN that Kelly had "blood coming out of her wherever," a comment taken by millions to blame Kelly's tough debate questions on her menstrual cycle. It was only the latest apparently misogynistic comment from Trump, who regularly slams women.

In the middle of the month, Trump claimed to fire his top adviser, Roger Stone, although Stone told reporters before that announcement that he had actually resigned. (*Politico* reported that Stone was bothered by Trump's sustained attack on Kelly.)

In fact, Stone remained close to the campaign, according to several media accounts. Stone, who had a minor role in the Watergate scandal, is known for his political dirty tricks and for racist attacks using phrases like "stupid Negro," "House Negro," Nigga," "Uncle Tom," "Arrogant Know-It-All Negro" and more.

Ted Cruz, meanwhile, visited the Tupelo, Miss., headquarters of the American Family Association, an anti-LGBT group known for linking gay men to pedophilia, among other falsehoods. Cruz was interviewed on one of the group's radio programs and was pictured there with Bryan Fischer — a former group spokesman who has claimed that gay men orchestrated the Holocaust and that welfare was destroying African-American families because it rewarded people who "rut like rabbits."

SEPTEMBER 2015

With white nationalists, Klansmen and neo-Nazis increasingly flocking to Trump's cause, American Freedom Party head William Daniel Johnson donated \$250 to the Trump campaign. Johnson, whose organization includes some of America's leading racist thinkers, is infamous for a constitutional amendment he once proposed and promoted that would have deported any American with "an ascertainable trace of Negro blood," along with other nonwhites.

Also in September, Trump and Cruz teamed up to organize a rally opposing the nuclear treaty signed with Iran. Gaffney's Islam-bashing Center for Security Policy co-sponsored the rally that featured a number of the country's leading anti-Muslim activists, including Brigitte Gabriel, who heads ACT! for America. Gabriel has said that any practicing Muslim "cannot be a loyal citizen of the United States," called Arabs "barbarians," and claimed American textbooks glorify Islam.

NOVEMBER 2015

After a Black Lives Matter activist was beaten by Trump supporters at a Nov. 21 rally in Birmingham, Ala., the candidate told Fox News, "Maybe he should have been roughed up. It was absolutely disgusting what he was doing."



AP IMAGES/ERIC SCHULTZ (BLACK LIVES MATTER PROTESTOR); AP IMAGES/VAHID SALAMI (DUCKE); TWITTER (BLACK); AP IMAGES/TROY MABRY (FISCHER); AP IMAGES/TOPEKA CAPITAL JOURNAL/THAD ALTON (GORDON)

The next day, Trump retweeted an image of a black man dressed like a gangster that claimed, among other things, that blacks were responsible for 81% of whites murdered in the United States — a “Pants on Fire” falsehood, according to PolitiFact, that was almost the exact reverse of the truth (in 2014, 82% of murdered whites were killed by other white people). The website Little Green Footballs traced the original tweet to a Hitler admirer. Trump never retracted or apologized for the tweet, one result of which was a jump in Google searches for the phrase “black on white crime” from 2,900 searches in October to 8,100 in November.

Trump also made a claim that he had watched the World Trade Center collapse on 9/11 “as thousands of people were cheering” in New Jersey. Multiple investigations of the alleged celebration by Muslims found that no such thing occurred, but Trump repeated the allegation and refused to retract it.

The white supremacist American Freedom Party leader founded a political action committee, the American National Trump Super PAC. The group would soon start conducting robocalls in a string of states promoting Trump’s candidacy.

The same month, Cruz gushed over his endorsement by anti-abortion hardliner Troy Newman, writing, “We need leaders like Troy Newman in this country who will stand up for those who do not have a voice.” Newman, the head of Operation Rescue, where a leading staffer is a convicted clinic bomber, once argued that Paul Hill, who murdered an abortion doctor and his bodyguard, should have been allowed to present a defense of “justifiable defensive action.”

Cruz also spoke, along with GOP rivals Mike Huckabee and Bobby Jindal, at the National Religious Liberties Conference organized by pastor Kevin Swanson in Des Moines, Iowa. Swanson has called for punishing homosexuality with death. Also speaking at the conference was Cruz’s father, Rafael Cruz, who said in 2013 that same-sex marriage was a government plot to destroy the family.

DECEMBER 2015

In the aftermath of the November Islamic State attacks in Paris and a suburb that left 130 dead, Trump called for a “total and complete shutdown” of Muslims entering the United States. His statement was accompanied by a link to a “poll” from Gaffney’s Center for Security Policy claiming that “25% of those polled agreed that violence against Americans here in the United States is justified.” In fact, Gaffney’s data was from a wildly unscientific “opt-in” poll. Other, serious surveys have shown that the number of American Muslims supporting violence is relatively tiny.

Rachel Pendergraft, the national membership coordinator for the Knights Party — also known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the group started by Duke — told the *Washington Post* that the Trump campaign was helping outreach.

Cruz, meanwhile, made a video appearance at another of Gaffney’s National Security Action Summits, in Las Vegas. He was not the only GOP presidential candidate to speak — so did Ben Carson, Carly Fiorina and Rick Santorum.

JANUARY 2016

Trump retweeted a message mocking Jeb Bush from the account @WhiteGenocideTM, which earlier sent messages claiming “Hitler SAVED Europe” and “Jews/Israel did 9/11.” “White genocide” is the idea promoted by white supremacists that white people, far from running most of the developed



After Fox News moderator Megyn Kelly asked Donald Trump about his descriptions of certain women as “fat pigs” and “disgusting animals,” the New York billionaire said Kelly had “blood coming out of her wherever” — a comment many took to blame Kelly’s tough debate questions on her menstrual cycle.

world, are actually being subjected to a genocide that will ultimately wipe out their race. Trump also retweeted a message from a Southern secessionist during the same month.

William Johnson's PAC, now renamed the American National Super PAC, started rolling out robocalls in favor of Trump, first in Iowa. Joining Johnson on the call was racist leader Jared Taylor, who said, in part, "We don't need Muslims. We need smart, well-educated white people who will assimilate to our culture."

Trump boasted of an endorsement from Carl Gallups, a Florida pastor who is also a Sandy Hook "truther" who believes that the 2012 massacre of children in Newton, Conn., was set up by the government as an excuse to seize Americans' guns. Such ideas are common in the antigovernment "Patriot" movement.



The Trump effect: Andean High School students in Merrillville, Ind., chanted "Build a wall" and held up Trump paraphernalia as their basketball team battled predominantly Latino Bishop Noll Institute on the court.

Trump, Cruz and six other Republican presidential candidates recorded speeches for a "Free to Believe" broadcast organized by the anti-LGBT Family Research Council. The group's leader has claimed that pedophilia is a "homosexual problem" despite the fact that virtually all medical associations disagree.

A rally for Cruz was hosted by a number of hard-line radio hosts and included people like Steve Deace, who has suggested that President Obama may refuse to leave office when his term is up in early 2017. Separately, the Cruz campaign lauded

the endorsement of pastor Mike Bickle, who said this in a recent sermon attacking same-sex marriage: "The young boy with the old man, the pedophiles, all of this will end up being presented as normative, acceptable, healthy sexual patterns in the school systems, millions of children systematically taught this."

FEBRUARY 2016

Duke, in the closest thing to a formal endorsement of Trump yet, told his followers that "voting against Trump at this point is really treason to your heritage."

Trump appeared later on CNN's "State of the Union," where he repeatedly dodged questions about Duke, saying, "I don't know anything about David Duke, okay?" That was false. In fact, Trump had criticized Duke in 1991, when he came close to winning the race for governor of Louisiana. And in 2000, Trump decided not to run for the Reform Party presidential nomination because, in large part, he did not want to be associated with Duke, who was supporting another candidate, Pat Buchanan, for the Reform Party's nomination. At the time, Trump called Duke "a bigot, a racist, a problem" and, separately, "a Klansman" and "a neo-Nazi."

Trump later blamed his refusal to disavow Duke on a "bad earpiece." But it functioned well enough that he heard the words "David Duke," at the least.

Asked in the CNN interview about the Ku Klux Klan and related groups, Trump demurred. "I have to look at the group. I mean, I don't know what group you're talking about. You wouldn't want me to condemn a group that I know nothing about. I'd have to look." By this time, many white supremacists were publicly describing Trump as their "fearless leader," a phrase coined by a neo-Nazi.

Also in February, Trump told a South Carolina audience a story about General John Pershing executing Muslim prisoners in the Philippines with bullets dipped in pig's blood, a complete fairy tale that effectively demeaned Muslims.

In a speech on caucus day in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Trump told his audience that he would pay the legal fees of followers who beat up protesters at his rallies. "If you see somebody getting ready to throw a tomato, knock the crap out of them," he said. "Just knock the hell out of them. I promise you, I will pay your legal fees."

Later, Trump claimed he had "never said" that.

The American Freedom Party's Johnson continued his robocalls for Trump in states including Vermont and Minnesota. In them, Johnson said, "Don't vote for a Cuban," a reference to Marco Rubio. "Vote for Donald Trump." Trump later said

that he would return the \$250 Johnson donated to his campaign in September.

On Feb. 27, the Trump campaign gave press credentials to James Edwards to cover a Memphis rally. Edwards is host of “The Political Cesspool,” a racist radio show that has featured a Who’s Who of radical-right guests. At the rally, Edwards interviewed one of Trump’s sons, who later said he didn’t know who Edwards was.

Another echo of Trump’s rhetoric was seen in Merrillville, Ind., when white Andean High School students chanted “Build a wall” at their counterparts from predominantly Latino Bishop Noll Institute during a basketball game.

Cruz was endorsed by Jerry Boykin, a vice president of the anti-LGBT Family Research Council who has said that Islam should not be protected under the First Amendment and that Muslims want to “destroy our Constitution.”

MARCH 2016

Former Alabama Klan leader and Duke associate Don Black, who runs the largest white supremacist Web forum in the country, told his radio audience that although Trump was not a perfect candidate, “we are all pulling for him, voting for him if we can.” The American Freedom Party, meanwhile, organized robocalls in Utah attacking Mitt Romney for denouncing Trump, and launched a hotline “to help those who are attacked physically and verbally for supporting Trump.”

But much of the violence seemed to be coming from the other side. Matthew Heimbach, a key white supremacist, was videotaped at a Trump rally in Louisville, Ky., shoving an African-American woman. He later boasted about the attack.

At a rally in Fayetteville, N.C., Trump supporter John McGraw was videotaped sucker-punching a black protester as he was being led away by police. McGraw was arrested the next day and charged with assault, and the local sheriff described the attack as “a cowardly, unprovoked act.” Trump, however, told two national news outlets that he was looking into paying McGraw’s legal fees.

As part of his new National Security Advisory Committee, Trump chose Joseph Schmitz, a fellow at the anti-immigration Center for Immigration Studies, and Walid Phares, an American of Lebanese Christian extraction who *Mother Jones* magazine said “was a high ranking political official in a sectarian religious militia responsible for massacres during Lebanon’s brutal, 15-year civil war.”

For his part, Cruz named to his new National Security Coalition extremists including Boykin, Gaffney and two staffers at Gaffney’s Center for



Latinos across America reacted with disgust to Donald Trump, who opened his presidential campaign last year with a speech denouncing Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers.

Security Policy, Fred Fleitz and Clare Lopez. Lopez is known for statements like one she made in 2013, saying that “[w]hen Muslims follow their doctrine, they become jihadists.”

Reacting to Islamist attacks in Brussels, Belgium, Cruz said there was a “need to empower law enforcement to patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized.” His proposal was criticized by many police leaders.

Cruz also held his Texas primary election watch party at the Redneck Country Club founded by radio host Michael Berry. Berry has referred to black people as “jungle animals” and mocked black victims of gun violence, Media Matters reported.

APRIL 2016

Fans of Elkhorn High School in Wisconsin yelled out “Donald Trump, build that wall!” and similar chants at a girls’ soccer game against Beloit Memorial High School, whose team is mostly Latina or black. The Beloit coach said afterwards that his players “weren’t able to finish the game” because they were so distraught.

MAYBE HE SHOULD HAVE BEEN ROUGHED UP. IT WAS ABSOLUTELY DISGUSTING WHAT HE WAS DOING.

The Cruz campaign released a list of 50 religious leaders backing their candidate. It included Julaine Appling, who *Mother Jones* reported “once stood up for the idea that gay couples who married in another state should be sent to prison.” In Colorado, the campaign announced its Colorado Leadership Team, including Gordon Klingenschmitt, who Right Wing Watch reported has said gay people are demonic and likened teaching children about same-sex marriage to mental rape.

The Guardian reported that Tim Clark and Ron Nehring, who were running the California campaigns for Trump and Cruz, respectively, were once paid advisers to a Guatemalan presidential candidate who called for public executions.

MAY 2016

Trump appointed Frank Amedia as his “liaison for Christian policy,” arranging for Trump meetings with conservative religious leaders. Amedia has said that people get AIDS “because of unnatural sex,” admitted under a grant of immunity that he once tried to bribe a prosecutor not to charge a car dealer for rolling back odometers, and claimed to stop a tsunami through prayer.

In Washington, D.C., police released a video showing an unidentified white woman assaulting a black woman wearing a hijab. The victim, who said the woman also poured a strange-smelling liquid on her, said her attacker called her “fucking Muslim trash,” shouted that she was voting for Trump, and said she hoped that as president he would send “all of you terrorist Muslims out of the country.”

John Martin Roos, another Trump supporter, was arrested in Oregon after allegedly threatening to kill President Obama repeatedly on social media. The threats, the Huffington Post reported, included this: “Obama you goat fffing fudgepacker, the refugees are men of fighting age. Black lives matter! Sure we need someone to pick cotton and wash cars. Paris, burn diseased muslim neighborhoods to the ground and start over with human beings. Obama you are on a hit list.”

Also in May, it came to light that the American Freedom Party’s William Johnson was listed as a Trump delegate in California. The campaign described his listing as a “database error,” although that was never explained publicly.

While most of the violence inspired by Donald Trump has come from his supporters, a group of Trump opponents did start scuffles with his backers at a June rally in San Jose, Calif.



AP IMAGES/NOAH BERGER



That wasn't Trump's only delegate problem. One Trump delegate in Maryland was indicted on weapons and child pornography charges. Another in Tennessee was reported to have said that current U.S. leaders need to be killed. Yet another, Everett Corley of Kentucky, had a Facebook page that "reveals strong support for Trump and the Confederacy, and he also shares phony memes about a wall between Mexico and Guatemala and complaints about 'black thugs' removing white farmers from their land in Rhodesia," according to Raw Story.

JUNE 2016

Trump attacked U.S. District Judge Gonzalo Curiel, the judge hearing the case brought by former students of Trump University who say they were ripped off as they paid thousands of dollars to learn Trump's real estate strategies. Trump said that Curiel had "an absolute conflict" in judging the case because he is "Mexican" — although Curiel was born in Indiana of parents who emigrated from Mexico — and Trump, as he said repeatedly, is "building a wall" on the Mexican border.

The comments unleashed a firestorm, as both Democrats and Republicans excoriated Trump as a bigot or, in some cases, tried to avoid saying anything about the incident at all. House Speaker Paul Ryan, the

highest-ranking official in the GOP, described Trump's words as "a textbook definition of a racist comment."

Trump soon extended his remarks to Muslims, who he suggested also might not be able to judge him fairly, given his proposal to ban Muslims from immigrating to the United States. He later claimed his comments had been misconstrued.

In the aftermath of the June 12 massacre of 49 people at a gay nightclub in Orlando, Fla., Trump suggested repeatedly that "the Muslim community" must have been complicit in the attack, saying, "For some reason, the Muslim community does not report people like this" even though, as he said of the killer elsewhere, "They know that he was bad." He also extended the claim, for which there was no evidence at all, to the December 2015 massacre of 14 people by a Muslim couple in San Bernardino, Calif. In interview after interview, Trump claimed that "there were numerous people that saw bombs all over the apartment floor" at the home of the California killers. There is no evidence whatsoever that that was true.

Finally, Trump also suggested that Obama might have been on the side of the Orlando mass murderer. He repeatedly said that "there's something going on" with Obama because he didn't use the phrase "radical Islamic terrorism." In fact, Obama has been behind the killing of more radical Islamists than any other president. ▲

Although Republican officials vowed to reach out to minorities after the 2012 election, Donald Trump's candidacy has reawakened racial animosities in a way reminiscent of segregationist George Wallace's 1968 presidential bid.



670 DAYS

The Bundys
of Nevada
orchestrated
two armed
standoffs with
the government.
After almost
two years,
they finally
face justice

BY RYAN LENZ



The saga of a Nevada rancher's long-running battle over the use of public lands ended exactly how it began — a family angered by the arrest of a son, fueled by rage at the federal government, and eager for the national spotlight.

It started on April 12, 2014, when Cliven Bundy and his family led a group including hundreds of armed far-right militants at his Bunkerville ranch in defying a federal government effort to seize his cattle because of more than \$1 million in accumulated grazing fees and fines. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department opted to leave Bundy's ranch that day when the rancher's followers appeared ready to open fire on them.

And it finally ended for the Bundy family on Feb. 10 of this year, when Cliven Bundy was arrested just days after his two grown sons were also handcuffed at a roadblock in Harney County, Ore., where Ammon and Ryan Bundy led a similar armed standoff at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. The elder Bundy was on his way to help keep alive the occupation, meant to showcase opposition to federal land use policies, but the last four occupiers surrendered a day after his arrest.



The entire odyssey had lasted 670 days.

In between, the Bundys and their followers seemed to most observers to be getting away with outrageous and criminal conduct. Many at the first standoff had pointed their heavy weapons directly at law enforcement officials, a serious felony, and those at the second trashed the Malheur refuge to the tune of \$4 million to \$9 million, according to various estimates. Their apparent imperviousness to arrest dramatically emboldened the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, whose members staged a number of similar but smaller confrontations with the government.

But in the end, the authorities acted. Although they had initially allowed the Bundy sons and their followers to travel in and out of the Malheur refuge they’d occupied, on Jan. 26 they set up a roadblock to arrest the occupation’s leaders as they traveled to a public meeting in John Day, Ore. While most of them surrendered, militant Robert “LaVoy” Finicum, who’d vowed not to be taken

alive, apparently reached for a loaded gun in his pocket and was shot dead by a state trooper. Two weeks later, the Bundy patriarch was arrested at Portland International Airport.

Nineteen people were charged in connection with the 2014 standoff and another 27 for their actions in Oregon this year — a total of 46 people, all facing federal felony charges, in some cases connected to both confrontations.

Roots of Resistance

Cliven Bundy had been a radical for many years before the standoff in Bunkerville, Nev., where he had a 160-acre ranch but used thousands of acres of adjoining federal land to graze his cattle. In 1992, after years of paying federal grazing fees — at a price of less than one-sixth the market rate — Bundy decided to stop paying, saying he no longer recognized the authority of the BLM.

The battle that followed was in and out of the courts for decades. In 1998, Bundy was ordered by a federal judge to remove his cattle from the so-called

Almost two years after antigovernment radicals trained their weapons on law enforcement officials at a Nevada ranch, 19 were charged in connection with the tense standoff.

Bunkerville Allotment but refused to do so. Another, similar order followed in 1999. In 2012, a planned roundup of Bundy’s cattle was called off because of his threats of violence and because the local sheriff, Doug Gillespie, refused to help without a renewed court seizure order. The government filed yet another case in response, and in 2013 a new federal ruling permanently enjoined Bundy from using the land.

But Bundy, who’d been there since 1948, still refused to leave.

At the same time, over the years, Bundy made his radical views known in both court documents and a variety of statements. He said the federal government had no jurisdiction over public lands, although a series of court decisions in the 1980s showed he was completely wrong. He described Nevada as a “sovereign state” and said he was a citizen



Rancher Cliven Bundy, who seemed to escape prosecution after leading a 2014 confrontation with police and federal agents, was finally arrested this year after trying to encourage a second standoff in Oregon.

only of that state. He refused to recognize the BLM's authority over public lands, an increasingly important claim among Patriots.

And Bundy used the language of the "sovereign citizen" movement, made up of people who believe they are immune to most laws. He also lauded the ideas of the "county supremacy" movement, a

radical ideology that describes local sheriffs as the highest legitimate law enforcement authority and that was concocted by the violently racist and anti-Semitic Posse Comitatus, a group active in the 1970s and 1980s.

In the lead-up to the April 12, 2014, confrontation, Bundy's eldest son, David Bundy, was arrested for failing to disperse.

Ammon Bundy was tased by BLM agents as he furiously protested in another tense moment. Enraged, Cliven Bundy put out a call for help on his family's blog: "They have my cattle and now they have one of my boys," he fumed. "Range War begins tomorrow at Bundy ranch."

On the day it all came to a head, a number of militants were photographed on a nearby highway overpass, training their assault rifles on officials. Ryan Payne, one of the leading militants supporting Bundy, told the *Intelligence Report* later that he and a Bundy family member had planned the "counter sniper positions" adopted on the overpass. "They had great lines of fire," Payne boasted in the interview, "and then, when I sent in that other team, for counter sniper positions, they [the BLM agents] were completely locked down. They had no choice but to retreat."



An angry crowd of militants at Cliven Bundy's Nevada ranch surges toward law enforcement officials as a standoff reaches a dangerous crescendo on April 12, 2014.

And, facing the prospect of a bloody shootout, they did.

The Patriot movement rejoiced. Mike Vanderboegh, a former militia leader and founder of the III Percent Patriots, spoke for many when he said that it was “impossible to overstate the importance of the victory won in the desert today. The feds were routed — routed. There is no other word that applies. Courage is contagious, defiance is contagious, victory is contagious. Yet the war is not over.”

What was perhaps most remarkable about the whole story was the support that Bundy, a scofflaw who was essentially stealing from the American people, received from politicians. Sen. Dean Heller (R-Nev.) called the Bundy gang “patriots.” Soon-to-be GOP presidential candidate Dr. Ben Carson said they were “pretty upstanding people.” Sen. Rand Paul (R-Ky.) claimed they had raised a “legitimate constitutional question.” Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Texas) said the standoff was the “tragic culmination” of President Obama’s attacks on liberty. Donald Trump said he “liked” and “respected”



Bundy. Nevada Assemblywoman Michele Fiore (R-Las Vegas), who traveled to the ranch twice during the standoff, attacked the BLM’s “atrocities” in the case.

But all these politicians, along with many pundits, went silent after Bundy’s statements a few days later about “the Negro.” “They abort their young children, they put their young men in jail, because they never learned how to pick cotton,” he told *The New York Times*. “And I’ve often wondered, are they better off as slaves,

picking cotton and having a family life and doing things, or are they better off under government subsidy. They didn’t get no more freedom. They got less freedom.”

Second Verse, Same as the First

One year after the Battle of Bunkerville, the Bundys gathered with a few dozen supporters at their ranch for a “Liberty Celebration” marking the anniversary of their apparent victory. No had been arrested or charged in the case, despite

frequent comments from officials suggesting that they one day would be. Bundy was gleeful as he took to the stage to dance with his daughter and blare his defiance.

“We drove a line down the middle of this nation,” Bundy told the crowd. “And on one side of that line ... we have federal agents, we have federal lawyers, we have federal judges, we have federal courts, we have federal jails. So what do we have on the other side of that line? We have the United States Constitution.”

Even if Bundy’s understanding of the Constitution was fatally flawed, it was true that a line had been drawn. In the

year leading up to the celebration at the ranch, protesters led by Ammon Bundy had forced their way into Recapture Canyon, Utah, which the BLM had closed to protect an archaeological site. Other armed militants sought to “defend” miners in disputes with officials in Oregon and Montana. Battles over land, environmental and gun regulations were spreading across the nation.

Then, in January of this year, Ammon and Ryan Bundy traveled to Oregon to protest the pending re-imprisonment of two local ranchers, Dwight and Stephen Hammond, on convictions for arson on public lands. The men had initially

received very light sentences, but an appeals court said their terms were too short under federal law and ordered them re-sentenced. Remarkably, although the Hammonds met the Bundys, they rejected their offer of help. Instead, the Hammonds urged the Bundys and others to go home and, in a few days, reported to prison as ordered.

The Bundys didn’t take that advice. Instead, following a Jan. 2 rally, they led a group of heavily armed, militant supporters to Malheur, said to be one of best birding sites in the United States. Ammon Bundy told a reporter that the occupiers were “planning on staying here for years. Absolutely.” They would not leave, they said, until the Hammonds were freed and Malheur turned over to local control.

The militants, in line with their ideas about county supremacy, tried to enlist the support of Harney County Sheriff Dave Ward — to no avail. “These men came to Harney County claiming to be part of militia groups supporting local ranchers,” Ward said. “[I]n reality, these men had alternative motives, to attempt to overthrow the county and federal government in hopes to spark a movement” nationally.

The situation went from bad to worse for the occupiers. Ward and other county leaders urged them to leave, with Ward even offering them safe conduct out of the county. Locals grew angry as their towns were overrun by armed outsiders who were being allowed freedom of movement, and government employees were relocated at great expense to avoid confrontations. Editorial boards began calling on law enforcement officials to act. Sheriff’s deputies were recruited from surrounding counties to help Ward and federal authorities police the ongoing standoff.

Then officials began to move. A man who stole a pickup truck from Malheur and drove it into town was arrested. Five militants, including the Bundy brothers and Ryan Payne, were arrested at the Jan. 26 roadblock. And Finicum, driving a second vehicle, ran one roadblock,



Contrasting views: Militants who seized an Oregon wildlife refuge quoted the Constitution, but most residents just wanted to see the radical militiamen go back where they came from.

New DVD for Law Enforcement on Antigovernment Extremists

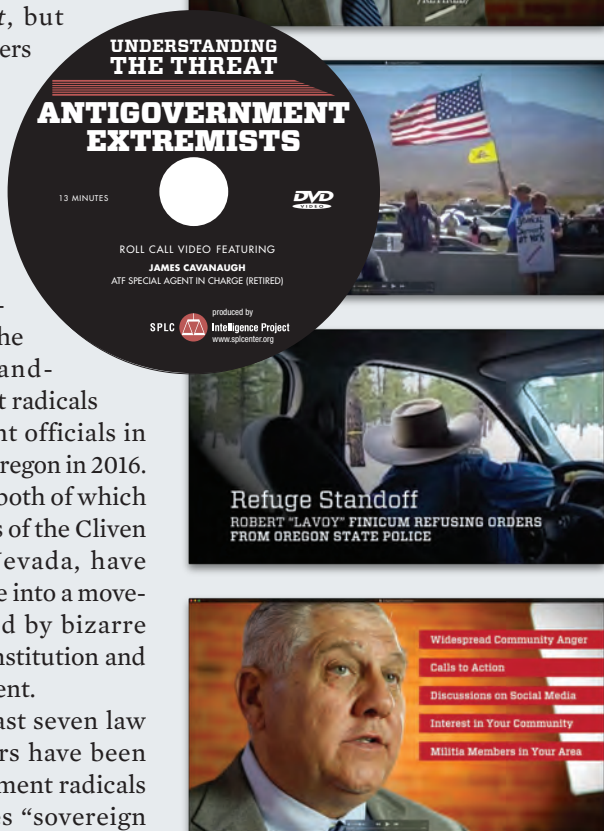
The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is releasing its fifth training video for law enforcement officials, “Understanding the Threat: Antigovernment Extremists.” A DVD is bound into the law enforcement edition of this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, but may be viewed by others at the SPLC website.

The video, a short film designed to be shown at roll call, focuses on the rising threat of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, especially in the wake of armed stand-offs between militant radicals and law enforcement officials in Nevada in 2014 and Oregon in 2016. The confrontations, both of which were led by members of the Cliven Bundy family of Nevada, have helped pump new life into a movement that is marked by bizarre claims about the Constitution and the federal government.

Since 2010, at least seven law enforcement officers have been killed by antigovernment radicals who call themselves “sovereign citizens” — a subset of the Patriot movement that believes most laws don’t apply to them and that has been designated by the FBI as a “domestic terror” movement. In addition, two Las Vegas police officers were murdered as they ate lunch by a couple who had been part of the 2014 standoff at the Bundy ranch but were ultimately told to leave.

The DVD touches on the fact that antigovernment extremists have been increasingly targeting law enforcement officials for recruitment. While their pitches for building a movement of “constitutional sheriffs” and police may sound attractive, the reality is that their ideas are antithetical to the American Constitution.

Earlier videos produced by the SPLC have focused on sovereign citizens, racist skinheads, Aryan prison gangs and the rise of the “lone wolf,” meaning a terrorist who acts alone. All five videos, along with other material meant to assist law enforcement officials, can be found on the SPLC’s “Law Enforcement Resources” page at www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/law-enforcement-resources.



nearly ran over an FBI agent at a second one, fled his vehicle after it ran into a snowbank, and was killed when he tried to draw his gun.

A couple of weeks later, Cliven Bundy, enraged at the arrest of his sons and aiming to encourage occupiers to stay at Malheur, decided to go to Oregon.

“WAKE UP AMERICA!” his wife, Carol, wrote in a frantic Feb. 10 email. “WAKE UP WE THE PEOPLE! WAKE UP PATRIOTS! WAKE UP MILITIA! IT’S TIME!!! CLIVEN BUNDY IS HEADING TO HARNEY COUNTY”

America didn’t seem to wake up, but law enforcement officials certainly did. Cliven Bundy, who was now 74 and unarmed, was arrested as he landed in Portland. The four remaining hold-outs at Malheur decided to surrender a day later.

Prospects for the Future

There is little question that the 22 months it took for law enforcement to finally arrest the Bundys and their confederates helped the antigovernment movement grow. Now, with officials clearly determined to crack down on the kind of lawlessness the Bundys represented, it’s unclear what the future holds.

—MARK POTOK



At the center of the January confrontation in Oregon were Ryan Bundy (top left, leather vest) and his brother, Ammon Bundy (above, black hat), the sons of Cliven Bundy (left), who led an earlier but similar standoff in Nevada.



In the wake of Finicum's death, as with so many things in the Patriot world, conspiracy theories have proliferated. Thousands of Bundy sympathizers believe that Finicum had his hands up when he was shot, that he never went for or even had a weapon in his pocket — that his killing was simply a government assassination. But an FBI surveillance video seemed to clearly prove that that was not the case.

The *Intelligence Report* counted 82 pro-Finicum, antigovernment rallies in

the two months after his death. David Cordea, a member of the Oath Keepers group that supported the Bundys, warned that there was “justifiable speculation” that officials planned a “massive operation” to round up Bundy sympathizers nationally.

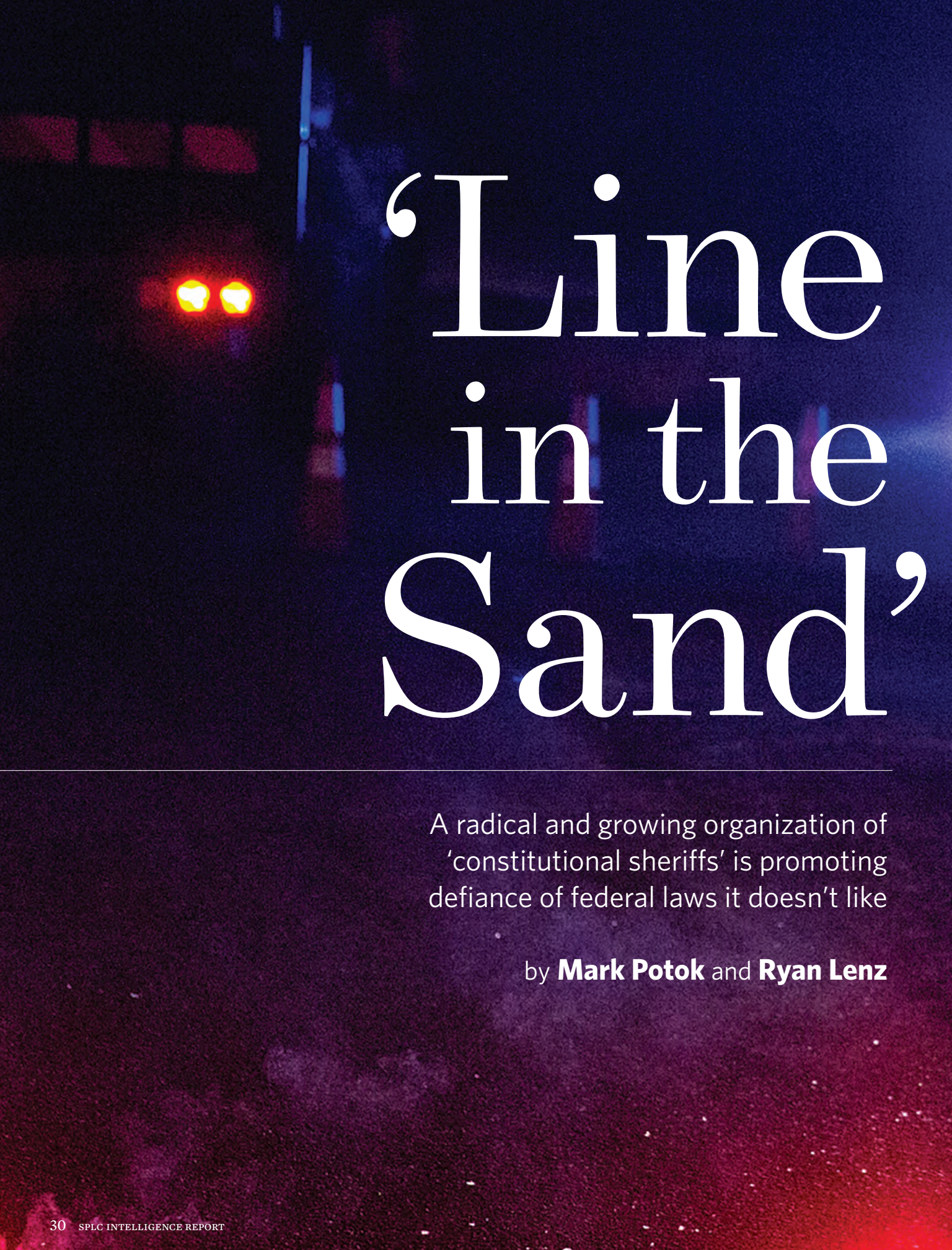
And in June, a new warning bell went off.

That month, the FBI arrested William Keebler, 57, of Stockton, Utah, just a day after undercover agents watched him allegedly push a detonator button on what he believed to be a real bomb. It had been placed against a building at the BLM's Mount Trumbull complex in Arizona, and the FBI said in court

papers that Keebler and Finicum had cased the site in October 2015. The FBI said that an undercover agent who accompanied the two men at the time took photographs.

Keebler called himself the “commander” of the Patriots Defense Force (PDF), a pro-Bundy group based in Utah. Court papers say the PDF had links to another militia group in Washington, trained its members in military and survival tactics, and angrily opposed federal government policy on public lands. “Keebler has continued to recruit, organize, and prepare the PDF for the day when they can take part in an antigovernment action with other militia groups,” the document said.

If William Keebler's case is any indication, one thing seems certain: While the Bundy family's decades-long fight with the federal government may be coming to an end, a movement birthed in large part by them is far from over. ▲



‘Line in the Sand’

A radical and growing organization of ‘constitutional sheriffs’ is promoting defiance of federal laws it doesn’t like

by **Mark Potok** and **Ryan Lenz**



Grant County, Ore., Sheriff Glenn Palmer was the first to be honored as "Sheriff of the Year" by a radical "constitutional sheriffs" organization. But Palmer, who sympathized with the occupiers of a national wildlife refuge earlier this year, is not trusted by many of his law enforcement colleagues.

In the minutes before he was killed

as he apparently tried to draw a 9mm pistol on law enforcement officials attempting to arrest him at an Oregon roadblock early this year, antigovernment militant Robert “LaVoy” Finicum repeatedly shouted out to officers that he was on his way to meet with “the sheriff.”

And, indeed, Grant County Sheriff Glenn Palmer was in John Day, Ore., waiting for a town hall meeting 90 minutes later featuring principals of the then 24-day-old occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, including Finicum and occupation leader Ammon Bundy. Both Palmer and Bundy were expected to speak at the gathering that had been organized by occupation sympathizers.

But Palmer, whose county adjoins Harney County, where the occupation took place, had been told nothing of the Jan. 26 roadblock — for very good reasons.

He had already met twice with leaders of the occupation, and witnesses described how he had them autograph his pocket copy of the Constitution. He had referred to the occupiers as “patriots” and endorsed their demands for the release of two ranchers imprisoned for arson on public lands and the departure of the FBI. He boasted about his refusal to enforce laws that he believed were unconstitutional, and he was known for picking fights with land use officials. Unlike the sheriffs of the four other adjoining counties, he had sent no deputies to help out in Harney County. Glenn Palmer was not trusted in law enforcement circles.

So when organizing began for the arrests of the people who had broken

into, occupied, and trashed the Malheur refuge buildings, officials moved their plans for a roadblock from Grant to Harney County. Then, apparently fearing Palmer might warn off the militants, the officials decided not to tell him anything about it.

In the aftermath of the shutdown of the Malheur occupation — a total of 27 people were charged in connection with the occupation in the weeks after Finicum’s death — Palmer described the roadblock as an “ambush,” sounding remarkably similar to militants who claimed Finicum’s shooting was an assassination. That drew an immediate rebuke from the Oregon State Sheriffs’ Association, which told *The Oregonian*

that it was actually a carefully planned operation “to take into custody armed persons who had openly engaged in a variety of criminal activities.”

In the following days, nine complaints — two of them from John Day officials, including the town’s police chief — were lodged against Palmer, who did not return repeated requests for comment from the *Intelligence Report*, with the Department of Public Safety Standards and Training. And the state Department of Justice has now opened a criminal investigation into one of those complaints.

Sheriff Palmer, who is running for his fifth four-year term this November, is a dramatic example of a new kind of radical that is springing up around the



DAVE KILLEN/THE OREGONIAN (PREVIOUS PAGES); FBI VIA AP IMAGES (AERIAL SHOT); AP IMAGES/RICK BOWMER (FINICUM)



Occupation spokesman LaVoy Finicum (left) was shot to death in Oregon by law enforcement officers (top) after apparently trying to draw a gun as they tried to arrest him. Glenn Palmer (above), the sheriff of a nearby county, described the roadblock as an “ambush” and made it clear that he sympathized with occupation leader Ammon Bundy (top right) and his father, Cliven Bundy (above right).

country — the so-called “constitutional sheriff.” In fact, in 2012 Palmer became the very first to be named “Sheriff of the Year” by the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA), a far-right group that calls itself “the last line of defense standing between the overreaching government and your Constitutionally guaranteed rights.” The CSPOA has long claimed the support of more than 400 sheriffs.

The group says it is part of “a growing movement of public officials who are drawing a line in the sand” by “interposing themselves between the sometimes

overreaching Federal Government and your constitutionally guaranteed rights.” It claims that local county sheriffs can stop outside law enforcement officials from enforcing laws they deem unconstitutional. “The sheriff,” it says, “is the highest elected official in the county and has the authority to stop this insanity.”

At a time when anger at the federal government over issues like land use and environmental regulation in the rural West is running higher than it has in years, the CSPOA and a closely related group, the Oath Keepers, are working tirelessly to make inroads into the ranks of American law enforcement. Sheriffs around the country report that they regularly hear from the groups, by phone, fax and other means, as they attempt to enlarge support for their positions. The country has rarely, if ever, seen such a concerted and long-term effort to bring sheriffs and other law enforcement officials to an ideology that proposes to openly defy federal law.

The rise of the CSPOA comes in the context of an antigovernment “Patriot” movement that has grown enormously since the election of Barack Obama in 2008, from about 150 groups that year to almost 1,000 today. CSPOA members have joined in the battle over the use of public lands — such as that at Malheur and, in 2014, a similar but larger armed standoff at the Nevada ranch owned by Ammon Bundy’s father, Cliven — and even more so the fight against further

gun control. In 2013, many members wrote Vice President Joe Biden to say, as Palmer wrote, that they would not “permit” any “federal incursion” into their counties “where any type of gun control legislation aimed at disarming law abiding citizens is the goal.”

How strong are the CSPOA and its leader, former Arizona sheriff Richard Mack? Does Mack, who once worked for the radical gun rights group Gun Owners of America, really have the support of hundreds of the nation’s 3,000-plus sheriffs in defying the rule of law? The *Intelligence Report* recently tried to find out.

The Radicals

Richard Mack, who formed the CSPOA in 2011 with a promise to persuade local governments to issue declarations to the federal government “regarding the abuses we will no longer tolerate,” has repeatedly declined to publish or provide a list of the sheriffs he says are backers or members of the CSPOA. Although media outlets have reported that he claims more than 400 supporters or members, Mack told the *Report* that the CSPOA had only “trained” that number of sheriffs.

He said the focus of his group was not on recruiting members but on persuading sheriffs to adopt the group’s positions. But he also claimed the CSPOA has “about 5,000 members,” including sheriffs, police chiefs, peace officers and other citizens. He said he didn’t know how many of those were sheriffs, but noted that the CSPOA is now making a major effort to run sheriff’s candidates.

In 2014, however, the CSPOA did publish a list (since taken down) of 485 sheriffs who, in the group’s words, “have vowed to uphold and defend the Constitution against Obama’s unconstitutional gun measures.” Although that is not the same thing as being CSPOA supporters or members, the number of 485 is notably similar to the number of CSPOA trainees claimed by Mack.

The *Report* worked in May and June to contact all the sheriffs listed to get a sense of their support for the CSPOA and its policies. A small percentage of those men and women had retired, died or lost bids for re-election. A much larger percentage failed to respond to phone calls or emailed questionnaires.

In the end, the *Report* spoke to about 50 sheriffs.

The sampling was not large enough to come to any definitive conclusions. But it almost certainly understates the level of radicalism among the nation's sheriffs. That is partly because many of those most sympathetic to Mack were likely among the 400 or so sheriffs who declined to answer queries from the *Report*, which has published articles that were critical of Mack and the CSPOA in the past.

Fifteen of the sheriffs reached by the *Report* described themselves as present or former members or supporters of the CSPOA. Seven said that they had written letters or made statements in conjunction with the organization. And seven said they were likely to resist federal authorities trying to impose new gun controls.

Beaver County, Utah, Sheriff Cameron Noel said he believed that he could keep federal officials out of his county or at least demand that they seek his permission. Sheriffs, he said, are a last line of defense against federal tyranny.

"I am the only elected official in my county that performs law enforcement functions," he said. "The federal government, the BLM [Bureau of Land Management], the Forest Service, the FBI, the DEA, any of those guys, they're not elected. ... Those other entities, they answer to me. If they want to come in here and perform functions, I'm not saying that I'm always going to prevent them from doing that. I work hand in hand with the federal government on a lot of different issues and things, but they're going to check with me before they do anything."

Oddie Shoupe, the sheriff of White County, Tenn., said that he would fight the federal government, if it came down to it, and that any attempt to seize guns in his jurisdiction would result in "war." He said he didn't oppose citizen militias, so long as they reported to him, and added that if further federal gun control came to his county, he would deputize every militia member he had to resist.

In Colorado, Hinsdale County Sheriff Ronald Bruce said he would order any federal agency trying to seize guns from his constituents to leave, unless they were being taken from a convicted felon or someone else who had lost the legal



right to possess weapons. "But if it's somebody that I can see no discernible reason for their firearms to be seized except that the federal government is overreaching, then I will stand shoulder to shoulder with my constituents and fight that," Bruce told the *Report*. "So if it means resisting with force, then we'll resist with force."

Churchill County, Nev., Sheriff Benjamin Trotter was more moderate, saying that he found the CSPOA "maybe a little too far to the right" and adding that if new federal gun control laws came down, he would challenge them in court. But if such attempts failed, "I'm a man of my word and the Constitution is what it is. It doesn't mince any words on the Second Amendment. If they [the government] decided to do the brute force tactic, I'd probably end up in federal prison or dead."

In Texas, Angelina County Sheriff Greg Sanches said he would accept gun control if it were accomplished by a constitutional amendment that was upheld by the Supreme Court. Absent that, however, "If the federal government comes in here trying to violate the constitutional freedoms of my constituents, of course

The radical ideas of Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association leader Richard Mack, (above) have gotten a sympathetic hearing from sheriffs including (right, from top) Cameron Noel, Ronald Bruce and Oddie Shoupe.

I'm going to stand up for the people. If they came in for the guns, I'd stand up."

Hamblen County, Tenn., Sheriff Esco Jarnagin, said he only supported the original Constitution, without amendments, and said it "has been abused, stepped on, rewrote, taken away, added on." If federal authorities came to enforce new gun controls, he said, "just to be pointblank, there would be a showdown, because I believe the citizens of this county have the right to protect themselves. If you come in here trying to take up the guns, it's not going to be a nice day for somebody."

That's only the start. Scores of sheriffs around the country who did not speak to the *Report* have been quoted in the media making similar statements. According to *High Country News*, for instance, Montezuma County, Colo., Sheriff Dennis Spruell appeared on the white nationalist radio show, "The Political Cesspool," and threatened to arrest federal officials who closed roads on public lands.



This June, California officials were in Siskiyou County monitoring polling places on primary election day after reports that Hmongs, members of an Asian ethnic group, were facing voter intimidation led by Sheriff Jon Lopey. According to the online news outlet Raw Story, Lopey, a former CSPOA board member, set up a checkpoint and deputies allegedly stopped only cars driven by Hmongs. A Hmong leader also told the *Redding Record Searchlight* that officials carrying assault rifles went to Hmong homes and threatened to arrest people who tried to vote illegally. Lopey, who renounced his membership in CSPOA over what he said were the group's increasingly "extreme positions," denied those allegations. "No one was threatened, and I would never condone discrimination against any person or group," he told the *Report*.

And in 2013, 28 of the 29 sheriffs who make up the Utah Sheriffs' Association wrote President Obama, concluding with this: "No federal official will be permitted to descend upon our constituents and take from them what the Bill of Rights — in particular Amendment II — has given

them. We, like you, swore a solemn oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and we are prepared to trade our lives for the preservation of its traditional interpretation."

Checking it Twice

The *Report's* survey revealed another remarkable fact about the CSPOA's list. Time and again, sheriffs told the *Report* that they had never spoken to Mack, did not support the CSPOA, had never signed a CSPOA document or letter, but still somehow ended up on the organization's list. Many of them were strong supporters of the Second Amendment, but many also sharply criticized the CSPOA.

Sheriff Leo Dutton of Lewis and Clark County, Mont., said he had had no contact whatsoever with the CSPOA or its principals, yet found himself on the list. "What happened," he said, "is I got asked by our local newspaper, 'Are you going to confiscate guns?' I said, 'No, I'm not going to confiscate guns. That's not what the president is saying. ... That's not what is being asked.' ... Anyway, they wrote me up as a constitutional sheriff. Ask them to find where I signed."

In South Carolina, Charleston County Sheriff Al Cannon also said that he had "never spoken to or had any correspondence" with the CSPOA, but he, too, soon learned his name was on Mack's list. "I suspect that it was because of an interview I had with Carol Costello on CNN" in which he defended the Second Amendment, he said. But, Cannon told the *Report*, "From the practical standing, a local sheriff has no authority to enforce federal laws, so that's not an issue. I said if it were a law that I thought was questionable, I would confer with my state's attorney."

Ken Christesen, the sheriff of San Juan County, N.M., said that the New Mexico Sheriffs' Association he chairs did come out early with a statement saying it would not enforce executive orders imposing gun control and that its members would abide by the Constitution. As a result, he said, all New Mexico sheriffs were placed on Mack's list and the association felt forced to contact him and demand that their names be removed. (Mack told the *Report* that he had no memory of that, and that just two sheriffs had complained

to him.) Christesen added that contrary to the CSPOA's claims, sheriffs have no right to keep federal agents out of their counties, although "we do have a right to make sure they're only enforcing federal laws."

"If you look at Richard Mack's organization, it sounds like a good organization, but when you start trying to enforce things and rally people like a militia and go to guns over issues like at the Bundy ranch [in 2014] — we narrowly avoided a blood bath," he said. Mack, he added, "just tries to further his cause and, quite frankly, he's a fool. If you talk to him, you can tell him I said that."

To Build a Movement

The battle over the use of public lands — which also includes fights over environmental regulations, closing of formerly public roads, and law enforcement powers accorded to the BLM and other federal agencies — is not new.

Ever since a 1976 federal law ended the historic practice of homesteading, there has been resistance in the rural West to the idea that unelected federal agencies were legitimate stewards of publicly owned lands, even though a large number of court decisions in the 1980s would conclude definitively that they were. Farmers, ranchers, extractive industries and others wanted more access to the land.

The Sagebrush Rebellion of the 1970s and 1980s, followed by the Wise Use movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s, explicitly sought an end to all federal control of public lands and an expansive definition of property rights. They were cheered by tens of thousands of Westerners, along with interest groups like those associated with extractive industries. A large number of politicians — then-President Ronald Reagan called himself a Sagebrush rebel — also joined the chorus.

But the real root of the "county supremacy" movement that has been explicitly embraced by the CSPOA is the Posse Comitatus, a racist and anti-Semitic group of the 1970s and 1980s that also defined the county sheriff as the highest "legitimate" law enforcement authority in the country. The Posse, whose Latin name translates as "power of the county," said government officials

who “disobey” the Constitution should be taken to a downtown intersection and “hung there by the neck.”

Richard Mack had nothing to do with the Posse, and he has repeatedly disavowed violence. He says that the CSPOA did not support the Malheur standoff, although he was present at a nearby rally that was attended by militants who invaded Malheur just hours later. The CSPOA did, however, support the Bundy family and others in the 2014 Nevada standoff, for which 19 people now face criminal charges.

Mack has been associated with other hardliners. He became an iconic figure in the militia movement after he sued the federal government in 1994 over the Brady gun control bill and won a partial victory, prompting the National Rifle Association to name him “Law Enforcement Officer of the Year.” Later in the 1990s, he wrote the introduction to a book by white supremacist Randy Weaver, who engaged in a deadly standoff with federal officials in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, that began after Weaver was arrested for selling a sawed-off shotgun to a federal agent. More recently, he has worked with the John Birch Society — the group that infamously called President Dwight D. Eisenhower a communist agent — the Oath Keepers (on whose board he sits), a variety of Tea Parties, and a host of antigovernment organizations.

In 2009, Mack wrote *The County Sheriff: America’s Last Hope*, portraying sheriffs as the “last line of defense” against Washington. He began to claim that if there had been a “constitutional sheriff” in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955, that person would have ignored local segregation ordinances and freed Rosa Parks.

In the next years, the movement began to take off.

In 2013, newly elected Liberty County, Fla., Sheriff Nick Finch caused a furor when he freed a driver who had been arrested for carrying an illegal concealed weapon. Although Finch was charged with misconduct, Mack and other supporters packed the courtroom, and Finch was acquitted and even later won back pay.

The same year, responding to pressure for gun control following the 2012

massacre of school children at Sandy Hook Elementary School, dozens of sheriffs, including Grant County’s Glenn Palmer, were spurred by Mack to write the White House promising that they would not enforce “unconstitutional” gun laws.

But it was the 2014 standoff at the Bundy ranch in Nevada, and the federal government’s decision to stand down when confronted by hundreds of armed Bundy supporters, that truly sent the movement soaring. Militants forced their way into a closed canyon in San Juan County, Utah, provided armed defenses for miners in disputes with the government in Oregon and Montana, and engaged in other similar provocative actions. On Jan. 2 of this year, the Malheur occupation began.

Assessing the Movement

More than two years after the 2014 standoff in Bunkerville, Nev., and in the aftermath of the Malheur occupation’s final rout after 41 days this year, it’s obvious the federal government is finally getting serious about the abuses of the militants seeking to end federal control of rural American public lands; 46 people now face serious criminal charges in connection with the two Bundy standoffs. But Richard Mack and his group continue to work overtime to spread the ideology that is behind this movement, even if they disavow some of the more extreme results.

“We’re supporting hundreds of sheriff candidates all across the country,” Mack boasted in a June interview with the *Report*. “I’m in Dallas right now, we’re going to Oklahoma next, and we’ve got sheriff candidates that are calling us every day and we can’t keep up with all of it.” He added: “We’ve changed the political structure of the sheriff’s office in this country. That’s what we’re after.”

If that is so, it’s not a good thing.

As a recent report on the movement from the Center for Public Integrity (CPI) concluded, the CSPOA’s “ambition is to encourage law enforcement officers to defy laws they decide themselves are illegal.” The CPI also reported that Mack, during a recent training for police, told officers “gun control is against the law” and added that his goal is to get a quarter of the nation’s sheriffs to join his group.

“It’s terrifying to me,” Justin Nix, a University of Louisville criminology professor who specializes in police fairness and legitimacy, told *The Washington Post* this spring. “It’s not up to the police to decide what the law is going to be. They’re sworn to uphold the law. It’s not up to them to pick and choose.”

The spread of this ideology has consequences. The number of threats and assaults against the BLM rose from 15 incidents in 2014 to 28 in 2015, according to Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility. The number of incidents targeting the U.S. Forest Service rose from 97 in 2014 to 155 last year.

Remarkably, the National Sheriffs’ Association — which says it is “dedicated to raising the level of professionalism among sheriffs, their deputies, and others in the field of criminal justice and public safety so that they may perform their jobs in the best possible manner” — has little to say about the CSPOA and its goals. Despite the spread of an ideology among sheriffs that virtually no legal scholar agrees with, the organization says only that it doesn’t offer advice to individual sheriffs.

“The association’s leaders never opines [sic] on how individual sheriffs should behave because their authorities vary so widely from state to state, and because they are ultimately accountable to voters,” according to a statement from Deputy Director John Thompson responding to questions from the *Report*.

Chris Hoffman, the sheriff of Ravalli County, Mont., may have said it best. He told the *Report* that he sympathizes with his constituents’ anger at environmental, land use, and gun regulations that seem to grow more stringent by the day.

But, he added, the United States is a nation of laws and sheriffs need to help restore tranquility. “I think you’ve got a lot of scared people in this country right now and we can speculate and talk all day about why people are as afraid as they are,” the sheriff said. “But if we’re not part of the solution toward calming those fears and getting those people calmed down, then we’re part of the problem.” ▲

Also contributing were Alex Amend, Heidi Beirich, Rose Falvey, Keegan Hanks, Bill Morlin, Stephen Piggott and Sarah Viets.



A graduate of Yale Law School, Oath Keepers founder Stewart Rhodes has moved increasingly to the extreme right, calling recently for the creation of paramilitary vigilante groups.

SEEDS OF SEDITION

THE OATH KEEPERS SAY THEY'RE BUSY FORMING ARMED 'PREPAREDNESS TEAMS,' BUT WHAT THEY'RE PREPARING FOR IS PURE, DYSTOPIAN FANTASY

BY RYAN LENZ AND MARK POTOK

Four days after the nation awoke to the carnage of one of the deadliest mass shootings in U.S. history — a massacre at a gay nightclub in Orlando, Fla., that left 49 victims dead — the Oath Keepers, an antigovernment group claiming many law enforcement officials as members, issued what sounded a lot like a call to war.

“[W]e are now honor bound to fulfill those promises and to honor our oaths by standing physically, shoulder-to-shoulder with our local peace officers and with fellow veterans and patriots, in direct defense of our communities against ISIS and their sympathizers and supporters,” Stewart Rhodes, the group’s president, wrote on June 16. “We must also fulfill

our pledge to train our fellow Americans to FIGHT against this evil that aims to wipe liberty from the face of the earth.”

The pledge Rhodes was referring to was his group’s promise, first issued in 2013, to create “Community Preparedness Teams,” which were originally dubbed “Civilization Preservation Teams.” In the wake of the Orlando

attack, which was carried out by an American citizen who claimed allegiance to the Islamic State, or ISIS, Rhodes sounded almost reasonable, describing the slaughter as a “senseless attack against our citizens, and the LGBT community specifically.”

But Rhodes and his band of present and former law enforcement and military members aren’t just sticking up for oppressed minorities and offering to help the authorities deal with endemic violence in America. They are true believers in a set of bizarre conspiracy theories that posit that the nation is facing massive subversion being carried out by self-interested global elites and President Obama — a fact that makes their ongoing paramilitary organizing efforts genuinely worrisome.

Indeed, Rhodes warned in the same post-Orlando piece that “this wave of Islamist terror attacks will be part of a ‘perfect storm’ of intentionally orchestrated ... chaos-inducing economic devastation, social and political disruption and violence, and the use of intentionally undefended borders and mass illegal and ‘refugee’ immigration as weapons of destabilization (and to provide cover for and facilitate more violence and terrorism by multiple proxy agents of the elites, including the cartels, gangs, well funded Marxist and racist agitators — such as La Raza and Black Lives Matter — and radical Islamist cells and individuals.)”

To say it more plainly: Rhodes believes that Obama and “the elites” are intentionally refusing to defend the border and using criminal gangs and “Marxists” to subvert America from within. They are so evil that they are perfectly willing “orchestrate” terrorist attacks, he claims. The alleged plan, suggested in other Oath Keepers material, is seize Americans’ guns, jail any who resist, and impose a global “New World Order” that will pillage ordinary citizens to enrich global elites.

Obama, Rhodes says, is the “blood dancing domestic Enemy-In-Chief.”

The allegations, of course, are ridiculous. There has never been a shred of evidence that Obama is plotting the destruction of America, whatever one may think of his politics. But they put Rhodes’ paramilitary efforts in a different light.



In fact, Rhodes’ Community Preparedness Teams (CPTs) are basically a new twist on the right-wing militias of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement. They amount to a well-armed vigilante movement animated by extremist fantasies.

“We want to see a restoration of the militia in this country,” is how Rhodes put it last year. “We think a good first step is to have the veterans stand up in every community and go help form and train neighborhood watches, to get the people to take back into their own hands their own personal self-defense and security.”

What Will They Defend?

If the past is prelude, the CPTs will be “defending” some unusual causes.

Formed in 2009, in the direct aftermath of the election of the nation’s first black president, the Oath Keepers first leaped into action in Quartzsite, Ariz., where they arrived to defend Jennifer Jade Jones, a local blogger who’d been

arrested for disruptive behavior at a Town Hall meeting. Police said Jones had published a series of threatening communications, including a suggestion that residents at odds with town officials “run them out of town, or kill them.” Rhodes pronounced the dispute a “pivot point” in the alleged federal plan to impose a “New World Order.”

Rhodes, who was trained at Yale Law School, was later disbarred for acting as an attorney in Arizona during the dispute despite not being licensed in the state.

In April 2014, Rhodes and several Oath Keepers traveled to the Nevada ranch of Cliven Bundy, who engaged in an armed standoff with federal officials seeking to seize his cattle because Bundy had refused to pay federal grazing fees for some 20 years. (Twenty-seven people who participated in that standoff were charged this year with major crimes.) But the Oath Keepers fled after getting “intel” that Obama was about to launch deadly drones at the ranch, a fact that caused scores of



CPT

COMMUNITY PREPAREDNESS TEAMS

ENGINEERING

COMMO

SECURITY

MEDICAL

PREPAREDNESS

The Oath Keepers, who recently began training local militia-type units known as Community Preparedness Teams, have repeatedly interjected themselves into local conflicts like this one in Quartzsite, Ariz.

In a primer released in conjunction with its announcement of CPTs, the Oath Keepers described the situation bluntly. “We feel like we are flat running out of time and we need to get prepared as fast as possible,” it said. The group said that its board had already “war-gamed” how its “enemies” would “scrap the Constitution.”

Ground Game

It isn’t known how many CPTs the Oath Keepers have trained or created, and Rhodes would not respond to requests for comment from the *Intelligence Report*.

But the training is apparently intensive, and there is some evidence that it is really happening. “We have credible, well-trained veterans as the leadership and as the trainers,” Rhodes said in a podcast. “The real point ... is not that Oath Keepers is going to be the security force or the community. ... We are trainers.”

Brandon Smith, associate editor of the Oath Keepers blog, described in late 2014 one such CPT exercise held in Eureka, Mont. “Multiple steel and cardboard targets were camouflaged and placed along a wooded deer trail,” Smith recounted. “Members had to carefully traverse the area while seeking and destroying the targets, finding proper cover, etc. Missed targets resulted in a casualty.”

The trainees also went through exercises meant to teach them how to deal with casualties in battle. “As a prop, I fired a .308 round through a Christmas ham at about 50 yards,” Smith said. “One of our resident medical experts placed a

plunger and tube into the ‘wound’ and pumped fake blood through it to add realism. We practiced applying hemostats to the fake artery, Celox for blood clotting, gauze insertion and packing, as well as how to use the famous ‘Israeli bandage.’”

The Oath Keepers CPT page on the Internet is divided into five sections: “Emergency Medical,” “Emergency Communications,” “Security/Team Tactics,” “Emergency Engineering” and “General Preparedness.” The page says “the ultimate goal is a true revitalization of the ‘well-regulated militia’ of the several states, made up of the people themselves, well organized, trained, and equipped, and with official sanction by the people’s elected representatives” at the local level.

Nothing untoward is yet known to have occurred with the CPTs that the Oath Keepers says it is training. But a quick glance at the group’s website gives a sense of the paranoia that is the core of its ideology. Rhodes rants regularly about “violent Communist thugs,” “oath breaking, partisan scumbag politician[s],” and “radical leftist extremists” like, presumably, President Obama. The CPT page regularly carries headlines such as “REVELATION: Dawn of Global Governments” and “Soros and CFR Exploit Refugee Crisis for New World Order.” That last, referring to liberal billionaire George Soros and the allegedly globalist Council on Foreign Relations, is reprinted from *The New American*, the magazine published by the John Birch Society, which once accused President Dwight D. Eisenhower of being a Communist agent.

If that is what Stewart Rhodes and the 30,000 people on his email list really believe, then the idea of them patrolling the land with guns is scary indeed. It’s one thing to advocate for preparedness, but another to apparently support sedition. ▲

Bundy’s other supporters to mock Rhodes’ crew as cowards and paranoid fantasists.

Needless to say, there was no drone attack.

Four months later, white, heavily armed Oath Keepers showed up in Ferguson, Mo., climbing on to rooftops as part of what they said was an effort to protect businesses in the area during angry protests against the police. Although they later claimed to have protected one black woman’s business, it seemed clear that they were really there to protect white businesses against black protesters.

Oath Keepers were involved in a number of other confrontations between the federal government and militants in disputes over public lands. And earlier this year, they were among those defending two sons of Cliven Bundy and other heavily armed militants who seized a wildlife refuge in Oregon for 41 days. Nineteen people were arrested in connection with that standoff and charged with federal crimes.



Battle of Sacramento

A prominent radical racist discusses recent street violence, the GOP convention and the future of white nationalism

INTERVIEW BY RYAN LENZ PHOTOGRAPHY BY MIKE BELLEME



For the second time in four months, a California rally by racist radicals was met by anti-racist protesters, and the explosion of street violence that ensued left at least seven people suffering stab wounds, several of them in critical condition. The latest confrontation occurred on June 26 in Sacramento, where about 30 members of the Traditionalist Workers Party (TWP) and the Golden State Skinheads were met by more than 300 counterprotesters as they arrived for a permitted rally outside the state Capitol. Matthew Heimbach, who heads the TWP and its sister Traditionalist Youth Network, told reporters that TWP members had armed themselves in advance with legal knives, and that one of his members and six of the anti-racist protesters were wounded and sent to the hospital. Although Heimbach blamed the group's enemies for starting the violence, no charges had been leveled at press time.

Four months earlier, on Feb. 28, three anti-racist protesters were stabbed when a large crowd of them confronted six Klansmen getting out of a car for a "white lives matter" protest in Anaheim. Initially, police arrested both Klansmen and anti-racist protesters, but after reviewing videos said the Klansmen had acted in self-defense. In late June, seven anti-racist protesters were charged with various misdemeanors.

Heimbach was not at what he calls "the battle of Sacramento," but he laid the blame for the violence there at the feet of the anti-racists. Still, Heimbach has his own violent background: In April, he was videotaped shoving a black University of Louisville student protesting a Donald Trump rally, and he was seen last year using an Orthodox cross as a weapon against another protester in Indiana. Heimbach has also rallied with the Aryan Terror Brigade and the Imperial Klans of America.

In the aftermath of the bloodshed in Sacramento — not to mention the June 12 murder of 49 people by an apparent Islamist radical in Orlando, Fla., the June 16 assassination of a pro-European British member of Parliament by an apparent neo-Nazi, and the white nationalist-backed June 23 vote by the United Kingdom to leave the European Union — the Intelligence Report spoke to Heimbach. Although much of what he said was self-serving, the interview offers a window into a key white nationalist's thinking at a time when the radical right seems to be thriving.

What's your view of the violence in Sacramento?

They [anti-racist protesters] showed up with weapons and attacked our guys in premeditated attempted murder. *[Editor's note: Heimbach told CNN that members of his group also came armed with legal knives.]* I mean, the cops retrieved a gun from the scene that was knocked out of the hands of one of the antifascists. *[Editor's note: Police did report finding an abandoned loaded gun in the street, but at press time had not said who they believe it belonged to.]* So when you're bringing guns, you're bringing knives, you're bringing baseball bats, you're bringing bottles — you can watch the videos of them breaking off chunks of concrete [from a nearby construction site] to throw — that was premeditated.

What was the point of your demonstration?

This was a rally for freedom of speech, both for nationalists here and around the world. The fact that our free speech rally was attacked by the supposed forces of tolerance I think indicates the importance of rallies like this. We are solidifying a political movement to be able to advocate for our faith, our family, and our folk. That's our primary objective.

This isn't the first time you've been linked to violence. What's going on?

These [anti-racist] forces talk about tolerance. They talk about freedom of expression. They talk about all these sorts of things. But there wouldn't have been violence if they had not attacked us. If they had simply stood behind a police barricade they could have tried to drown out our message. They could have simply ignored us and held a rally for their own political agenda, and no one would have gotten hurt.

But they organized political terrorism in a premeditated fashion and brought deadly weapons to this event to try and stop our freedom of speech, to stop our freedom of assembly, our First Amendment rights, and to stop our message of nationalism. It seems to be a pretty clear-cut thing of attempted political intimidation and a violation of our civil rights.

There has been some debate about whether you are a "Nazi." Are you?

That term is a slur that has been thrown around since the 1920s. It wasn't even accurate then, let alone accurate to describe nationalists in America in the current year.

If we were to start discussing National Socialism, the Vietnamese regime identifies as a form of left-wing national socialism. The Venezuelan revolution is to a certain degree a form of National Socialism. The Bolivian revolution. The eastern Ukrainians that use the hammer and sickle are Social Nationalists. *[Editor's note: Virtually no mainstream historian agrees that these regimes are national socialist, or Nazi, although they arguably do have certain left-wing totalitarian features.]*

I mean, that term, you guys throw it around so much, and it applies to both the left and right and center when it comes to taking care of your nation and your people. It cannot be defined simply by a 12-year period in Germany during the 20th century. It has more far-ranging geopolitical and economic applications.



Your groups have attracted a good bit of interest on the American racist right. After Sacramento, you were interviewed by former Klansman Don Black on Stormfront Radio. What did you hope to achieve in the interview?

Being invited on to discuss this issue I think is crucial to be able to promote white unity, to promote our movement, understanding that we have a political avenue to win political control in regions where we organize.

We need a mixed multimedia approach. We need to be able to do outreach through all these different forms — from music, to our shows, to our articles. But it also must be matched with organizing communities, providing community aid and organizing to run political races. It's crucial we have a multifaceted approach.

You've said that some 30 members of the TWP plan to travel to the Republican National Convention in Cleveland. Why?

We're planning to organize as the party, to be there, to spread our message to delegates, and to be the eyes and ears there [to defend against those who] have already said they're going to



White nationalist leader Matthew Heimbach, whose Traditionalist Workers Party was recently involved in a violent confrontation in Sacramento, says he wants to “promote white unity.” And indeed, he has spoken to neo-Nazis, Klansmen and to a group of neo-Confederate demonstrators at a Tennessee gathering this summer.

burn the city down, they’re going to kill cops, they’re going to kill Trump supporters.

The radical left has already said in a premeditated fashion that they are going to bring violence. They are going to bring weapons and they are going to do political intimidation. So we want to be there as a protecting force, to say you will not intimidate us, you will not force us off of our position. We will stand for our political space and we will defend it within the limits of the law.

Donald Trump’s candidacy has electrified the white nationalist scene. What happens for your movement if he loses?

If Trump loses, if something were to happen at the convention, or if something were to happen in November, it’s not going to be because of the people [but because of a] betrayal by the Republican establishment that cares more about Wall Street donors and international interests than their own constituents.

I think it would be very clear in that case that it would be great for us. Because once people finally realize the Republican

party is opposed to them, will mock them, and do everything against the things they voted for, then the only logical path for everyday working families is to be able to come to groups like the Traditionalist Worker Party.

What do you think of the United Kingdom’s vote to leave the European Union?

It’s a great shot in the arm to be able to show that self-determination is popular again and that this sense of being opposed to globalism and supporting sovereignty is normal. If secession can happen peacefully with Britain leaving EU, and the majority of the people can support it when presented with a choice, then I think that is a great example for us in the United States. I think that the people will support this message of sovereignty and ending immigration and ending free trade agreements that hurt the working class and to be able to support our culture and retake control of our communities. It’s a great example for us in the United States on how multiculturalism and federal tyranny can be opposed peacefully and legally. ▲





'WHITE LIVES MATTER'

A radical counter-movement erupts in response to Black Lives Matter, with racist activists working hard to spread its claims

BY SARAH VIETS ILLUSTRATION BY JON HAN

Black Lives Matter was born in the aftermath of the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of unarmed teenager Trayvon Martin, picked up steam after the 2014 police killings of black men in Ferguson, Mo., and New York City, and is today a major social movement seeking racial justice and equality. ¶ But the movement set off a reaction among many whites and others who insisted that “every life” matters, in the words of one-time presidential candidate Jim Webb. Many conservatives chimed in, even suggesting that the movement was really a hate group, and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, at the time a Republican presidential candidate, claimed it advocated “the murder of police officers.”

Now comes White Lives Matter (WLM), a small but virulent movement that goes far beyond anything Christie or anyone in the conservative mainstream has said. Its main activists, to put it plainly, are unvarnished white supremacists.

Emanating from the fever swamps of the radical right, it's somewhat difficult to trace WLM's precise evolution and leadership structure. But it's clear that one of its key leaders, if not the leader, is 40-year-old Rebecca Barnette (or Rebekha, as she sometimes spells it online), a Tennessean who is also vice president of the women's division of the racist skinhead group Aryan Strikeforce. In June, Barnette announced that she also had been appointed director of the women's division of the National Socialist Movement, America's largest neo-Nazi group. Barnette, who describes herself as a “revolutionist” who is working to “create a new world” for white people, appears to run both the WLM website and the movement's Facebook page.

The WLM website describes the movement as “dedicated to promotion of

the white race and taking positive action as a united voice against issues facing our race.” “The fiber and integrity our nation was founded on is being unraveled ... [by] homosexuality and mix[ed] relationships,” it says. “Illegal immigration, healthcare, housing, welfare, employment, education, social security, our children, our veterans and active military and their rights ... are the issues we face as white Americans. The laws and immoral orders the current administration are passing are drastically ... targeting everything the white way of life holds dear.”

But Barnette can sound considerably more bloodthirsty.

In posts on her page on vk.com, a Russian social networking site favored by white supremacists and neo-Nazis for its lack of censorship, Barnette says that Jews and Muslims have formed an alliance “to commit genocide of epic proportions” of the white race. Now is the time, she adds in the same post, for “the blood of our enemies [to] soak our soil to form new mortar to rebuild our landmasses.”

The WLM website urges activists to grow the movement, much as white supremacists in the last several years have worked to seed the idea in the political mainstream that white people are being subjected to genocide. The site asks supporters to find “like-minded people” and organize groups to attend school board and local town council meetings, arrange neighborhood block parties “to discuss the problems affecting our community,” and to “find out who your local state rep is” in order to confront them about issues of illegal immigration and healthcare.

There are signs that some of this is happening.

Since last year, WLM fliers, reading “It’s Not Racist to Love Your People” and carrying the hashtag #whitelivesmatter, have been posted on bathroom walls, light posts and bus stops from Utah to Connecticut. Some incorporate language about black-on-white crime, a reminder of the racist Council of Conservative Citizens website that dwells on the same topic and inspired the racist massacre last year of nine black churchgoers by Dylann Roof in Charleston, S.C.

Barnette, whose Aryan Strikeforce recently joined a new neo-Nazi coalition called the Aryan Nationalist Alliance, has been especially active. In August 2015, she ran a social media campaign against a planned Black Lives Matter rally near Johnson City, Tenn., telling the *Johnson City Press* she was a local representative of White Lives Matter and the Aryan Renaissance Society. (She has since left the Renaissance Society to join the Aryan Strikeforce, she wrote on vk.com.) The newspaper quoted a post of hers saying that there was “a small army ready to blow their little party out of the water ... in the proper way... the white.” She also said, after conceding she had received government assistance in the past, that she was a homemaker from nearby Surgoinsville, and defined herself as a “racialist.”

Barnette has moved around the white supremacist scene a fair amount. On April 23 of this year, she attended an annual event in Rome, Ga., that was hosted by the National Socialist Movement, the country’s largest neo-Nazi group. She has tried to bring unity to the fractured racist world, encouraging “a unified voice against a tyrannical reign of government”



Rebecca Barnette, a self-described homemaker from Surgoinsville, Tenn., is a leading activist of the White Lives Matter movement.

and deriding “a bunch of idiots in my own race that care more about fighting amongst each other ... than to stand as a people.”

There are others as well.

Melissa Dennis, a California woman who is a contact for the racist Noble Breed Kindred group, designs and sells WLM T-shirts and stickers to raise funds for racist groups. She joined a “flier drop” where activists distributed WLM propaganda on Jan. 9 as part of what was billed as a national anti-Muslim event. On the same day, Billy Roper, a well-known racist leader, pasted up fliers in Harrison, Ark. Dennis also offered WLM T-shirts for an Aryan Nationalist Alliance meeting on June 25, held in Salem, Ohio, according to comments on her vk.com page.

Connecticut resident Kevin Harris, 35, regularly posts videos of himself passing out WLM fliers in grocery store parking lots on a WLM YouTube channel. Harris, who says his work is “to raise awareness of the Caucasian genocide,” also distributed fliers in his local community on Jan. 27 of this year. Another WLM activist on the YouTube channel asks supporters to collect box tops to support public schools even though they are “Communist reprogramming centers.” The activist goes to say that whites can then “retake this nation one school at a time.”

A neo-Nazi group, the Texas-based Aryan Renaissance Society (ARS) of which Barnette was once a part, has described itself as “the leading force behind the WLM Movement.” The ARS has distributed WLM fliers in south-east Texas and once held up WLM

signs as a procession passed for a memorial service for Harris County Deputy Darren Goforth, who was murdered in August 2015. ARS member Doug Chism of Texas City has a large WLM sign erected outside his home.

The ARS describes itself as a “network of dedicated White Separatists diligently striving to impart a New Racial Consciousness to Aryankind.” It hopes to create “an Aryan oligarchy based on genetic aristocracy” to “enhance the Race.” The overall idea, ARS says, is to protect threatened white people from genocide and the “bastardization of the white race” through interbreeding.

One of the more noticeable appearances of the WLM movement came on Feb. 27, when a car containing six Klansmen and bearing “White Lives Matter” signs arrived at a park in Anaheim, Calif., to protest “illegal immigration and Muslims.” Counter-protesters set upon the Klansmen, who stabbed three people, one critically, in response. Although police initially arrested five Klan members, they later released them after saying the stabbings were self-defense and arrested several protesters.

It’s unclear how much the WLM movement matters in the real world, beyond annoying most of those who see its fliers and other propaganda. But WLM activists are hard at work, doing their best to seed yet another racist concept into the consciousness of American whites as they seek to build a whites-only nation. Given the atmosphere in the United States today, that should worry all Americans. ▲



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 February and June of 2016. Any additional listings can be found on the Intelligence Project's website.

SPLCENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

ALABAMA

Dora • March 9, 2016

Six people were charged in connection with the Feb. 13 murder of bisexual teenager Nick Hawkins.

Mobile • May 15, 2016

The Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed fliers attacking the transgender community. They read, in part, "Transgender is an abomination according to the King James Bible."

Wetumpka • June 24-25, 2016

The League of the South, a neo-Confederate hate group, held its annual convention at its Alabama headquarters. Approximately 60 people attended.

ARKANSAS

Harrison • April 29, 2016

The Knights Party, a Klan group, held its annual National Faith and Freedom conference. The number of attendees was unknown, but prominent white supremacists including the founder of the racist website Stormfront, Don Black, and the leader of the white nationalist American Freedom Party, William Daniel Johnson, were in attendance. The group announced the building of a new Christian Research and Development Center at its Harrison compound.

Harrison • July 25-26, 2016

The Soldiers of the Cross Training Institute, affiliated with the Knights Party, held an annual training conference.

CALIFORNIA

Anaheim • Feb. 27, 2016

Three people were stabbed and one person was critically wounded during a violent melee at a Ku Klux Klan rally. Initially, 13 people were arrested, including William Quigg, the California grand dragon of the North Carolina-based Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux

Klan. But after reviewing videos, police released all the Klansmen and charged seven counterprotesters they said had initiated the violence.

Claremont • May 5, 2016

Robert Priest, 65, was arrested after he allegedly used an anti-Muslim slur while pointing a handgun at someone driving a car.

Compton • March 3, 2016

After allegedly attacking transit personnel, K.C. Tard Jr., 34, was charged with a felony count of battery with injury and a hate crime violation.

Crestline • March 28, 2016

Sarah Stewart, 36, pleaded guilty to hanging mannequins in public areas with law enforcement officials' names attached to them. Stewart has ties to white supremacist gang members.

Fresno • April 1, 2016

Daniel Wilson, 22, and Alex Mendoza, 17, both pleaded not guilty to a charge of assault likely to produce great bodily injury and a hate crime. They were arrested for allegedly beating and running over a 68-year-old Sikh man in December 2015.

Los Angeles • March 7, 2016

Three men, Ian Plankey, Richard Daulton and Kevin Stewart, were charged with hate crimes in an assault on Latinos at Stephen Sorenson Park.

Los Angeles • March 29, 2016

Shehada Issa, 69, was charged with murder after allegedly killing his son for being gay.

Los Angeles • April 13, 2016

A swastika was drawn over the residence hall door of an African-American student attending Biola University.

National City • June 8, 2016

A member of the Mexican consulate staff in San Diego was beaten in what officials described as a hate crime.

Oakhurst • March 20, 2016

A soccer coach's car was vandalized with slurs, feces, and the word "Trump," apparently because it appeared the coach was Mexican.

Plumas Lake • June 7, 2016

A racial epithet was allegedly yelled at a 14-year-old boy before he was beaten in a park.

San Jose • Feb. 22, 2016

Three former San Jose State University students were convicted of misdemeanor battery for bullying a black roommate by putting a bicycle lock around his neck, taunting him with racial slurs, and barricading him in his room.

CONNECTICUT

Southington • March 15, 2016

"White Power" fliers distributed by the neo-Nazi American Nazi Party were found on cars.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • Feb. 27, 2016

A multicultural LGBT center, Casa Ruby, was vandalized. A television and computers were destroyed.

Washington • June 9, 2016

A grocery store security guard, Francine Bernice Jones, was charged with one count of simple assault for allegedly assaulting a transgender woman.

Washington • June 23, 2016

A case of road rage over the use of a car horn led to an alleged hate crime against a Muslim woman and her teenage daughter. Kerlina Aviles, 27, was charged.

FLORIDA

Tallahassee • March 26, 2016

Residents found recruitment fliers from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan scattered throughout their town.

Tampa • March 22, 2016

Pacual Carlos "Pete" Pietri was sentenced to 37 months in federal prison for conspiring to violate the rights of an interracial couple by burning a five-foot cross in their front yard.

GEORGIA

Atlanta • March 21, 2016

The FBI opened a hate crime investigation into Martin Blackwell, 48, for allegedly pouring boiling water on two gay men. Blackwell was charged with two counts of aggravated battery.

Rome • April 22, 2016

The neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement held a "White Rights Rally."

Stone Mountain • April 22, 2016

Klansmen, neo-Nazis and other white supremacists held a rally in support of the Confederate battle flag.

IDAHO

Boise • June 13, 2016

Brian L. Pottinger, 57, was arrested under Idaho's hate crimes statute on suspicion of threatening and assaulting a person based on national origin.

Dietrich • May 19, 2016

Three white teenagers were charged with sexually assaulting a black teammate with a coat hanger.

ILLINOIS

Canton Lake • June 4, 2016

Tina Foley claimed her 15-year-old child was beaten and held underwater by a woman and her two sons while racial slurs were being shouted.

Evanston • March 10, 2016

Anthony Morales, 19, and Matthew Kafker, 18, of Northwestern University were charged with spray-painting racist, homophobic, and anti-Semitic graffiti inside a chapel on the university's campus.

INDIANA

Madison • May 27-28, 2016

A rally was held by the Confederate White Knights, a Klan group.

Nashville • Feb. 18, 2016

Yue Zhang, an 18-year-old Chinese high school student, was allegedly attacked by hatchet-wielding self-

proclaimed white supremacist Dana Erickson. The FBI was brought in to investigate the case as a hate crime.

Plainfield • Feb. 27, 2016

The Islamic Society of North America's headquarters was vandalized.

IOWA

Alburnett • June 17, 2016

A transgender resident's car was vandalized with "kill yourself" and other slurs including "tranny" and "pedophile."

Iowa City • March 17, 2016

Andy Benavidez, 47, while wearing a surgical mask, allegedly attacked a black man then told police he did so because he was "allergic to black people."

Iowa City • April 30, 2016

A 19-year-old black University of Iowa freshman told police that he was severely beaten by three white men who called him racial slurs. The police are treating the assault as a hate crime.

KANSAS

Overland Park • June 29, 2016

Brian D. Wachter, 40, faces a single felony count due to allegedly making a threat against Congregation Beth Shalom. In an unrelated case in April 2014, white supremacist Frazier Glenn Miller killed three people at two Jewish centers in the same town.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • March 8, 2016

James Winquist, a white supremacist serving two life sentences for the 2005 murders of two homeless men, appealed his conviction.

Newton • March 10, 2016

Police investigated anti-Semitic graffiti found at Day Middle School.

MICHIGAN

Grand Rapids • Feb. 18, 2016

Terry Ray Brooks, Jr., 46, who served 20 years in prison for a 1980s killing, was found guilty of ethnic intimidation following a two-day trial.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • June 29, 2016

Two men dressed in traditional robes and on their way to a Ramadan celebration were shot near the University of Minnesota. They drove themselves to the hospital where the men reported that they were attacked by a man screaming "fucking Muslims." The shooting

is being investigated as a hate crime.

MISSISSIPPI

Belhaven • May 15, 2016

Fliers distributed by the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were found in the front yards of a neighborhood. The fliers advertised a "Loyal White Knights Neighborhood Watch."

Ocean Springs • June 19, 2016

The Mississippi realm of the United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan left fliers in a neighborhood.

MISSOURI

Boone County • March 1, 2016

Police were investigating a case of anti-Semitic vandalism after "Hitler Rules" was written on a notification board in a school.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Durham • March 29, 2016

Anti-Semitic fliers were found on public printers in the University of New Hampshire's Dimond library and its Memorial Union building. White supremacist Andrew Auernheimer later claimed responsibility for arranging for anti-Semitic fliers to be produced by printers at several universities.

NEW YORK

Annandale • April 29, 2016

Paul Sellitti, 47, was arrested and charged with second-degree harassment following a March 17 incident in which he allegedly spat at a Muslim couple.

Brighton • May 25, 2016

Racist graffiti was found etched onto a stairway leading to the front entrance of Brighton High School.

Brooklyn • May 13, 2016

A 32-year-old transgender man was attacked by five men while walking at night through a Brooklyn neighborhood.

Patchogue • May 5, 2016

Pamphlets from the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan with the words "White Lives Do Matter" and contact information were distributed in a neighborhood.

New York • March 10, 2016

Elliot Morales was convicted of a hate crime in the murder of a drifter.

New York • April 8, 2016

In Greenwich Village, a Hasidic man in his fifties was slashed in the neck and face while waiting for a train. The incident

is being investigated as a hate crime.

New York • June 20, 2016

A 14-year-old boy allegedly attacked 59-year-old Mohamed Rasheed Khan as he left the Center for Islamic Studies.

NORTH DAKOTA

Grand Forks • May 20, 2016

Matthew Gust, 25, pleaded guilty to a federal hate crime for setting fire to a Somali restaurant.

OHIO

Toledo • May 24, 2016

Toledo police arrested Charles Butler, Jr., 33, and Robert Paschalis, 25, and accused of felonious assault while yelling slurs.

OREGON

Klamath Falls • May 20, 2016

John Blayne Vangastel, 37, pleaded guilty to threatening his Vietnamese neighbors.

PENNSYLVANIA

Limerick • May 12, 2016

Thomas W. Driver, 52, was charged with ethnic intimidation after being accused of flashing a handgun at two Muslim women at a crowded mall in October 2015.

Tannersville • May 5, 2016

Ricky Strausser, 25, and Kimberly Ann McKee, 19, allegedly dumped a severed cow's head at a Hindu man's property hoping to scare the man into moving away.

RHODE ISLAND

Cranston • May 24, 2016

Swastikas were spray-painted on a stadium walkway.

Pawtucket • May 21, 2016

A swastika was found on a welcome sign outside of a synagogue.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston • June 7, 2016

A Nov. 7 trial date was set by a federal judge in the hate crimes case against Dylann Roof, the white supremacist who killed nine members of an historic black church in June 2015.

TENNESSEE

Springfield • April 18, 2016

Dale Spurgeon, a 63-year-old member of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement, displayed a Nazi flag on his front lawn along Highway 76.

TEXAS

Corpus Christi • Feb. 17, 2016

Ramiro Serrata, Jr., and Jimmy Garza were sentenced to 15 years in prison. The men pleaded

guilty in September 2015 to one count of conspiracy to commit hate crimes and one count of a hate crime violation under the federal hate crimes statute for causing bodily injury by attacking someone because of their sexual orientation.

Houston • April 15-17, 2016

The Aryan Renaissance Society held a camp out.

VIRGINIA

Richmond • March 11, 2016

Ronald B. Chaney, the third and final suspect accused of plotting to shoot up or bomb synagogues and black churches, pleaded guilty to robbery conspiracy and possession of a firearm as a convicted felon. Two other defendants, Robert C. Doyle and Charles D. Halderman, pleaded guilty to robbery conspiracy in January. Doyle and Chaney are white supremacists, according to prosecutors, who bought guns and explosives from undercover agents and wanted to rob a Richmond-area silver and coin dealer to finance a race war.

Richmond • May 4, 2016

Robert C. Doyle, a former state prison inmate and alleged white supremacist, was sentenced to more than 17 years in prison for robbery conspiracy, and possessing firearms as a felon.

WASHINGTON

Seattle • June 7, 2016

Peter John Rossick, 30, allegedly beat a black man so severely that his nose separated from his face. Rossick now faces hate crime and malicious harassment charges.

Redmond • June 11, 2016

Redmond Police Department investigators and the FBI said they were trying to determine if a man arrested for allegedly threatening a Seattle mosque also threatened one in Redmond.

WEST VIRGINIA

Cabell County • March 1, 2016

Fliers from the Original Knight Riders, a Klan group, were placed on residents' porches.

WISCONSIN

Madison • April 1, 2016

Timothy A. Arnold, 21, was charged with four counts of misdemeanor graffiti after he was accused of using green paint to draw swastika-like symbols on the Jewish Experience of Madison, the Kappa Alpha Theta Sorority and the Samba Brazilian Grill. ▲

When Nazis Take Up 'Creative Writing,' Words Cry

BY MARK POTOK

The Stormfront Web forum is a pretty serious place. Its registered users have murdered a total of about 100 people. Its founder is a former Alabama Klan leader who went to prison after trying to invade and take over a black-run Caribbean island. It is replete with calls to exterminate Jews, "race-mixers" and LGBT people.

But it has a sort of sweet side, too.

Welcome to the Stormfront Poetry and Creative Writing section, a Bizarro World enclave where people who really, really hate whole categories of the human race muse about love, beauty, literature — and the Nazi gas chambers. It's also a place where "poets" rhyme "Jew-smiles" and "their guiles," where the size of black people's brains is discussed in tortured verse, and where an angel named Clarence shows a deluded liberal what the world would be like without white people.

"George, I'm Clarence the Angel," says an excerpt from "It's a Wonderful Race" first dredged up by Gawker. George is then transported to "a world where Europeans never existed," which in the fevered imagination of author "Braveheart" means no motels, no heating, no buildings, no telephones and no guns. Needless to say, George soon enough realizes the errors of his multicultural ways.

"George now understood that his people were on a collision course with worldwide disaster and genocide," the narrator concludes with a flourish. "George realized that this great people must not perish from the face of the earth."

White people may be great, but the ones who dally in Stormfront's Poetry and Creative Writing section are pretty terrible writers. It's the kind of place where "caused" and "wars" are supposed to rhyme, where wannabe Ezra Pounds



In the 1946 film "It's a Wonderful Life," James Stewart's character is transported to "Pottersville" to see what the world would have been like if he had never existed. In the white supremacist version, "George" sees a world where white people never were. It's not pretty, and neither is the writing in this piece of "literature."

complain about "savages" and "Muslim dogs" having "mentalties [sic] of beasts," and where, as one proud writer exults, "No right, no wrong, no rules for me/I'm white and free!"

They may not get the meter quite right but, hey, they are thinking important thoughts about history and mankind. Just listen to this stanza from "three in one":

Hitler knew just what to do

*He wouldn't put up with the tricky Jew
When he got going, the lousy kike bitches
Weren't so eager to show off their riches*

Of course, literature wouldn't be literature without a few scenes of physical love. And the neo-Nazis and fellow travelers of Stormfront are right there when it comes to sex — albeit a little Victorian in their blushing descriptions.

Consider "A Tale of Lara, a Dishonored Swedish Woman." The author, "Paladin Steel," says she doesn't know if Lara "ever existed or ever will, but there are thousands of women just like her who have their honor damaged by these foreign invaders each year." Her "heart goes out," she says, to her "Swedish comrades."

Lara, good liberal that she is, stops to give a hungry Nigerian immigrant "ten dollers" (do they spend "dollers" in Sweden?) while passing by in skimpy jogging shorts. "The details of what happened next are too difficult to get into, but as the crime was continuing she was at his complete mercy," Paladin whispers. "DIS BE MY LAND," the rapist tells Lara afterward, and "now we call you whore!"

Thankfully, the literati of the radical right don't generally go on for too long. But "Daniel Beck," author of *Oblivion or the Stars*, writes "fifty-six cantos" of "a poetical history of the West," followed by "twenty-six Cantos" of "a critique of modernity" — a mind-numbing 11,000 words of very, very bad verse.

*The survival of the European race;
The fact of Jewish supremacism:
Bluntly, they're the two great issues we
face —*

Yet to say this is called extremism!

Yes, it's true that "supremacism" and "extremism" don't rhyme. But give an Aryan a break. Far better that these free thinkers butcher the language than do what they really would prefer — butcher whole legions of human beings. ▲

The SPLC *Intelligence Report* Offers Online Investigative Resources

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



Ever seen tattoos like these while on duty? Everything you wanted to know about Racist Skinheads and more is available on our website.

Extremist Files

Read our in-depth profiles about hate movement leaders and their groups. Learn what motivates them, how they act and how your community may be affected.

Hatewatch.org

Don't wait for the printed edition to get updates about hate groups and extremists. Read our online Hatewatch blog for current events in the world of hate. And subscribe to our free E-newsletter *Hatewatch Weekly*.

Interactive Hate Map

Find detailed information about hate groups and their activities in your area.

Learn more about our FREE TRAININGS tailored for individual local, state and federal law enforcement agencies. Request training online. www.splcenter.org/law-enforcement

Intelligence Report

WE'RE MORE THAN A MAGAZINE

Receive a FREE SUBSCRIPTION to *Intelligence Report* magazine: www.splcenter.org/intelligence-report