

HATE GROUP MAP & LISTINGS INSIDE

Intelligence Report

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THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

SPRING 2018 // ISSUE 164



THE YEAR IN
HATE &
EXTREMISM

UNDERSTANDING THE THREAT

Law Enforcement Training Videos

ONLINE
TRAINING
VIDEOS

OVER 1 MILLION VIEWS!

The SPLC has undertaken a number of initiatives to equip officers with information and other resources that help them carry out their duties and minimize danger to themselves. Our free law enforcement trainings teach officers how to recognize hate groups, symbols and activity; the threat potential of specific groups; and how to respond to hate group activity.



LAW ENFORCEMENT RESPONSE TO HATE EVENTS

Law enforcement officers may be tasked with upholding the free speech rights of hate group members — even hardcore racists — in the face of opposition from citizens in the community. This 13-minute roll call video outlines how to effectively respond when hate comes to town.



'SOVEREIGN CITIZENS' AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

This Southern Poverty Law Center video was created to help law enforcement agencies better prepare for encounters with "sovereign citizens." In the case of two West Memphis, Arkansas, police officers, Brandon Paudert and Bill Evans, a routine traffic stop of father-and-son sovereign citizen duo Jerry and Joe Kane in 2010 proved fatal.

"The Southern Poverty Law Center provides professional, intelligence-led training presented by investigators who are driving the fight against extremist individuals and groups."

— RICK CHILDRESS, INVESTIGATOR AND
TASK FORCE OFFICER, OGDEN CITY
POLICE DEPARTMENT, OGDEN, UTAH



HATE CRIMES

Hate crimes don't just affect the victim — they can affect an entire community. This 15-minute roll call video outlines how to respond to, recognize and report hate crimes properly and promptly.

FOR MORE INFORMATION VISIT:
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DEPARTMENTS

- 05 Intelligence Briefs
Joey Gibson's Patriot Prayer, Klansman convicted of sexual assault, pedophile cult leader dies in prison, and more.
- 09 Blotter
Updates on extremism and the law.
- 69 The Last Word
Blue-Eyed English?

ON THE COVER

- 33 The Year in Hate and Extremism
Charlottesville knocked the radical right on its heels. Trump's rhetoric and the country's changing demographics, however, continue to buoy hate.



STONE MOUNTAIN
A Monumental Dilemma
Some see the monument as “the largest shrine to white supremacy in the history of the world.”

Intelligence Report

INTELLIGENCE REPORT EDITOR Susy Buchanan

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT DIRECTOR Heidi Beirich

SENIOR INVESTIGATIVE REPORTER Ryan Lenz

INVESTIGATIVE REPORTERS Brett Barrouquere, Rachel Janik,
Nick R. Martin

DIRECTOR OF INVESTIGATIONS Laurie Wood

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH Alex Amend

MANAGING DATA INTELLIGENCE ANALYST Keegan Hanks

SENIOR RESEARCH ANALYSTS Stephen Piggott, Alejandro J. Beutel

INFORMATION SPECIALISTS Raven Hodges, Tracey Gale

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT Karla Griffin

DESIGN

DESIGN DIRECTOR Russell Estes

DEPUTY DESIGN DIRECTOR Valerie Downes

SENIOR DESIGNERS Michelle Leland, Scott Phillips

DESIGNERS Shannon Anderson, Cierra Brinson,
Sunny Paulk, Kristina Turner

DESIGN ASSISTANT Angela Greer

PRODUCTION

ACCOUNTING OPERATIONS MANAGER Regina Jackson

PURCHASING PRODUCTION COORDINATOR Kimberly Weaver

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 • www.splcenter.org/intelligence-report

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INTELLIGENCE PROJECT



SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

CO-FOUNDERS Morris Dees, Joseph J. Levin, Jr.

PRESIDENT & CEO J. Richard Cohen

OUTREACH DIRECTOR Lecia Brooks

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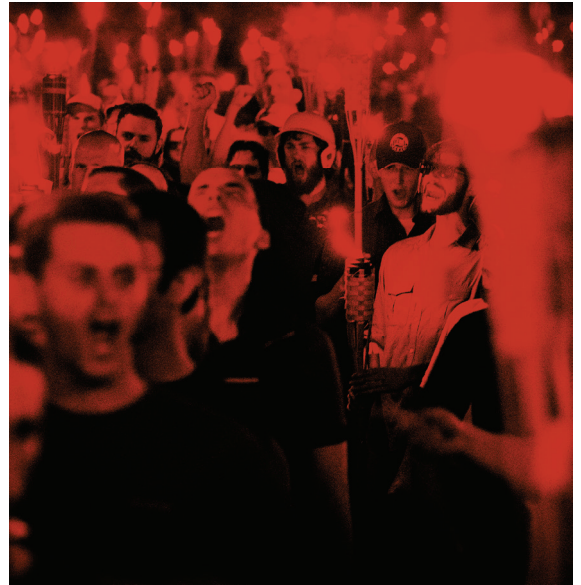
Karen Baynes-Dunning, Jocelyn Benson, Pam Horowitz, Alan B. Howard, Marsha Levick,
William Little, Howard Mandell, James McElroy, Lida Orzek, Elden Rosenthal, James Rucker,
Henry Solano, Ellen Sudow, Joseph J. Levin Jr., *Emeritus*

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29 FROM MEMES TO MARCHES

Why the Far Right Might Never be 'United'

A fractured but energized movement tried to pull itself together — but ended up exposing even deeper rifts.

14 Holy Hate

How right-wing extremism exploits Christianity and the Bible to stoke violence and criminality.

23 Street Fighter

Meet the far-right fight clubs that brought violence to the streets in 2017.

27 Silicon Valley's Year in Hate

It took blood in the streets for the tech industry to finally face its domestic extremism problem. Will this newfound commitment last?

63 W.M.D.

The U.S. radical right and weapons of mass destruction are a volatile combination and an enduring threat to the American homeland.

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.

AFTER CHARLOTTESVILLE

Can We Please Finally Put an End to White Supremacy?

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

THERE WERE TWO DYNAMICS that determined the fate of America's radical right in 2017: the election of President Trump and the fallout from the Charlottesville, Virginia, deadly white nationalist rally.

Extremists rode a wave of euphoria from Trump's January inauguration until August 11, finally having found an uncucked politician who reflected the world they wanted to see: a world where racism was sanctioned by the highest office, immigrants given the boot and Muslims banned. Riding high, a wide range of extremists who usually don't get along — from heavily armed militias, to polo-attired white nationalists, to Klansmen, to neo-Nazis — all joined forces in mid-August in Charlottesville.

They were there to protest the removal of a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, a potent symbol of their beloved white supremacy. It was the largest hate rally in a decade and, for the extremists who gathered, a moment of triumph as America, under Trump, seemed to be moving their way.

But as has long been the case, emboldened white supremacy ended in death and disaster. An anti-racist protester, Heather Heyer, was killed in a car attack by a young white supremacist riled up by the protests. Two law enforcement officers also died, and there were many injured. Most Americans were horrified by what they saw, not just by the violence, but also by scenes of torch-wielding young men chanting "Jews will not replace us," an image that conjured Nazi Germany.

In the aftermath of the violence, Trump blamed "both sides," blithely equivocating between racists

and non racists. For those who hadn't been paying attention to the rising number of hate groups, a president who stoked their growth, and a plague of hate crimes in Trump's name, complacency was no longer an option.

Trump may be unwilling or incapable of understanding what he has unleashed, but not so for the rest of us. Public figures ranging from actors to sports figures to corporate leaders condemned what happened in Charlottesville and the hateful ideas driving the protests. The United Nations, the Catholic Church, and world leaders added their voices, as did regular citizens.

Our national leaders took action. A unanimous, joint Congressional resolution denounced what happened at Charlottesville and called white supremacy and neo-Nazism "hateful expressions of intolerance that are contradictory to the values that define the people of the United States." It further called on Trump to "speak out" against hate groups and use "all resources available" to battle their growing prevalence and hate crimes. Trump signed the resolution, sheepishly and in private.

Congress did more than craft and pass the resolution. Members of both parties were forceful in rejecting Trump's equivocation and most denounced his statements, as well as hate groups. The months following Charlottesville saw renewed attention to



"Trump may be unwilling or incapable of understanding what he has unleashed, but not so for the rest of us."

strengthening hate crimes legislation, a draft domestic terrorism bill out of the Senate and hearings about the threat from racial extremists. Congress can now use its oversight abilities under the joint resolution to press Trump to act if it so chooses.

The Charlottesville events had a remarkable effect on major tech companies. For years, civil rights organizations like the Southern Poverty Law Center had been pointing out the devastating amount of hate proliferating on online platforms and noting its ability, as was the case with Charleston shooter Dylann Roof, to radicalize young men into white supremacy and violence. With Charlottesville, the tech world finally accepted their responsibility and began to act.

Within days, white supremacist PayPal accounts were ripped down, widely read hate sites like the Daily Stormer and Stormfront disappeared from the web for a time, and companies like Facebook became more aggressive about removing hate content. The sewer that the big platforms — Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and others — had become was being flushed out. More work remains to be done on this front, but at least there is no longer a debate over whether it is necessary.

It would be nice to think the Trump administration plans to take this issue just as seriously, but that would be naïve. Trump continues to argue he was right about Charlottesville, and his administration is undoing civil rights protections on multiple fronts.

As has always been the case in battles for civil rights, human rights and equality, it's up to us to make change. White supremacy as a way of thinking has been a disgraceful scourge, used to justify immeasurable catastrophes up to the present day. It is the ideology that underpins horrors such as slavery, genocide, colonialism, segregation, apartheid, Jim Crow, racist vigilante justice and much more. It is one of the West's foremost sins.

America was birthed with white supremacy at its core, a concept written into our Constitution. It has taken decades and decades of hard work by courageous people, as in the abolitionist and civil rights movements, to reduce the numbers of people, like the Nazis at Charlottesville, who still view white supremacy as legitimate. In late August, a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll found that a shocking nine percent of Americans still found it acceptable to hold neo-Nazi or white supremacist views. We can applaud the 90 percent who don't, but that nine percent represents a daunting 22 million Americans. And millions more are likely okay with other forms of bigotry, most of it rooted in the idea that white people are and should be superior.

But perhaps there is hope. For most of the world, chattel slavery is today a nonstarter, an obvious abomination that shamefully took far too long to end. Its defenders are exceedingly rare, nowhere near the mainstream and its practitioners very few. They are universally condemned.

White supremacy as a concept needs to die the same death. The Charlottesville protests were a stark reminder of the hearts and minds that still need changing. But if we work hard enough, white supremacy, just like slavery, can be chucked permanently in the dustbin of history. The only place where it belongs. ▲



"If you're not outraged, you're not paying attention"

— Final Facebook post from **Heather Heyer**, a counter-protester killed during the Unite the Right Rally in **Charlottesville, Virginia**. James Alex Fields, Jr., an alt-right supporter who drove from Ohio, has been charged with first-degree murder and accused of intentionally driving his car into a crowd, killing Heyer.



IN THE FALL 2017 ISSUE of the *Intelligence Report*, in a story called "Splitting the Difference," we misidentified a photo as being of Michael Tubbs. This is Tubbs, Chief of Staff of the neo-Confederate League of the South and a convicted felon. The photo was taken in Shelbyville, Tennessee on October 29. We regret the error.

Intelligence Briefs

WHAT'S INSIDE: Blotter // Extremism in the mainstream // Anti-Catholic pedophile dies in prison // Hate by the numbers



EXTREMISM IN THE U.S.



Joey Gibson's Patriot Prayer group held rallies across the Pacific Northwest and California during 2017.

ALT-RIGHT

Trolling for Trouble

IN HIS MISSION STATEMENT, Joey Gibson likes to claim that his “Patriot Prayer” organization is about “using the power of love and prayer to fight corruption,” but when it organized right-wing rallies at locales along the West Coast this past year, the reality was decidedly different.

A number of “Patriot Prayer” events — particularly a June 5 “free speech” rally in Portland, Oregon, held just one week after an unhinged man shouting “alt-right” epithets and harassing two young women of color on a Portland MAX commuter train had stabbed to death two men who attempted to intervene — attracted large contingents of counter-protesters. The results often included outbreaks of violence, particularly between black-clad “antifascists” and

some of the outright white nationalists who assembled under Gibson’s banner.

Patriot Prayer began organizing rallies in the Pacific Northwest in early 2017, built primarily around Gibson and his contingent of “Patriot” militia supporters in the Vancouver, Washington-based American Freedom Keepers, which itself was primarily a group of antigovernment bikers and gun-toting “preppers.” Its ostensible purpose was to advocate for “free speech” for conservative points of view, but in short order, its rallies became a gathering point for white nationalists, skinheads, militiamen and Pepe flag-waving alt-righters and “Proud Boys.”

There were Patriot Prayer rallies in Seattle and Olympia, Washington, as well as several others in



the Portland area. And it became clear as these events progressed that Gibson's intent was actually a cynical form of trolling the liberal and antifascist left, deliberately attempting to provoke violence from counter-demonstrators so that he could attack them as “the real fascists.”

Gibson's activism reached its apotheosis with a weekend appearance in the Bay Area August 26 and 27, when he attempted to organize a rally at a city park in San Francisco, but then canceled at the last minute citing a fear of likely violence. The next day in Berkeley, however, Gibson led a contingent of Patriot Prayer followers into the middle of a huge crowd holding an antifascist rally in the city's downtown. A group of “black bloc” activists attacked them and chased them behind police lines; video of the encounter went viral, with conservatives offering it as proof of “leftist violence,” just as Gibson had long hoped.

Gibson (who is Japanese American) also began explicitly denouncing white supremacists at his rallies, even as some of his followers continued to indulge in acts of street violence with counter-protesters, as occurred in Vancouver two weeks after Gibson's Bay Area appearance. Attendance sharply declined, and infighting among the leaders of the group was reported in the local press. And just as suddenly as Patriot Prayer appeared on the scene in the Northwest, it disappeared from view — at least for now.

KU KLUX KLAN

Klansman convicted of sexual assault on medically impaired woman

His criminal record includes hate crime and firearms convictions. Now, the former Alabama leader of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will be serving an additional 10 years in prison for sexual assault.

Steven Joshua Dinkle had been scheduled for release from federal prison in Louisiana in August after serving 15 months for being a felon in possession of a firearm. But in June, a jury convicted the 31-year-old former Klansman of sexually assaulting a medicated woman and videotaping the crime.

Dinkle did not take the stand in his own defense at trial, but has maintained his innocence and plans to appeal his latest conviction, his attorney told media outlets.

Dale County District Attorney Kirke Adams said the prosecution was “very thankful” the judge gave Dinkle the maximum 10-year sentence and made it consecutive to his federal sentence.

While serving as the “exalted cyclops” of the Ozark chapter of the International Keystone Knights, Dinkle was arrested by the FBI in November 2013 in Mississippi on federal hate crime charges stemming from a 2009 cross burning in a predominantly black neighborhood in Ozark.

He pleaded guilty to those charges in February 2014, confessing that he “burned the cross because of the victims’ race and color and because they were occupying homes” in an Ozark neighborhood.

Dinkle was released from prison in 2015 for the cross-burning conviction, only to be arrested again for being a felon in possession of a .32 caliber pistol. He pled guilty to that federal firearms charge last year and was sentenced on June 30, 2016, to 15 months in prison.

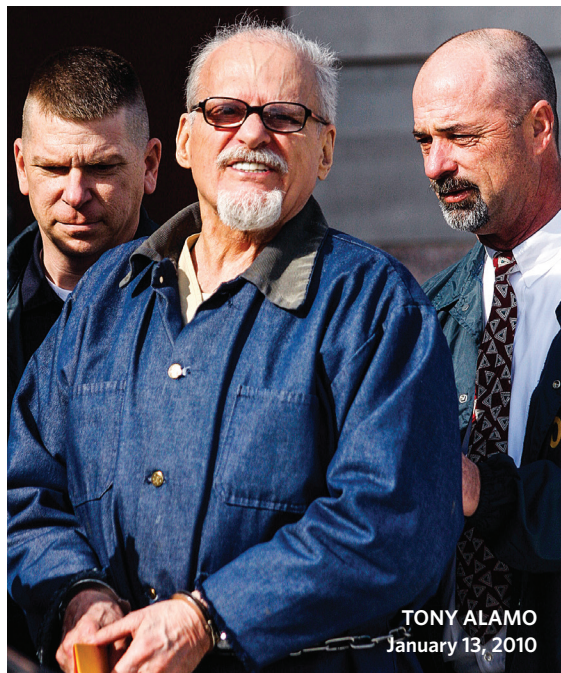
His mother, Pamela Morris, also a Klan member, was arrested on charges of lying to a grand jury about her son's involvement in the cross burning. She was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released after serving only about a year, federal records indicate.

EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM

“There are communities under Sharia law right now in our country. Well, there's Sharia law, as I understand it, in Illinois, Indiana — up there. I don't know.”

— Former Alabama Supreme Court chief justice and U.S. Senate candidate **Roy Moore** in an **August 14** interview.





TONY ALAMO
January 13, 2010

ANTI-CATHOLIC CULT

Hate group leader and pedophile Tony Alamo dies in prison

Evangelist Tony Alamo, whose anti-Catholic, gay-bashing rants attracted followers to a polygamous cult and made him a millionaire, has died in prison where he was serving a 175-year term for raping girls he called his child brides. He was 82.

His passing on May 2 at the Federal Correctional Institution in Butner, North Carolina — only seven years into his life prison term — brought relief to some of his victims, including one woman who called him pure evil. But she and many others likely will be scarred for life by their encounters with the religious guru who headed Tony Alamo Christian Ministries.

The group's cultish, hate-based activities and propaganda recruiting efforts live on in Los Angeles, New York and on the internet, despite his criminal conviction in 2009 and multi-million dollar civil judgments and insurance settlements against Alamo and his empire.

His once-lavish, 13,064-square foot mansion — built in the 1970s with a heart-shaped swimming pool, basement recording studio and dinner seating for more than 100 — sits abandoned and vandalized on a 122-acre compound near Dyer, Arkansas, 16 miles northeast of Fort Smith.

Its new owner is having trouble finding a buyer for the eerie estate — a landmark where Alamo sexually abused young girls and beat boys until they bled,

where he once kept his dead wife's body on display for months and where he and his followers designed and made sequined denim jackets for Hollywood stars, including Michael Jackson and Elvis Presley.

Susan Groulx, who was an Alamo follower from age 18 until she was 43, told *Intelligence Report* she was relieved to hear of his death. "I hope it brings about the dissolution of this destructive ministry," she said.

"I knew Alamo to be a delusional, narcissistic, unmerciful and evil man," Groulx said. "Even behind prison bars, Alamo persisted in writing tracts, pastoring the church in his warped way, and controlling follower's lives."

"He has caused so much damage to so many lives and has caused relationships to be fractured," Groulx said, explaining that adult children who left the group have not been able to speak to siblings or parents for years.

"It's a heartbreaking situation, and I'm hoping his death will bring reconciliation to families," she said.

"I no longer believe in hell," Groulx said, "but I've never met anyone more deserving than Alamo of going there."

Alamo's empire began crumbling after the SPLC's investigative journal, *Intelligence Report*, published a lengthy expose in 2007 detailing allegations of child rape, physical abuse of children and polygamy inside Tony Alamo Christian Ministries.

The SPLC investigative report also described Alamo's unorthodox belief in polygamy, which he claimed was permitted by the Holy Scriptures. He practiced what he preached, taking at least five wives, including girls as young as nine and 10, the article detailed.

A year after the report, FBI agents and Arkansas state police raided Alamo's compound, searching for evidence of child abuse and child pornography. Authorities didn't disclose if they seized stores of candy and Barbie dolls victims say Alamo kept as enticements in his bedroom where he sexually abused young girls for a period of 14 years.

Many of the victims and their families brought civil suits resulting in judgments and sealed insurance settlements totaling \$525 million, according to one report.

"It was very substantial," said attorney David Carter, who represented some of the victims.

"We were able to sell off about 35 properties in Arkansas, including church buildings, gyms, businesses and homes," Carter said at the time of Alamo's death. "There are still a few properties in California, Kentucky and Florida we intend to sell to partially satisfy the civil judgments."



SOVEREIGN CITIZENS

Torture-murders defendant takes sovereign citizen defense

It took 14 years to bring accused double-murder suspect Steven Lorenzo to justice in Florida where he's described as one of that state's "most notorious criminals."

When he was arraigned on the murder charges, Lorenzo made it clear he's now an antigovernment sovereign citizen.

"I am a sovereign man ... not a public figure," he told a judge in Tampa at his arraignment in September on murders charges stemming from the sadistic killings in 2003 of two gay men who were drugged, raped, tortured and murdered.

Lorenzo, using a line straight out of the sovereign citizen handbook, told the judge the court system and its laws were "fiction" and that he would represent himself in court proceedings.

Judge Mark Kiser asked Lorenzo if he really understood what he was doing, the *Tampa Bay Times* reported, describing Lorenzo as "one of the most notorious criminals in Tampa Bay history."

Sovereign citizen Steven Lorenzo will serve as his own attorney during his trial for the sexual torture murders of two Tampa men.

"It's almost always unwise to represent yourself in court," the judge told the 58-year-old accused murderer, who steadfastly maintained he didn't want a lawyer.

"This is a fiction, corporate court," Lorenzo told the judge. "I am not a corporate person. I am a living, breathing being."

Lorenzo refused to enter pleas to the two murders charges. "I will not plea. I'm here to settle. I'm not here to plea." Nonetheless, the judge entered two not guilty pleas.

When Lorenzo appeared back in court in early November, the judge ordered a psychological evaluation of the defendant.

Lorenzo has been in federal prison, serving a 200-year term, since his conviction in 2005 on nine counts of administering a date-rape drug, GHB, and a 10th count of conspiring with Scott Paul Schweickert to commit violent crimes.

Last year, Schweickert pleaded guilty to murder charges brought in the deaths of Jason Galehouse and Michael Wachholtz, both 26, who were killed in 2003.

As part of a plea bargain, Schweickert agreed to testify against Lorenzo in exchange for a life sentence. Murder charges were filed against Lorenzo in 2017, and he was transferred from federal custody to face the state charges.

The brutality of the torture-murder, which included dismemberment, case has gripped Tampa Bay for 14 years.

Schweickert met Lorenzo online in 2003 and the two discussed their interest in "bondage, torture and sadomasochistic sexual activity with men," Schweickert's plea agreement said. The two developed a plan to meet single gay men and make them "permanent slaves."

"According to our plan and agreement, once we became tired of, or bored with, a 'permanent slave,' Steven Lorenzo and I would either sell the permanent slave to another practitioner of homosexual sadomasochism or kill" him, the plea deal said.

Schweickert admitted helping lure Galehouse and Wachholtz, in December 2003, from a Tampa gay nightclub to Lorenzo's home in Seminole Heights, where they were given drug-laced drinks, sexually tortured and killed, the Tampa Bay newspaper reported last year.

Schweickert told investigators he helped Lorenzo dismember Galehouse's body with an electric saw and dispose of the parts in trash bins throughout the city. His remains were never recovered. Wachholtz' body was found in his abandoned Jeep in an apartment complex.

The case sparked speculation that other gay men may have been victimized.

EXTREMIST VIOLENCE

FBI Arrests McVeigh-Copycat in Oklahoma City Bomb Plot

An Oklahoma man faces a federal charge alleging he intended to carry out a copycat bombing of the 1995 attack by extremist Timothy McVeigh.

Jerry Drake Varnell was arrested in August after he twice dialed a cell phone that he believed would remotely detonate a van he helped load with 1,000 pounds of explosives before parking it outside a bank only six blocks away from the scene of the deadly 1995 terrorist attack, court documents say.

Varnell, 23, of Sayre, Oklahoma, initially was charged in a federal criminal complaint with malicious attempted destruction of a building used in interstate commerce by means of an explosive. He was formally indicted on the charge in October by a grand jury in the Western District of Oklahoma.

The indictment says Varnell “maliciously attempted to damage and destroy, by means of fire and an explosive, the BancFirst building at 101 N. Broadway in Oklahoma City.”

The case was among a rash of 2017 arrests of extremists who carried out assorted crimes, including homicides, as they attempted to adulate and emulate the Oklahoma City bomber — a trend called “McVeigh worship.”

In Varnell’s case, court records say the explosives he packed in a vehicle were inert — provided by an undercover FBI agent during an eight-month terrorism investigation.

The suspect’s family issued a statement following his arrest, claiming he is mentally ill, a condition the FBI knew about during its investigation. In contrast, charging documents show the suspect was asked repeatedly if he wanted to follow through with his plans to retaliate against the government — something the documents say he steadfastly reaffirmed over the months-long investigation.

“When militias start getting formed, I’m going after government officials when

MAY 16

An arsonist with an apparent racist’s agenda set fire to a rural home in upstate New York where a couple and their five children narrowly escaped.

A Nazi swastika and a racial slur were found painted on the **Schodack, New York**, home of Laquan and Jennifer Madison, who are black. Investigators found the markings when they responded to the overnight blaze in the garage.

Schodack Police Chief Joseph Belardo said the family was emotionally traumatized. Belardo said the hate crime came “out of the blue” because such incidents are “not something that happen very often out here.”

No arrests have been made.

MAY 27

Police say a **Portland, Oregon**, man who slashed the throats of two men and stabbed another person used hate speech during the attack.

Jeremy Christian also praised Timothy McVeigh on his Facebook page on April 19, the anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing.

Christian stands charged with attacking two men who were coming to the aid of a Muslim woman being harassed by Christian.

Christian’s Facebook page included multiple references to Nazis, the idea of creating a white’s only area in the Pacific Northwest and anti-Muslim sentiments.

At a bail hearing on November 16, Christian’s attorney alluded to his client possibly having mental issues.

JUNE 24

An author, speaker and Islam critic known as “Wild Bill for America” was arrested at a Canadian airport and charged with “smuggling hate speech” on his iPad.

The author, whose real name is **William Finlay**, had been invited to speak at the “Patriotic Unity Mega Festival” in Calgary. The event, which was called off for lack of a permit, was sponsored by Canada’s Worldwide Coalition Against Islam, a group with chapters in Europe and Australia.

Finlay’s Facebook features posts about tearing down statues commemorating President Barack Obama and anti-immigration rants. Under the “about” heading it said, “Wild Bill is America’s leading ‘Liberologist’ and is working to cure liberalism in our time.”

SEPT. 18

A **Pittsburgh-area** white supremacist was charged with engaging in multiple activities in violation of his probation from a federal weapons conviction in 2010.

Hardy Lloyd took part in passing out fliers, stickers and cards on behalf of the Church of Creativity, a neo-Nazi group with a reputation for violence founded in 1973 on the premise of white superiority and “creativity.”

Lloyd also appeared at a protest in Mount Lebanon, Pennsylvania, against U.S. Rep. Tim Murphy. Attending the protest was a violation of Lloyd’s probation.

Federal officials said

Lloyd also had a hatchet, switchblade knife and a punch knife.

Lloyd, who spent time in prison for harassment and weapons possession, is scheduled to be sentenced on the probation violations on Dec. 12.

OCT. 26

One person was arrested after police at the **University of Minnesota** used pepper spray to break up three fights outside an event featuring alt-right organizer and speaker Lauren Southern.

Police said the fights were between protestors and counter protestors, who showed up after student groups Collegians for a Constructive Tomorrow and Students for a Conservative Voice invited Southern to speak on campus.

A 21-year-old Minneapolis woman, **Brittany Paige Cusack**, was arrested on suspicion of disorderly conduct. Police say she was wearing a black mask. The others involved in the fight left the area and were not identified.

NOV. 15

Police in New Jersey say a rash of hate crimes involving racist and antisemitic graffiti struck the town of **Cinnaminson**.

Swastikas, “KKK,” “666” and racists comments were spray-painted on sidewalks, streets and basketball courts in the township’s Palmyra Extension section.

I have a team,” the suspect said at one point during the investigation, noting he wanted to build a truck bomb “with what the OKC bomber [McVeigh] used — diesel and anhydrous ammonia.”

“I might have to make a distillery to process some stuff,” the suspect said in one encrypted social media message, according to charging documents.

The Varnell investigation was opened in late 2016 when an FBI Joint Terrorism Task Force developed information that the suspect “was aspiring to bomb the Federal Reserve Building in Washington, D.C., in a manner similar to the Oklahoma City bombing,” the court documents say.

The initial information came from an informant with a criminal record who was paid by the FBI and wore a body wire to secretly record conversations he had with Varnell, the documents say.

The informant’s information was “corroborated through other investigative techniques including physical surveillance, consensually recorded conversations, administrative subpoenas, and searches of public records,” the documents say. The informant subsequently introduced an undercover FBI agent, who posed as a bomb maker.

Varnell, the documents allege, “was upset with the government and ... seeking retaliation.” He was in possession of firearms, wanted to organize and arm a small III%-style militia group. He also claimed to have a bunker “for when the world (or United States) collapsed,” the documents allege.

Over several months, the informant introduced Varnell to the undercover FBI agent — a reputed bomb-making expert called “The Professor” — in meetings where audio or video recordings were made.

Discussions of various targets ranged from a Federal Reserve System building in Washington, D.C., to an IRS headquarters in Texas, the documents say.

During one meeting with the undercover FBI agent, Varnell said he “wanted to be a part of something and ... wanted to use explosives and make a statement,” the documents say.

When the suspect was asked if he was sure he wanted to carry out a McVeigh-style truck bombing, he “responded in the affirmative,” telling the undercover FBI agent that he didn’t understand the “depth” of Varnell’s “hatred for the government.”

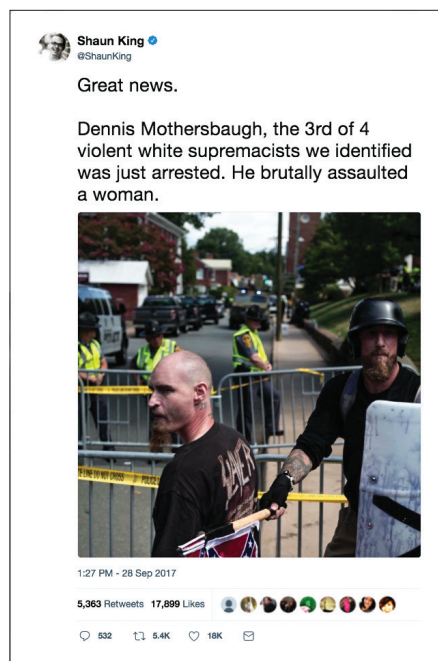
The suspect also discussed developing a social media statement, to be anonymously posted after the bombing, to “ensure that no other group, such as ISIS was able to take credit for the attack,” the court documents say.

The documents alleged Varnell drafted this statement to be posted after his planned bombing:

“What happened in Oklahoma City was not an attack on America, it was retaliation — retaliation against the freedoms that have been taken away from the American people.”

Varnell said he viewed McVeigh’s act of terrorism as “a wake-up call to both the government and the people; an act done to show the government what the people thinks of its actions.”

“It is also a call to arms, to show people that there are still fighters among the American people. The time for revolution is now.”



SKINHEAD

Internet Sleuths Track Down Violent Charlottesville Neo-Nazi

The long arm of the internet finally caught up with Dennis Mothersbaugh.

Roaming the scene in Charlottesville, Virginia, during the violent “Unite the Right” rally on August 12, the 33-year-old skinhead with a long rap sheet apparently felt anonymous enough to begin punching some of the counter-protesters who showed up to oppose him and his fellow white nationalists.

Video recorded at the protest showed the man lashing out and hitting first one protester as he came down a set of stairs, and then, moments later, punching a woman protester in the face, knocking her to the ground. He was quickly surrounded by men defending the victim before walking away.

That recording, however, created the impetus for a search by internet sleuths to unearth his identity. Led by Brooklyn-based freelance journalist Shaun King, the activists in short order figured out his identity in large part because of the unique tattoo on Mothersbaugh’s head, a

EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM

“If that kid had done to me what he did to Greg, I would have shot him.”

Gallatin County Republican Women official **Karen Marshall** in a call to the radio program *Voices of Montana* on **October 19**, explaining what she would have done to *The Guardian* reporter Ben Jacobs who questioned U.S. House candidate Greg Gianforte on the eve of his election and was reportedly body slammed by Gianforte in response.

quote from rock star Kurt Cobain which reads: “I would rather be hated for what I am than loved for what I am not.”

Mothersbaugh, who currently resides in rural North Vernon, Indiana, has a long and violent record from the 2000s, when he resided in the Portland, Oregon area. Among his more noteworthy arrests was a 2005 bust in suburban Gresham for threatening three African American men and attempting to assault them, as well as a previous 2003 arrest for an assault on a black man.

He sports a number of tattoos indicating his membership in the Hammerskins skinhead organization, as well as the Inland Empire neo-Nazi prison gang.

Now Mothersbaugh is behind bars. Once identified, police in Charlottesville issued a warrant for his arrest on assault charges. Police in Indiana were notified, Charlottesville police issued a request for extradition and deputies arrested Mothersbaugh at his home.

King has led previous successful efforts to identify the violent white supremacists involved in criminal assaults on people at Charlottesville, including the four men who attacked an African American man, Deandre Harris, at a parking garage.

King thanked his readers on social media. “You helped make that happen. We identified him. Charlottesville issued the arrest warrant. The police in his hometown, who’ve been great by the way, wanted to arrest him, but Charlottesville had to request extradition.

“Well, they just did, and he is now in custody. He is the third white supremacist from Charlottesville that we have identified and lobbied for an arrest. Your hard work is paying off.”

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

HOLOCAUST DENIER BEHIND TWITTER THREATS GETS PROBATION

In what may be the first case of its kind, a Michigan man has been acquitted of two felonies for using Twitter to spew a variety of hate — everything from denying the Holocaust to threatening to kill school children and Jews.

While David Joseph Lenio escaped conviction on felony charges of aggravated stalking and use of a computer to commit a crime, he was convicted by a jury in his hometown of Grand Rapids in July of malicious use of telecommunication services, a misdemeanor.

At sentencing the following month, a judge banned the 31-year-old self-described white nationalist and Holocaust denier from using Twitter, other social media and the internet for two years.

Lenio, who once said his ideal job would be operating a human gas chamber, also must undergo mental health treatment and not go within 1,000 feet of schools or Jewish synagogues. He was fined \$1,000 and ordered to have no contact with Jonathan Hudson, a Maryland communications consultant who first brought a hate-and-violence series of Lenio’s Twitter threats to the attention of the FBI in 2015.

“God forbid that you would ever act out some of these things,” Kent County Circuit Court Judge Mark Trusock told Lenio at sentencing, describing him as a man with “some very serious mental health issues.”

“I don’t think there’s any place in society for the things that you’re saying,” the judge told the 31-year-old defendant. The man who wouldn’t stay silent on Twitter had nothing to say at his sentencing hearing. He chose not to address the court or offer any public apology or explanation for his behavior.

An itinerant cook and son of a wealthy, influential Michigan banker, Lenio initially was arrested on Twitter-threat related charges in Flathead County, Montana, in 2015. But for unexplained reasons, the Montana prosecutor elected not to take the case to trial, deferring the criminal charges, allowing Lenio to return to his parents’ home in Grand Rapids.

But within weeks, Lenio returned to Twitter, firing off hate-filled, antisemitic tweets, asking at one point how much it would cost to buy a gun with enough ammunition to kill 99 school children. In early 2017 he tweeted that he would rather see 500 American Jews beheaded than to see one Holocaust denier spend five minutes in jail.

David Joseph Lenio shouts at media as he makes his initial appearance at Flathead County Justice Court in Kalispell, Montana.



GENERAL HATE

'SEATTLE4TRUTH' CHARGED WITH MURDERING HIS FATHER

Lane Maurice Davis is a well-known and, at times, popular “alt-right” social-media figure who uses the nom de plume “Seattle-4Truth,” even though in reality he lived in rural Skagit County near the town of Bow, on Samish Island in Puget Sound, about 75 miles away. His YouTube videos frequently have garnered thousands of views, and he wrote for the popular alt-right site The Ralph Retort. At one time, he was reportedly employed as a researcher for Milo Yiannopoulos.

Last summer, the 33-year-old stabbed his 73-year-old father — Charles “Chuck” Davis, a highly regarded civic leader in the Skagit County area and longtime attorney — to death during a heated argument over the younger Davis’ obsessive beliefs in conspiracy theories.

According to witnesses, Davis accused his father of “pedophilia” — based not on anything he had experienced, but on his belief in conspiracy theories that liberals are secretly organizing nefarious pedophilia rings around the globe (and in one case, even on Mars). Earlier this year, one of his “Seattle4Truth” videos described “progressive ideology’s deep ties to pedophilia.”

The stabbing occurred on July 14, and Davis was arraigned in his father’s murder the next day. However, it wasn’t until after his August 10 plea hearing, at which he pleaded not guilty, that he was recognized on social media as none other than “Seattle4Truth.”

According to documents filed at Skagit County District Court, the younger Davis picked a fight with his parents on July 14, calling them “leftists” and “pedophiles.” Charles Davis recorded one of the arguments on his cellphone, and it made clear that Lane threatened several times to kill his father.

According to statements Lane Davis gave police, his father attempted to kick him out of the house, and had told his son that he had called police to eject him. The younger Davis claimed Charles Davis called him a racist and a Nazi, an affidavit filed in the case states. Grabbing a kitchen knife, Lane Davis then stabbed his father in the chest multiple times. Charles Davis was dead when police arrived.

Davis was noted mainly for digging up all kinds of arcane “evidence” of ostensibly nefarious conspiracies from the archives of a number of technology companies, especially Microsoft, discussing their strategies for software generally and the gaming industry in particular. His most popular YouTube video, with nearly 50,000 views, was a three-hour “documentary” about the gaming industry pseudo-scandal “GamerGate,” purportedly demonstrating the controversy was actually an evil plot cooked up by Microsoft cofounder Bill Gates and others on behalf of a scheme to brainwash American children through education reform.

EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM

“I can guarantee you won’t be met with torches but something a lot more definitive. They will go missing in the Okefenokee [Swamp]. Too many necks they are red around here. Don’t say I didn’t warn you about ‘em.”

Georgia Republican state **Rep. Jason C. Spencer**, who is white, in Facebook comments on **August 29** to former Democratic state Rep. LaDawn Jones, who is black, in response to the support by her and others for the removal of state-sponsored Confederate monuments.”

GENERAL HATE

Another Black Crime Myth Beloved by Bigots Bites the Dust

The Justice Department’s statistics-crunching arm just blew up a whole stack of white supremacist myths about the nature of interracial crime and violence committed by minorities.

In an October, 2017 report titled “Race and Hispanic Origin of Victims and Offenders, 2012-2015,” the DOJ’s Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) found that a majority of violent crimes are committed by people who are the same race as their victims. Indeed, the rate of white-on-white violent crime, it found, is about four times the rate of black-on-white crime.

White supremacists frequently like to manipulate crime statistics in order to claim that nonwhite minorities, particularly African-Americans, are far more crime-prone and the source of most violent crime against whites. Indeed, it is a core belief that this is the case, and many white nationalist ideologues — including politician and pundit Patrick Buchanan, Jared Taylor of American Renaissance, and the Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC) — all have made considerable hay out of proffering “studies” laden with risibly bad statistics and other evidence to make their case.

The BJS study debunks their case. White perpetrators committed some 57 percent of crimes involving white victims, while black perpetrators committed only 15 percent, and 11 percent by Hispanics. Black crime victims fell along similar racial lines, with 63 percent of the crimes committed by black perpetrators, while 11 percent were committed by whites, and 6.6 percent by Hispanics.

Overall, the BJS reported, “the percentage of intraracial [that is, same-race] victimization was higher than the percentage of interracial victimization for all types of violent crime except robbery.”

Moreover, it explained, “the rate of white-on-white violent crime (12 per 1,000) was about four times higher than black-on-white violent crime (3.1 per

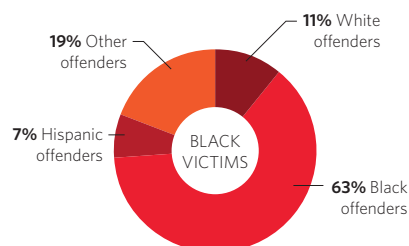
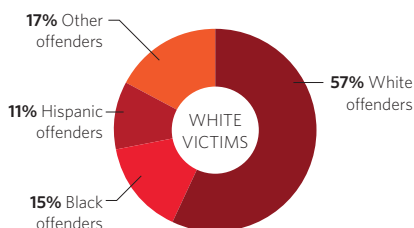
1,000). The rate of black-on-black crime (16.5 per 1,000) was more than five times higher than white-on-black violent crime (2.8 per 1,000). The rate of Hispanic-on-Hispanic crime (8.3 per 1,000) was about double the rate of white-on-Hispanic (4.1 per 1,000) and black-on-Hispanic (4.2 per 1,000) violent crime.”

This is consistent with previously collected data, including a National Crime Victim Survey in 2000 that showed that 73 percent of white violent crime victims were attacked by whites, and 80 percent of black victims were targeted by black perpetrators. This pattern is even clearer in the category of murder.

That hasn’t chastened the people promulgating the distorted statistics. Buchanan, citing Taylor’s fake statistics in 2007, wrote: “The real repository of racism in America — manifest in violent interracial assault, rape and murder — is to be found not in the white community, but the African-American community.”

Nor have the smears faded at all: In 2016, then-candidate Donald Trump retweeted a graphic that originated on a neo-Nazi website trotting out statistics mainly lifted from Taylor and the CofCC.

The false beliefs that arise from these smears have consequences, too: Dylann Roof, the domestic terrorist who killed nine members of a Charleston church’s black congregation in June 2015, shouted at his victims his belief that they were “killing us.” In his manifesto, he specifically cited the CofCC’s website and Taylor’s smear pamphlet as the sources of his information.



White supremacists frequently claim that minorities are the source of most violent crime against whites. A 2017 report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics debunks this.

4X HIGHER

Rate of white-on-white crime compared to black-on-white crime

5X HIGHER

Rate of black-on-black crime compared to white-on-black crime

2X HIGHER

Rate of Hispanic-on-Hispanic crime compared to both white-on-Hispanic and black-on-Hispanic crime

BY THE NUMBERS

Hate crimes were up by nearly five percent in 2016 — a year that saw Donald Trump fire up white nationalists during a successful run for the presidency. But the number may be misleading as the majority of participating law enforcement agencies didn’t report any hate crimes in their jurisdictions.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that an average of 250,000 hate crimes occur each year, about 40 times the number the FBI reported. Here’s what the FBI’s statistics reveal:

6,121

Number of hate crimes reported in 2016

5,818

Number of hate crimes reported in 2015

58.9%

FBI estimate of hate crime victims targeted because of their ethnicity, race or ancestry

21.1%

Victims attacked because of their religious affiliation

16.7%

Victims attacked because of the offenders’ sexual-orientation bias

381

Anti-Muslim crimes, up more than 25 percent from the 301 reported in 2015

834

Anti-Jewish crimes reported in 2016, up 20 percent from the 695 reported in 2015

EXTREMISM IN THE MAINSTREAM

“They’re kneeling to political correctness and hating white people. They’re kneeling to white genocide.”

Alex Jones on the **September 26** edition of *The Alex Jones Show* on why some black football players kneel during the national anthem.





Holy Hate: The Far Right's Radicalization of Religion

BY DARYL JOHNSON

Anti-abortion extremists line the streets as George Tiller's casket is taken to a hearse after his funeral services on Saturday, June 6, 2009, in Wichita, Kansas.

The U.S. government, media organizations, and political scholars often characterize the “War on Terror” as a clash of civilizations or a battle against radical Islam. Many academic studies, government reports and news articles have analyzed the role of religion (or the misinterpretation of religious concepts and scripture) in radicalizing Muslims and mobilizing them to wage “Holy War” against their enemies around the globe. Few have discussed how right-wing extremism exploits Christianity and the Bible to radicalize and mobilize its violent adherents toward criminality and terrorism. Much like Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, violent right-wing extremists — who refer to themselves as “Soldiers of

Odin,” “Phineas Priests,” or “Holy Warriors” — are also inspired by religious concepts and scriptural interpretations to lash out and kill in the name of religion. Yet very little is said or written about such a connection.

White supremacists, sovereign citizens, militia extremists and violent anti-abortion adherents use religious concepts and scripture to justify threats, criminal activity and violence. This discussion of religious extremism should not be confused with someone being extremely religious. It should also not be misconstrued as an assault on Christianity. Rather, it represents an exploration of the links between violent right-wing extremism and its

GETTY IMAGES/KANSAS CITY STAR/ALISON LONG

exploitation of Christianity and other religions to gain a better understanding of how American extremists recruit, radicalize and mobilize their adherents toward violence and terrorism.

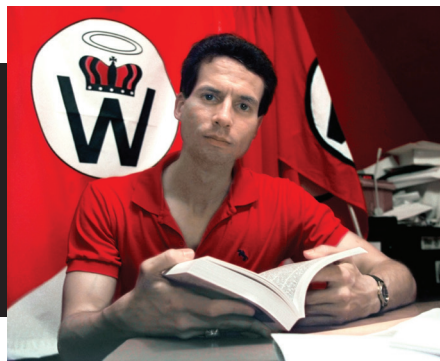
White Supremacy

Researchers have long known that white supremacists, such as adherents of Christian Identity (a racist, antisemitic religious philosophy) and racial Nordic mythology, use religion to justify acts of violence and condone criminal activity. Lesser known are the ways other white supremacy groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Creativity Movement (formerly known as the Church of Creator or World Church of the Creator), incorporate religious teachings, texts, and symbolism into their group ideology and activities to justify violating the law and committing violent acts.

The Kloran, a universal KKK handbook, features detailed descriptions of the roles and responsibilities of various KKK positions, ceremonies, and procedures. There are many biblical references in the Kloran, as well as biblical symbolism in the detailed KKK ceremonies. Also, the KKK's primary symbol (e.g. "Blood Drop Cross" or Mystic Insignia of a Klansman) — a white cross with a red tear drop at the center — symbolizes the atonement and sacrifice of Jesus Christ and those willing to die in his name.

A lesser-known white supremacist group is the neo-Nazi Creativity Movement. Ben Klassen is credited with creating this new religion for the white race in Florida in 1973. Klassen authored two primary religious texts for the Creativity Movement; "Nature's Eternal Religion" and "the White Man's Bible." Creativity emphasizes moral conduct and behavior for the white race (e.g. "your race is your religion") including its "Sixteen Commandments" and the "Five Fundamental Beliefs of Creativity." Klassen had a vision that every worthy member of the Creativity religion would become an ordained minister in the Church.

Two other examples of entirely racist religious movements within white



Matt Hale of the World Church of the Creator received 40 years in prison for plotting to assassinate a federal judge.

supremacy are the Christian Identity movement and racist Nordic mythology. The Christian Identity movement is comprised of both self-proclaimed followers who operate independently and organized groups that meet regularly or even live within insular communities. In contrast, racist Nordic mythology rarely consists of organized groups or communities, preferring to operate through an autonomous, loose-knit network of adherents who congregate in prison or online.

A unique concept within Christian Identity is the "Phineas [sic.] Priesthood." Phineas Priests believe they have been called to be "God's Holy Warriors" for the white race. The term Phineas Priest is derived from the biblical story of Phineas, which adherents interpret as justifying the killing of interracial couples. Followers have advocated martyrdom and violence against homosexuals, mixed-race couples, and abortion providers.

Racial Nordic mysticism is most commonly embraced by neo-Nazis, racist skinheads and Aryan prison gang members. It is most prolific among younger white supremacists. Odinism and Asatru are the most popular Nordic mythological religions among white supremacists. These non-Christian religious philosophies are not inherently racist, but have been exploited and embraced by white supremacists due to their symbolically strong image of "Aryan" life and Nordic heritage. Aryan prison gang members may also have another reason for declaring affiliation with Odinism and Asatru due to prison privileges — such as special dietary needs or extra time to worship — given to those inmates who claim membership in a religious group.

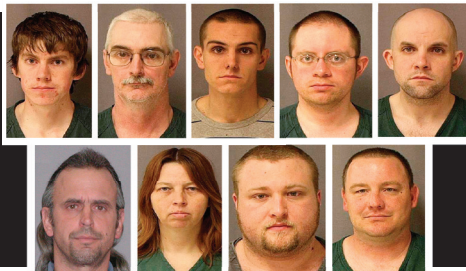
Chip Berlet, a former senior analyst at Political Research Associates, points out that some white supremacists may be attracted to Nordic mythological religions as a result of their affinity toward Greek mythology, Celtic lore or interest in Nazi Germany, whose leaders celebrated Nordic myths and used Nordic symbolism for their image of heroic warriors during World War II. Neo-Nazi groups, such as the National Alliance and Volksfront, have used Norse symbolism, such as the life rune, in their group insignias and propaganda. Racist prison gangs have also been known to write letters and inscribe messages on tattoos using the runic alphabet. "These myths were the basis of Wagner's "Ring" opera cycle, and influenced Hitler, who merged them with his distorted understanding of Nietzsche's philosophy of the centrality of will and the concept of the *Urbarmensch*, which Hitler turned into the idea of an Aryan 'Master Race,'" says Berlet.

Militia Extremists

The militia movement compares itself to the "Patriots" of the American Revolution in an attempt to "save" the ideals and original intent of the U.S. Constitution and return America to what they perceive to be the country's Judeo-Christian roots. They have adopted some of the symbols associated with the American Revolution, such as using the term "Minutemen" in group names, hosting anti-tax events (much like the Boston Tea Party), celebrating April 19 — the anniversary date of the Battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775 — and using the Gadsden Minutemen flag with its revolutionary "Don't Tread on Me" slogan.

Many militia members have a deep respect and reverence for America's

Nine members of the Hutaree militia were arrested in March 2010 for conspiring to attack police officers and blow up their funeral processions.



founding fathers. Their admiration takes on religious overtones, believing the U.S. Constitution was “divinely inspired” and that the founding fathers were actually chosen and led by God to create the United States of America. For example, an Indiana Militia Corps’ citizenship recruitment pamphlet states, “The Christian faith was the anchor of the founding fathers of these United States.” The manual also states, “People of faith, Christians in particular, recognize that God is the source of all things, and that Rights come from God alone.” The militia movement erroneously believes that the principles the founding fathers used to create the U.S. Constitution are derived solely from the Bible.

Anti-government conspiracy theories and apocalyptic “end times” Biblical prophecies are known to motivate militia members and groups to stockpile food, ammunition, and weapons. These apocalyptic teachings have also been linked with the radicalization of militia extremist members. For example, nine members of the Hutaree militia in Lenawee County, Michigan, were arrested in March 2010 for conspiring to attack police officers and blow up their funeral processions. According to the Hutaree, its doctrine is “based on faith and most of all the testimony of Jesus.” Charges against all nine were eventually dismissed.

On their website, the Hutaree referenced the story of the 10 virgins (Matthew 25: 1-12) as the basis for their existence. The verses declare, “The wise ones took enough oil to last the whole night, just in case the bridegroom was late. The foolish ones took not enough oil to last the whole night and figured that the bridegroom would arrive earlier than he did.” According to the Hutaree, the bridegrooms represented the Christian church today; the oil represented faith; and, those with enough faith could last

through the darkest and most doubtful times, which Hutaree members believed were upon them. Further, militia members often reason that defending themselves, their families, and communities against the New World Order is a literal battle between good (i.e. God) and evil (i.e. Satan or the devil).

The militia movement has historically both feared and anticipated a cataclysmic event that could lead to the collapse of the United States. Some militia members believe that such cataclysmic events are based in biblical prophecies. For example, some militia members believe that the so-called “Anti-Christ” in the last days predicted in the Book of Revelation is a world leader that unites all nations under a “one world government” before being exposed as the agent of Satan. They further believe that Jesus will battle the Anti-Christ before restoring his kingdom on earth. Militia members cite the creation of Communism, the establishment of the United Nations, and attacks against their Constitutional rights as “signs” or “evidence” that the Anti-Christ is actively working to create the “one world government” predicted in the Bible (e.g. Book of Revelation). Towards the end of the 1990s, many in the militia movement prepared for the turn of the millennium (e.g. Y2K) due to the impending belief that American society would collapse and result in anarchy and social chaos. The failure of the Y2K prophecy left many in the militia movement disillusioned and they left as a result.

More recently, militia extremists have begun organizing armed protests outside of Islamic centers and mosques fearing a rise in Muslim terrorism, perceived encroachment of Sharia law in America and/or out of pure hatred of Muslims and Islam. Some militia extremists have also provided support to gun stores and

firing ranges in Arkansas, Florida and Oklahoma that were declared “Muslim Free Zones” by their owners. These types of activities are meant to harass and intimidate an entire faith-based community. They are likely inspired by militia extremists’ personal religious views of preserving America as a Christian nation.

Sovereign Citizens

Sovereign citizen extremists believe their doctrine is both inspired and sanctioned by God. Many have their own version of law that is derived from a combination of the Magna Carta, the Bible, English common law, and various 19th century state constitutions. Central to their argument is the view of a Supreme Being having endowed every person with certain inalienable rights as stated in the U.S. Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Bible.

In particular, since there is a strong anti-tax component to the sovereign citizen movement, many adherents use Biblical passages to justify not paying income or property taxes to the government. They most often cite Old Testament scriptures, which reference paying usury and taking money from the poor, such as Ezekiel 22:12-13, Proverbs 28:8, Deuteronomy 23:19, and Leviticus 25:36-37. Sovereign citizen extremists further cite Nehemiah 9:32-37 to bolster the belief that oppressive taxation results from sin. Also, 1 Kings 12:13-19 is used to justify rebellion against the government for oppressive taxation.

Sovereign citizen extremists have also been known to avoid paying taxes. They misuse a financial option called “corporation sole.” In general, sovereign citizen extremists misuse the corporation sole (e.g. forming a religious organization or claiming to be a religious figure such as a pastor or minister) tax exemption to avoid paying income and property taxes. They typically obtain a fake pastoral certification or minister certificate through a mail-order seminary or other bogus religious school. Then they change their residence to a “church.”

David Brutsche (L), 42, and Devon Newman, 67, were arrested for allegedly plotting to capture and kill a police officer. Authorities say they were part of the anti-government "sovereign citizen" movement.



Robert Dear admitted killing three people at a Planned Parenthood office in Colorado. He called the attack a "righteous crusade."



abortion to a "silent holocaust." Some anti-abortion extremists go as far as claiming abortion providers are actually "serial killers" and worthy of death. This sentiment is echoed in passages from the Army of God (AOG) manual in which they declare that the killing of abortion providers is morally acceptable and justified as doing God's work.

The AOG perpetuates the belief that violent anti-abortion extremists literally represent soldiers fighting in God's Army and that a divine power is at the helm of their cause. "The Army of God is a real Army, and God is the General and Commander-in-Chief," the AOG says. Their manual further states, "The soldiers, however, do not usually communicate with one another. Very few have ever met each other. And when they do, each is usually unaware of the other's soldier status."

The AOG also utilizes religious symbolism in its name and logo. The AOG name literally compares its adherents to soldiers in battle with Satan. They are fighting a war with Jesus Christ at their side in an effort to save the unborn. The AOG logo also includes a white cross (e.g. symbolizing the crucifixion of Christ and his resurrection). The logo has a soldier's helmet hanging off the cross with a bomb featuring a lit fuse inside a box. The words "The Army of God" are inscribed over and below the cross and bomb. The AOG also uses the symbol of a white rose; a reference to the White Rose Banquet, an annual anti-abortion extremist event organized by convicted abortion clinic arsonist Michael Bray.

Religious concepts — such as Christian end times prophecy, millennialism and the belief that the Second Coming of Jesus Christ is imminent — play a vital role in the recruitment, radicalization and mobilization of violent right-wing extremists and their illegal

activities in the United States. For example, white supremacists have adopted Christian concepts and Norse mythology into their extremist ideology, group rituals and calls for violence. Similarly, sovereign citizens use God and scriptural interpretation to justify breaking "man-made" laws, circumventing government regulation, avoiding taxation, and other criminal acts. Violent anti-abortion extremists have used Biblical references to create divine edicts from God and Jesus Christ to kill others and destroy property. And militia extremists and groups use religious concepts and scripture to defy the government, break laws, and stockpile food, ammunition and weapons to hasten or await the end of the world. As a result, religious concepts and scriptures have literally been hijacked by right-wing extremists, who twist religious doctrine and scriptures, to justify threats, criminal behavior and violent attacks.

Religion and scriptural interpretations have played an essential role in armed confrontations between right-wing extremists and the U.S. government during the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. the Covenant, Sword, Arm of the Lord standoff in 1985, the siege at Ruby Ridge in 1992, and raid and standoff at Waco in 1993) as well as today (e.g. the 2014 Bunkerville standoff and the takeover of the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in 2016).

These events not only demonstrate extremists rebelling against the U.S. government and its laws, but also served as declarations of their perceived divinely inspired and Constitutional rights. They also serve as radicalization and recruitment nodes to boost the ranks of white supremacists, militia extremists, sovereign citizens, and other radical anti-government adherents who view the government's response to these standoffs as tyrannical and overreaching. ▲

Courts have routinely rejected this tax avoidance tactic as frivolous, upheld criminal tax evasion convictions against those making or promoting such arguments, and imposed civil penalties for falsely claiming corporation sole status.

Violent Anti-Abortion Extremists

The majority of violent anti-abortion extremist ideology is based on Christian religious beliefs and use of Biblical scripture. A review of violent anti-abortion extremist propaganda online is filled with Biblical references to God and Jesus Christ. Many of the Biblical scriptures quoted in violent anti-abortion extremist propaganda focus on protecting children, fighting against evil doers, and standing up to iniquity or sin.

The ultimate goal of anti-abortion extremists is to rid the country of the practice of abortion and those who perform and assist in its practice. They use religious and moral beliefs to justify violence against abortion providers, their staff, and facilities. Violent anti-abortion extremists believe that human life begins at conception. For this reason, some equate abortion to murder. Using this logic, they rationalize that those performing abortions are murdering other human beings. Anti-abortion extremists also equate the practice of

STONE
A



ROBIN HENSON

E MOUNTAIN

Monumental Dilemma

Some see the monument as “the largest shrine to white supremacy in the history of the world.”

BY DEBRA MCKINNEY

From its north side, Stone Mountain is a formidable sight. Staggeringly steep, nearly five times as high as Niagara Falls, it rises from Georgia’s wooded landscape like a rogue wave.

This anomalous, igneous dome east of Atlanta is the centerpiece of a state park that draws 4 million visitors a year. Forty stories above ground, front and center on the gunmetal-gray face of the stone, is the largest bas-relief carving on the planet, a Civil War memorial to Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson. These leaders of the Southern rebellion against the United States sit astride their steeds, hats over their hearts, on a three-acre backdrop etched into the mountainside.

Stone Mountain is the Mount Rushmore of the Confederacy, only bigger. So big, a stonecutter could duck out of a downpour inside a horse’s mouth. Robert E. Lee is as tall as a nine-story building. Jefferson Davis’ nose is the size of a sofa.

Some see the carving as a memorial to rebel heroes and those who fought and died defending the Southern way of life. Activist Richard Rose sees it as “the largest shrine to white supremacy in the history of the world.”

“If you read the declaration of secession for those states, they make it clear in the first paragraph, even the second sentence, why they wanted to secede from the union.”

“The people of Georgia having dissolved their political connection with the Government of the United States of America, present to their confederates and the world the causes which have led to the separation. For the last ten years we have had numerous and serious causes of complaint against our non-slave-holding confederate States with reference to the subject of African slavery.”

Although the monument is protected by state law, Rose says it needs to go.

President of the Atlanta chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Rose grew up in the civil rights movement, the “whites only” times. Such tributes to the Confederacy have haunted him all his life.

“I don’t think people understand the objective and the intent,” he said in a phone interview. “They don’t understand that it’s based on white supremacy because the war was based on white supremacy, and the ‘heroes’ are based on white supremacy.”

“After the killings at Emanuel Church in Charleston, it finally crystallized for me that these monuments encourage violence and validate oppression.”

Two summers ago, 21-year-old Dylann Roof joined an evening Bible study at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Then, as worshippers closed their eyes to pray, he executed those around him, killing nine in all. Investigators later discovered his website filled with racist rantings and photos of him with Confederate flags and other symbols embraced by his kind.

After the massacre, Rose, speaking on behalf of Atlanta’s NAACP, and Charles Steele, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), called on Georgia Gov. Nathan Deal to remove “symbols of hate” from all state properties, including Stone Mountain.

As cities across the country wrestled with whether Confederate tributes should stay or go, Charlottesville cranked up the volume.

On August 12, a contingent of mostly angry white men, some donning battle gear and waving



(top) A Klan cross-lighting at Stone Mountain on Thanksgiving, 1915.
(bottom) Stone Mountain's first sculptor, Gutzon Borglum.



Confederate and swastika flags, gathered for a “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, to protest the removal of the Robert E. Lee statue from a city park. Clashes turned bloody, then murderous when a rally supporter plowed his vehicle into counter-protesters, injuring 19 and killing Heather Heyer, 32.

After Charlottesville, others joined the call for the Stone Mountain carving to come down, most notably African-American gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams, minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives.

For Rose, it boils down to this:

“If Joe Blow wants to put a statue of Robert E Lee in his front yard or on his farm, I think that’s great. I mean, this is America; he ought to be able to

do that. But the state of Georgia should not be doing that, the state of Alabama, the state of Virginia. Cities and counties should not be promoting white supremacy and racism.

“And there’s a law to *protect* it. The fact that the state says this makes it all the more onerous.”

The Klan's sacred stone

The nearly 60-year effort it took to create this monument, from its first fundraising campaign in 1915 to finishing touches in 1972, makes quite the compelling story. Historical photos show stonecutters dangling from cables and perched on swings halfway down the mountain’s 825-foot face. One crewman died in 1927 when a chunk of rock loosened by dynamite let go, hit his platform and

catapulted him into the air. Another was killed in 1966 when a scaffold plank slipped out of place.

Carving these figures into the mountainside took courage, strength and skill. But there’s an odious side to the story.

In 1915, the second coming of the Ku Klux Klan occurred atop Stone Mountain. Klan money helped fund the monument. And the first of its three head sculptors was a Klansman, as was the owner of the mountain, Samuel Venable, whose family bought it in 1887 to run a quarry. Venable granted the Klan rights to hold meetings there in perpetuity. And for decades it did.

Two events sparked the revival of the Klan, which swept the South during Reconstruction before fizzling in the 1870s.

Fueled by anti-Semitism, the first was the lynching of Leo Frank, a Cornell graduate and Jewish superintendent of an Atlanta factory, who was convicted in a shoddy trial of the murder of a 13-year-old Christian girl. After Frank’s death sentence was commuted to life, an armed mob snatched him from prison while guards did nothing to stop it. The men drove Frank to the girl’s hometown and hung him from an oak tree. (Decades later a witness came forward and, in 1986, the Georgia Board of Parole granted Frank a posthumous pardon.)

The other provocation was the Atlanta debut of D.W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation*, a silent film portraying African Americans as savages and sex fiends who defiled white women, while glorifying the KKK as saviors galloping to the rescue.

On Thanksgiving night, William J. Simmons led a group of 15, including some members of the Frank lynching mob, to the summit of Stone Mountain, where they set up a flag-draped altar, opened a Bible and burned a 16-foot cross in an initiation ceremony described in *Atlanta’s Stone Mountain: A Multicultural History*, by Paul Stephen Hudson and Lora Pond Mirza.

The resurrected KKK targeted primarily blacks, but also Jews, Catholics and foreigners among others.

Although the idea of carving a monument into Stone Mountain had floated about for years, Civil War widow Helen Plane made it her mission. As a charter

member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, champions of the “Lost Cause” version of the Civil War, she had both the passion and the sway. Once Gutzon Borglum was chosen as the sculptor in 1915, she wrote him with a design suggestion.

“I feel it is due to the Klan which saved us from Negro dominations and carpetbag rule, that it be immortalized on Stone Mountain. Why not represent a small group of them in their nightly uniform approaching in the distance?”

Due to funding challenges and World War I, the jackhammers, drills and explosives didn’t descend upon the mountain until 1923. Borglum had grandiose visions of carving an army of Confederates in addition to the three leaders, as many as 1,000 figures sweeping across the mountain. But after a year’s work, all he’d completed was Lee’s head.

Project managers fired him and later pressed charges when he destroyed his models. Borglum fled the state and went on to carve Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills of South Dakota on sacred Lakota land.

Augustus Lukeman took over, but slammed into the deadline before finishing. In 1916, Venable had granted a 12-year lease to complete the carving, and time was up. The project sat moth-balled for the next 36 years.

The Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Board of Education* integration decision and rise of the Civil Rights Movement jump-started interest in completing the carving. In 1958, under Georgia’s segregationist governor, Marvin Griffin, the state created the Stone Mountain Memorial Association and purchased the dome and surrounding land to create a memorial park.

Carving resumed July 1964 with its third head sculptor, Walter Kirtland Hancock. Eight years later it was finished.

The state’s purchase of Stone Mountain voided Venable’s agreement with the Klan, but that hasn’t stopped sympathizers and other white supremacists from making pilgrimages to their sacred ground of hate. And, it’s hard to ignore the timing of the park’s official grand opening on April 14, 1965 — 100 years to the day that President Abraham Lincoln was shot.

Looking the other way

Stone Mountain Park has a lot more going on than its Confederate monument. The 3,200-acre tourist mecca offers an amusement park, hiking, boating, golfing, a laser show, a plantation, slave quarters included, and more. A tram takes visitors to the top, where chain-link fencing keeps them from sliding into oblivion. In addition to views, there’s a 312-foot transmission tower, restrooms and a snack bar smelling of popcorn.

On a recent fall morning, on a scenic drive around the mountain via Robert E. Lee Boulevard and Stonewall Jackson Drive, tangerine and marigold leaves skittered across the pavement on a light breeze as the road traversed bridge after bridge over the meandering, manmade Stone Mountain Lake. People were everywhere, running, strolling, biking, dog walking, the vast majority black, white, and black and white together.

The park draws all races and ethnicities. One moment you see a ball cap with Confederate battle-flag symbols, the next a hijab and veil.

“If you don’t look at the monument, and for me you can’t look at the street names either, but, you know, it’s a state park,” Richard Rose said. “You can go camping, there’s a golf course, you can rent a boat and go on the lake. They have a couple hotels, a campground. But it’s a monument to the Confederate States of America.

“Every monument is a celebration of something, a person’s life or some significant event. This represents a celebration of the attempt to maintain slavery as an institution in America.”

Yet, it’s highly doubtful the carving controversy is at the forefront of most park visitors’ minds. Standing at a viewing area across from the monument, a black couple from the Atlanta area looked puzzled when asked their thoughts on the topic.

“I don’t even know who that is up there,” the woman shrugged.

Another man, white and fully aware of the controversy, took a long, hard look at the monument, but unlike most had no interest in having his picture taken before it. Instead, he said he felt like taking a knee.

More than a stone

George Coletti grew up in Stone Mountain Village just outside the park boundary and is the author of two Civil War-era novels, including *Stone Mountain: The Granite Sentinel*, a story steeped in local history, as is his family, which first settled there as immigrants from the Middle East in the early 1920s.

“My granddaddy’s store was right where Confederate Hall is now,” he said of one of the park’s attractions. “He owned a pre-Civil War hotel where the parking lot is. When they went back to Lebanon to visit family, a telegraph came that said the Klan had burned down his hotel. He wouldn’t put a ‘whites only’ sign up.”

Coletti’s uncle, Elias Nour, became known as the Old Man of the Mountain way before he was old. As told in *Carved in Stone: The History of Stone Mountain* by David B. Freeman, between 1927 and 1963, Nour rescued 36 people, and six dogs, who slipped or wandered too far over the mountaintop’s deceptive, rounded edge, his first at 13. Nour’s eccentric resume included driving a Model T Ford covered in anti-Depression slogans to the top of the mountain, lighting oil-soaked rags on fire and sending the flaming vehicle flying over the edge to crash onto rocks below. Years later he repeated the stunt with a vehicle carrying Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo effigies.

Even if Coletti’s family history weren’t so deeply intertwined with that of Stone Mountain’s, he’d adamantly oppose removing the carving.

“It’s history,” he said emphatically. “You can’t destroy history. It’s more culture than it is racist I think.

“Some people don’t have anything better to do than start controversy. In my opinion, a few people want to stir up trouble and cause friction between the races.”

Rama Roy, daughter of an immigrant father from India and a white mother, has her own deep connection to Stone Mountain. She lives closer to Atlanta now but once lived walking distance to the park entrance and has climbed the mile-long, west-side trail to the top more times than she can count. For sunrises and sunsets. For reflections on her life.

“There’s a lot of Native American energy there,” she said. “Preceding all this recent history, whenever I go there I feel more of the ancient vibe. It’s more than just a rock that you go and exercise on. It can really give back a lot, too.”

But then there’s that carving on the north face. It’s not visible from the hiking trail, but just knowing it’s there and is painful to others makes it not OK with her.

“People from all over the world come

Stone Mountain, “convinced their way of life and legacy were under attack,” as *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* reported.

A proposed bell tower to honor Martin Luther King’s *I Have a Dream* speech — “Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia!” — also drew protestors, some flaunting assault rifles, for a “Defend Stone Mountain” rally in support of “keeping the mountain ‘pure’ to its Confederate roots,” the paper reported.



Stone Mountain played host to a November 2015 confederate rally, just two months after Dylann Roof killed nine African Americans at a church in Charleston.

to Stone Mountain ... and I don’t want them leaving with the perception that we just don’t care or that we are backward or still thinking in those ways. Because most of us aren’t.

“There are people who are still being oppressed by these symbols, and that’s why they need to be gone.”

Semper Idem

Less than two months after the Emanuel Church massacre, as the debate over Confederate flags and monuments was ramping up, roughly 700 people from the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the League of the South and others rallied at

The NAACP, SCLC and others didn’t like the idea, either, of honoring a man like King at a place like that.

In granting rally permits, the Stone Mountain Memorial Association has to decide between honoring “free speech events” and concern for public safety at its family-oriented park. Last spring, it closed attractions after a white power rally coinciding with Confederate Memorial Day and Adolf Hitler’s birthday became turbulent, and nine counter-protesters were arrested. Last summer, the association rejected a Klan request for a cross-burning ceremony to commemorate the 1915 resurrection.

Stone Mountain, despite its attributes, can’t seem to shake the shadows of its past. As it says in Latin on lynching victim Leo Frank’s tombstone: “Semper Idem.”

“Always the same.”

To stay or go

Removing a statue is one thing; removing a gargantuan carving embedded 42 feet into the heart of a mountain is something else entirely. But it’s not unprecedented. In the spring of 1928, after Lukeman took over, Borglum’s sculpture of Robert E. Lee was blasted to bits.

Some have suggested filling it in and putting some other artwork over it. Or, maybe it could be carefully dismantled and relocated somewhere other than state property.

Andrew Young, former Atlanta mayor, Congressman and United Nations ambassador who was with Martin Luther King when he was assassinated, doesn’t want any of that to happen.

“That is a tremendous carving, and I don’t want to see that destroyed,” he told National Public Radio.

He’s worried it would make racial tensions worse. As for the activists who disagree:

“These are kids who grew up free, and they don’t realize what still enslaves them — and it’s not those monuments,” he said.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution guest columnist R.K. Sehgal put it this way:

“I compare erasing the Stone Mountain carving to the way a middle-aged adult might view removing an unfortunate teen-aged arm tattoo. He can cut off his arm, an extreme remedy. He can attempt medical removal, resulting in a disfigured reminder of his bad decision. Or he can leave it as-is, a clear reminder of bad choices on his journey and use it as a lesson about how to create a better future. Art is always instructive if we let it speak to us. Even when it tells a sad story, eventually it coaxes insights and learning of history, liberation, reconciliation, and a positive way forward.”

Richard Rose has received death threats by calling for the carving’s removal.

“I understood what I was going to be facing to start with, but it’s a matter of principle. America cannot find peace until it solves its racial problem institutionally.

“I know it’s a long-term project. But I have granddaughters, and I want my granddaughters and great-grandchildren to grow up in an America that’s free from government-sponsored terrorism.” ▲



STREET FIGHTER

FAR-RIGHT GROUPS FAVOR STREET-LEVEL ACTION,
AS ALT-RIGHT BICKERS OVER TACTICS **BY RACHEL JANIK**

The early months of 2017 saw a major shift in the racist “alt-right” presence, as white nationalists took their ideological battles off the internet and into the streets, protesting on college campuses and around Confederate monuments. The August 12 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, was the culmination of this effort, intended by leaders to supercharge their momentum. Instead, the violent, shocking and lethal display was a stumbling block that complicated their advance.

In the aftermath, there was little the disparate blocs of the alt-right could agree on. Retreating from their disastrous real-world debut to their online comfort zone, faction leaders took to their forums and blogs to pass blame and quarrel over how to move forward.

These ongoing debates are not about taking responsibility for violence in the movement or appealing for a kinder, gentler alt-right. No one is proposing an existential reckoning. Instead, the infighting surrounds disagreements over public perception and recruitment strategies. Most alt-right leaders just call it “optics.”

Should groups be planning major rallies or just focus on small, surprise “flash mobs?” Should white supremacists dress like frat boys or street fighters? Should offensive symbols be allowed on signs, clothing or flags? And how much energy, if any, should be expended duping the “normies” into believing the alt-right is founded on more than just white bigotry?

In a widely discussed post a few weeks after Unite the Right, Andrew Anglin of the Daily

Brien James (bottom) takes a selfie with fellow Vinlanders Social Club members at a reunion in October 2017.



Stormer argued that the alt-right should start using the American flag exclusively at events. This serves the dual purpose of using an innocuous symbol while simultaneously reinforcing their racist message that America is by and for white people. His suggestion drew the ire of Brad Griffin, “PR chief” for the League of the South (LOS), neo-Confederates who in many cases are openly secessionist, so by definition object to marching under Old Glory. In December, Vincent Law of AltRight.com argued that white supremacists can infiltrate the mainstream if they act as normal and approachable as possible.

“Would a regular American want to get a beer with an average Alt-Righter or not? That is what is going to make our opinions ‘normal’ or not,” he wrote.

Griffin, again, takes the opposite view, arguing that appealing to “normies” is useless when you should be targeting the “disaffected.” In fact, he wrote that he would like LOS members to look as intimidating as possible. Matt Heimbach, leader of the Traditionalist Worker Party, also rejected any strategy that resembled watering down a more explicitly National Socialist message to appeal to American nationalist sensibilities.

“If you want bulls to charge toward you, wave a red cape,” he quipped. “If you want cucks to charge toward you, wave an American flag.”

But superficial tactics aside, the overall strategy remains what it was before Charlottesville. In 2017, the alt-right became visible. They were active and present on American streets. Despite (and for some, perhaps because of) the growing violence, that trend has continued.

Taking to the streets

Groups primarily focused on street-level activism have been emerging on the alt-right since 2016. Richard Spencer, for example, announced in early December a new group called “Operation Homeland,” an umbrella for “Identitarians” that Spencer promised would “take activism to the next level.” Allies Cameron Padgett, Evan McLaren and Elliott Kline (alias “Eli Mosley,” formerly of Identity Evropa), are joining Spencer in this new endeavor, which he said would, “plan and carry out bold demonstrations,” among other things.

While Operation Homeland is just kicking off, there are a few prominent groups currently in existence. Like the greater alt-right, these organizations diverge in their preferred optics. But there’s one thing they share: Whether they spend most of their time talking about it or actually doing it, these groups love beating up “leftists.”

Rise Above Movement

A Southern California group that claims to have 50 members, Rise Above Movement (RAM) is an explicitly violent, racist, right-wing fight club that attends rallies around the country to openly brawl with counter-protesters. In October, ProPublica released an in-depth investigation that supplied most of the details now known about RAM’s activities. The report identified RAM leadership and catalogued violence perpetrated by the group at four different rallies in 2017. ProPublica’s investigation revealed that many of the group’s leaders have felonies on their records, and that RAM has recruited members from Hammerskin Nation, the largest skinhead gang in the U.S.

In an interview with ProPublica’s reporter, an anonymous RAM leader said the group was not racist. It’s not uncommon for a group like this to make that claim, but in RAM’s case it rings particularly hollow. Members are on video referencing David Lane’s neo-Nazi catchphrase the “14 Words,” and just a sample of leaders’ social media accounts reveals ugly, racist memes and posts riddled with bigoted sentiments and racial slurs.

Their recruitment strategy, including promotional videos featuring their workout and training routines, is targeted toward men who find the idea of a real world fight club appealing. White supremacy supplies the justification for violence, but ultimately this group has been about street fighting. They’ve won praise from far-right media outlets that applaud the zeal with which they assault political opponents.

Their intentions for 2018 are unclear, as the anonymous RAM member told ProPublica the group is taking a break from rallies, and declined to discuss their future plans.

American Guard

From a branding standpoint, the American Guard is one of the tamer options on the scene. That may seem like somewhat of a contradiction for an organization founded by Brien James, a veteran skinhead who back in 2003 started the Vinlanders Social Club, one of America's most violent skinhead gangs. And it's not just James — many active members in the group were once members of racist skinhead gangs, including his co-founders Joshua Long and Ryan Ramsey, both formerly in the gang The Hated. In some cases, members are still involved with their old crowd.

The group doesn't emphasize its skinhead ties. James has said that he left the openly white nationalist scene because his beliefs had evolved into what he described in 2013 as "Constitutional Libertarianism," and he no longer believed racism was compatible with that worldview. In his estimation, the American Guard is race neutral. Membership is open to everyone, including both minorities and racists.

The group is governed by a philosophy they call "Constitutional nationalism." Their online platform promotes a libertarian worldview with an isolationist, anti-immigrant bent. In essence, they are precisely the kind of "civic nationalists" that so irritated Matt Heimbach in the weeks following Charlottesville. They idealize "Western culture," they indulge nativist animosity toward immigrants, Muslims, liberals and any other person or group deemed sufficiently un-American, but they appear to draw the line at suggestions of biologically rooted racial superiority.

Even so, their imagery, two crossed cleavers, is unabashedly nativist. The cleavers are a reference to Daniel Day-Lewis' character Bill the Butcher in the film *Gangs of New York*, a crime boss who runs a gang, the "Natives," which attacks Irish immigrants.

The American Guard has been present at rallies and demonstrations of the alt-right and so-called alt-lite alike. Brien James and some of his American Guard comrades were pictured attending Unite the Right in Charlottesville. Outside of rallies, the group has chapters in 13 states, and focuses on local organizing in a manner akin to an anti-communist neighborhood watch. In most cases, their street level presence is more muted than an explicit fight club like RAM.

James has not cut ties entirely with his skinhead past, appearing at the Vinlanders Social Club annual meeting this year wearing his Vinlanders jacket. On December 8, 2017 he honored neo-Nazi terrorist Robert Jay Mathews in a post to Facebook. Mathews

was the leader of the murderous white supremacist group The Order, who died in a shootout with federal law enforcement in 1984.

Of Mathews, James wrote, "So I would have to disagree with him on some things now ideologically, only because I have the benefit of seeing how things have played out ... If actions speak louder than words, he wasn't a white supremacist at all. He fought tyranny. He was [a] fucking alpha warrior against the tyranny and decline he saw coming."

Anti-Communist Action

The most nebulous of all the groups on this list, Anti-Communist Action (Anticom) is very tight-lipped about its internal organization and its true values. The website, which was recently taken down, consisted only of a merchandise shop peddling patches and stickers with violent memes, an out-of-date blog, a screed on Cultural Marxism and an online application form.

Based on the number of active social media accounts, the group has chapters in 15 U.S. and Canadian cities, and purports to be open to all members, regardless of race or ideology, as long as they hate communism and antifascists, or "antifa." The group's website homepage boasts, "Not affiliated with any organization." Despite this, they marched alongside avowed white supremacists and neo-Nazis at Charlottesville, and some members reportedly provided security for Richard Spencer when he spoke at the University of Florida in Gainesville in October.

Apparently undeterred by the deadly violence that unfolded at Unite the Right, Anticom attempted to organize a "March Against Communism" protest

Southern California-based Rise Above Movement trains members in mixed martial arts, skills they put to use assaulting people at rallies.



“IF YOU WANT BULLS TO CHARGE TOWARD YOU, WAVE A RED CAPE. IF YOU WANT CUCKS TO CHARGE TOWARD YOU, WAVE AN AMERICAN FLAG.”

— MATTHEW HEIMBACH

in Charlotte for December 28, featuring Richard Spencer as a speaker. They promoted the event on social media in September, telling members to “bring your torches, guns, armor, gear and flags,” adding, “stay nonviolent, and we’ll have a great time.” They cancelled the rally a week later, after Spencer pulled out of the event amid controversy.

In November, the left-wing media group Unicorn Riot released online chat records from Anticom, shared from an encrypted Discord server. The logs suggested that Anticom’s public position about accepting all ideologies was just a front, as many members posted bigoted, racist and hateful statements or openly espoused fascist views. But far more troubling was the revelation that Anticom chat group members were exchanging documents about how to make and use bombs, grenades and other explosives. After the logs were released, ProPublica reporters reached out to Anticom representatives, who confirmed the conversations were authentic.

Anticom’s recruitment pitch is simple. It’s not about what they believe in, it’s about what they don’t. They share memes focusing on the horrors perpetrated by communist dictators like Josef Stalin, and suggest that groups like antifa and Black Lives Matter are somehow attempting to commit similar atrocities. So, when they use a meme praising Chilean right wing death squads, it’s about self-defense. Keeping the focus squarely on a boogeyman of their own invention means they never even need to open a discussion about what they stand for.

Patriot Front

Patriot Front was born from a schism in the leadership of Vanguard America. As an offshoot of Vanguard America, Patriot Front has its roots in the neo-Nazi organizing message board IronMarch.org, a website that also bred AtomWaffen Division, a small neo-Nazi group that gained notoriety last summer when one member murdered two of his

roommates. A fourth roommate, Brandon Russell (also of AtomWaffen Division), escaped the rampage and was later arrested when police discovered two rifles, rounds of ammunition and a pair of binoculars in his truck. Law enforcement believed he might have been planning a sniper-style terrorist attack.

The man who led the Vanguard America split and now heads up the new group, Thomas Rousseau, is only 18 years old. In his August 30, 2017 announcement, he was clear about his intentions for Patriot Front to engage heavily in street-level activity.

“You will be expected to work, and work hard to meet the bar rising,” he wrote. “Inactivity will get you expelled, unwillingness to work and contribute in any capacity will as well.”

For the time being, most of that activity has been flouting and displaying banners bearing the group’s favorite slogans, like, “Will Your Speech Be Hate Speech?” and “Fascism: The Next Step for America.” They’ve also participated in rallies and held a couple of protests of their own, the first outside a Houston bookstore in September where they demanded a fight with antifascists they said were inside the shop.

Patriot Front is openly, unapologetically fascist. The group’s website domain is bloodandsoil.com, and they even put the word “fascism” in the title of their manifesto. Promotional materials take a serious tone, without the winking, “for the lulz” irony that some other organizations employ to “red pill” the uninitiated. But they’re still hoping to draw new recruits who haven’t yet been radicalized.

“The new name was carefully chosen, as it serves several purposes,” Rousseau said in the post introducing Patriot Front. “It can help inspire sympathy among those more inclined to fence-sitting, and can easily be used to justify our worldview.”

He and his followers also advocate something they call “American Fascism,” promoting figures like George Washington, General George Patton and Andrew Jackson as heroic ideals, largely passing over fascist mainstays like Benito Mussolini or Adolf Hitler.

In the white supremacist movement, splinter groups spawn as often as they fizzle out, so there’s no telling which of these will thrive or perish in 2018. But one thing is clear: The need for visibility isn’t going anywhere. Pandora’s box has opened on the internet’s racist, fascist fringe, and the demons are none too eager to be shoved back inside. America can expect direct, physical action to grow in popularity and frequency in the coming year. ▲

SILICON VALLEY'S YEAR IN HATE

**It took blood in the streets
for the tech industry to finally face
its domestic extremism problem.
Will this newfound commitment last?**

BY ALEX AMEND

One way to assess the tech industry's evolution in its approach to hate and extremism is to examine the Twitter account of Richard Spencer, the white nationalist leader of the racist "alt-right" movement who advocates for "peaceful ethnic cleansing."

In the beginning of 2016, Spencer had a mere 6,000 followers on the social media platform. Right before the presidential election, Spencer's Twitter followers had grown to 19,000. After his infamous "Hail Trump" speech celebrating the president-elect — where audience members were captured on video giving Nazi salutes — his follower count burgeoned to nearly 30,000. Today, that number has more than doubled. Spencer now reaches an audience of 80,000 followers.

This past November, however, Spencer's account lost the coveted blue check mark, which according to Twitter is a way to verify the accounts of public figures like celebrities, politicians and members of the media. But the blue check marks also convey (and help build) authority and influence — something Spencer clearly craves.

Spencer lost his status at the same time Twitter announced major new rules that, among other details, prohibit behavior that "incites fear about a protected group" and bans "hate symbols." Accounts that violate these new rules would be suspended, the company announced, and on December 18 the #TwitterPurge arrived. The network of alt-right accounts that proliferated in step with Spencer watched as Jared Taylor, The Traditionalist Worker Party, Bradley "Hunter Wallace" Griffin and a handful of other accounts were booted from the platform.

As this issue went to print, however, Spencer and a large number of other prominent white nationalists survived the ban's first wave. What Twitter is trying to accomplish is not quite clear.

Civil rights organizations and members of communities who have borne the brunt of organized harassment campaigns and a steady river of online abuse have long been sounding the alarm, lobbying Silicon Valley to rein in hate groups exploiting the openness of their platforms. Some companies, like Apple

and Amazon, were quick to embrace and enforce community guidelines that dealt with extremists.

But for the majority of companies, including the "Big Three" — which comprises Facebook, Google and particularly Twitter — Silicon Valley clung to its foundational libertarian ethos that placed the full burden of policing their communities on users. For some companies, this approach neatly dovetailed with Wall Street valuations that hinged on the growth of their user base — a force that also encouraged companies to lower wages and rely on contractors for important work like content moderation.

Despite all this, 2017 brought the beginning of important changes in policy. What happened?

Unite the Right

Charlottesville broke the dam.

In the days following the violence of August 12 the entire tech industry — from social media companies to domain registrars to payment platforms — moved to ban the accounts of prominent participants and organizers of the "Unite the Right" rally.

In a post at his website Counter-Currents, white nationalist Greg Johnson called the moment a "catastrophe." His operation, along with many other critical institutions within the white nationalist movement, felt the crackdown immediately, especially when it came to payment platforms like PayPal.

"These moves by PayPal and Facebook are obviously part of a coordinated Leftist purge of white advocacy groups in the aftermath of Unite the Right," Johnson wrote.

"The state and the rabble are conspiring to physically assault us in the streets, while corporations are conspiring to censor and deplatform us. We have to keep fighting. They can whack us down in one place, but we'll pop up in five others. It is discouraging and exhausting, but it is worth it, since we are doing nothing less than saving the world."

In reality, the platforms were finally acting on longstanding terms of service and acceptable use policies they had previously rarely enforced. It took blood in the streets for companies to act.

In a stunning sequence of events, The Daily Stormer, the most influential hate site on the web,

was also driven off the internet for its support of the rally. First GoDaddy dropped its domain and then Google seized it. Matthew Prince, the CEO of CloudFlare, canceled their services that replicated the neo-Nazi site in data centers around the world. “I woke up this morning in a bad mood and decided to kick them off the Internet,” Prince wrote. (CloudFlare still protects numerous white supremacist websites.)

Stormfront, whose users have included a number of violent white supremacists, also had its domain seized and went dark for the longest period of time since it first came online in 1996. In late September, Stormfront returned to the web.

For a lot of hate groups, the writing has been on the wall. One of the scheduled headliners of the Charlottesville rally was Pax Dickinson, a technologist, and leader of what’s been called “alt-tech”—a movement to develop alternative services tailor-made to support extremists, especially those kicked off mainstream platforms.

This alt-tech consists of alternatives to Twitter (Gab.ai, where Daily Stormer’s Andrew Anglin is active), Patreon (Hatreon, developed by Cody Wilson), and Kickstarter (GoyFundMe) among others. Both Hatreon and GoyFundMe, the latter founded by Matt Parrott of the Traditionalist Worker Party, have been designated as hate groups by the SPLC for their role in financing the hate movement.

The alt-right movement also adopted the cryptocurrency Bitcoin, which Spencer has called the “currency of the alt right.” The Bitcoin account for neo-Nazi hacker Andrew “Weev” Auernheimer, the man responsible for keeping The Daily Stormer on the internet, has received over \$2 million worth of the cryptocurrency.

The movement has created these platforms out of necessity and it’s clearly a loss for them. The inability to access large audiences on mainstream platforms diminishes their ability to fundraise and recruit. This quarantine effect is a step forward.

There were two other developments in 2017 that might point to a way forward in effectively dealing with extremism online.

In Germany, a new law requiring social media companies to remove hateful and extremist content was passed in the summer. Companies will face fines up to 50 million euros for failing to remove content within 24 hours to seven days. Facebook hired 500 new employees in an effort to comply.

Beginning January 1, 2018, when a transition period ended, Germany became a natural experiment in the efficacy of a government-enforced



Hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of the cryptocurrency Bitcoin have passed through the hands of neo-Nazis Andrew Anglin and Andrew “Weev” Auernheimer.

approach to curtailing online hate in a country where Holocaust denial, racist and antisemitic speech and incitement to hatred are all outlawed.

As Germany began to implement its law, international Twitter users discovered that changing their location settings to Germany dramatically decreased the amount of hateful content a user interacted with on the platform. If the German experiment succeeds — with a minimal impact on otherwise legal freedom of expression — it might pave the way for more European countries with hate speech laws to enact similar regulations. A new European framework along these lines might then force the biggest tech companies to apply similar approaches globally — including in the United States.

In October, researchers at Emory University, Georgia Institute of Technology and the University of Michigan published a study on Reddit, the eighth biggest website in the world. In 2015, Reddit banned a number of toxic “subreddits,” or forums, including the virulently racist /r/CoonTown.

After examining more than 100 million posts, the researchers concluded that the bans of two subreddits largely worked. When the forums were banned, the researchers found that the poisonous discussions didn’t migrate to other forums on the site, and that many users left Reddit altogether. For users that stayed on the site, researchers found that their use of hate speech decreased by 80 percent.

“One possible interpretation, given the evidence at hand, is that the ban drove the users from these banned subreddits to darker corners of the internet,” the authors wrote. “The empirical work in this paper suggests that when narrowly applied to small, specific groups, banning deviant hate groups can work to reduce and contain the behavior.”

A few weeks after the encouraging findings were published, Reddit banned /r/incel, another infamous forum known for its prolific misogyny — a critical ingredient behind the resurgent white nationalist movement.

While there’s no doubt that the challenge facing tech companies is vast and complicated, clearly more needs to be done. The post-Charlottesville moment has provided good examples of companies taking action where they’ve formerly been reluctant to do so, and they have been largely rewarded for it. They should go further. And unless they do, people like Richard Spencer will continue to see their influence grow despite advocating for ideas that so clearly conflict with the stated values of the platforms they exploit. ▲

FROM MEMES TO MARCHES **WHY THE FAR RIGHT MIGHT NEVER BE 'UNITED'**

A fractured but energized movement tried to pull itself together — but ended up exposing even deeper rifts **BY SUSY BUCHANAN**

On Friday, August 11, Charlottesville, Virginia, seemed like an ordinary college town except for a couple of obvious signs of trouble; someone had scrawled “WE ARE NOT AFRAID” in rainbow chalk in front of the statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee in the recently renamed Emancipation Park, formerly Lee Park. And law enforcement officers were combing the bushes and shrubs looking for cached weapons.

Otherwise it could have been any other balmy August evening in this college town of 50,000. Neatly coiffed young women in party dresses strolled the downtown mall area, laughing and texting. Families with children in strollers, pets in tow, meandered along the quiet streets. Men and women in blindfolds offered free hugs to passersby, and musicians busked outside of sidewalk cafes.

Less than 24 hours later, violence in the same streets was leading newscasts around the world. Emboldened by the Trump presidency and a climate increasingly tolerant of racist beliefs, an estimated 500 white supremacists from around the country had descended on Charlottesville for “Unite the Right,” (UTR) a major show of force by American



neo-Nazis and members of the racist “alt-right,” unprecedented in recent history, that resulted in bloody street clashes. By the end of the day one anti-racist protester and two police officers were dead, and at least 30 people injured.

For days and weeks following Unite the Right, media outlets depicted the tragic events as a signal of a dangerous new era for white nationalists intent on showing a reinvigorated movement ready for real world action.

Behind the scenes, however, UTR was hardly the unified front organizers had hoped for. Bickering and posturing plagued organizers during the weeks and months leading up to the August 12 event, which ultimately degenerated into mayhem.

The best laid plans

Attempting to unite previously sparring factions of the radical right is no easy task; neither is leading young internet Nazis from memes to marches.

A document created by organizers and circulated exclusively to group leaders two days before the march (obtained by the online news organization Unicorn Riot) entitled “Operation Unite the

**Violent clashes
rocked the streets
of Charlottesville,
Virginia, on
August 12, 2017.**

**Racist celebrities
Richard Spencer and
Matthew Heimbach
were slated to speak
at Unite the Right.**



Right Charlottesville 2.0,” optimistically read “it is important that every group regardless of ideological differences work together at this event.” There were conference calls and scores of discussions on the gaming platform Discord with detailed plans regarding everything from where to park, what to wear and where to use the bathroom.

There was also online discussion of the legality of driving a vehicle into a crowd of counter-protesters.

Organizers promised that a legal team and money would be at the ready for those arrested at the rally. “As long as you are within the rules set by the event we will get our team to help you,” the document stated. “We will only be able to help people who stick to the plan.”

They also proclaimed that guns were permitted for those who understood the risks. Knives and Tasers were prohibited, as were masks. Flagpoles and shields were in a grayer area: “the key to keeping out of trouble is to use them as defensive tools only.”

Helmets were recommended, the document advised. Swastikas were verboten.

Further instruction from the organizing committee emphasized that appearance was of paramount importance. “We are trying to gain sympathy from

whites and the general right wing. Please refrain from any Roman salutes during the rally.”

Keyboard warrior Andrew Anglin, who did not attend the rally, urged his Daily Stormer (DS) followers to keep it sexy, writing “Look good. It is very important to look good. We must have Chad Nationalism. That is what will make guys want to join us, that is what will make girls want to be our groupies. That will make us look like bad boys and heroes. That is what we are going for here.”

The UTR plan was ambitious, and called for the neo-Confederate League of the South to march alongside National Socialists; Matthew Heimbach’s Traditionalist Worker Party and the National Front would stand beside Klan members. Old school racists would mingle with young haters barely out of their teens.

The racist celebrities advertised as headlining the event included Richard Spencer, Baked Alaska, Matt Heimbach, Jason Kessler, Augustus Invictus and others. Yet no one from the powerful website the Daily Stormer had been asked to speak. This did not sit well with site contributor and neo-Nazi Robert “Azzmador” Ray, who got into a heated shouting match on a conference call with lead UTR organizer Jason Kessler prior to the event, prompting Kessler to threaten to cancel UTR all together. Jeff Schoep, head of the National Socialist Movement was also not on the roster and neither was former Klan leader and elder statesman of white nationalism, David Duke.

They showed up anyway, and had the event proceeded as planned it’s likely they would have attempted to grab a bit of the spotlight for themselves and address the crowd, jockeying for favor with the unaffiliated white nationalists in attendance.

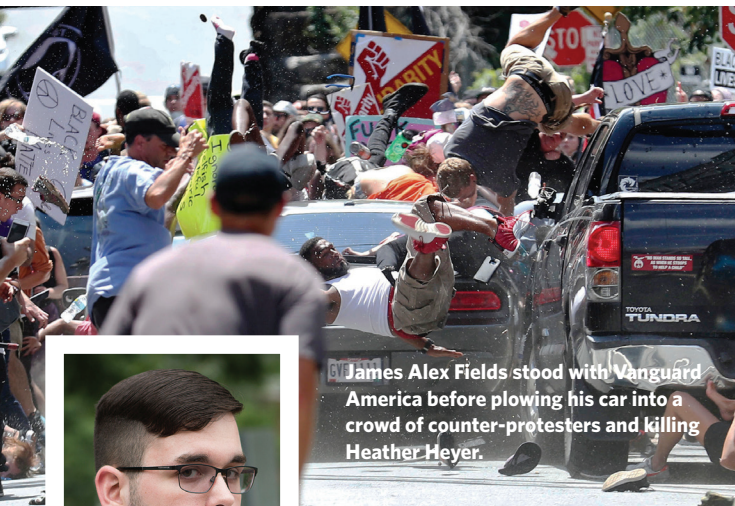
The clash

Budding young Nazi James Alex Fields arrived at Emancipation Park at 10 a.m., the appointed time. Clad in a white polo and clutching a round, black shield bearing the logo of the white nationalist Vanguard America (VA), he and other VA members stood stoically near the entrance to the park, forming a “shieldwall” on the frontlines, just inside the metal barriers delineating the protest area. The 20-year-old drove from his home in Monmouth, Ohio, to see his racist heroes in the flesh.

At one end of the barricade a religious group accompanied by a guitar sang hymns. In front of the park area, interdenominational clergy from around the country lined Market Street, locked elbows and sang “This Little Light of Mine.”

Militia members dressed in fatigues and carrying semi-automatic rifles spread out in front of them. Helicopters hovered overhead.

AP IMAGES/DAVID J. PHILIP (SPENCER); AP IMAGES/STEVE HEBER (HEIMBACH)



James Alex Fields stood with Vanguard America before plowing his car into a crowd of counter-protesters and killing Heather Heyer.

At one point, a residence or business across the street with some serious speakers began broadcasting an interview with

James Baldwin from *I am Not Your Negro* at levels that would have most likely drowned out the roster of speakers set to address the crowd.

Shortly thereafter, cadres of white nationalists began marching up Market Street, many clutching shields and wearing helmets.

In a decision that would later be criticized, Charlottesville officials decided to corral the racists in a pen surrounded by metal barriers, with just one entrance and exit. Co-organizer Elliot “Eli Mosley” Kline of the white nationalist group Identity Evropa helped control who was allowed inside.

Those who tried to gain entrance to the park were denied unless they were visibly part of a group. Others were vetted and asked to recite the “14 words,” a racist mantra which stands for “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”

As the park filled, the streets began to overflow with those opposed to racist ideals.

“We’re here, we’re gay, we fight the KKK,” the counter-protesters chanted as the racists filed past them.

“Fuck you faggots! You fags, go home, you have no testosterone,” came the white nationalists’ retort.

Kline urged UTR attendees to enter the park without engaging, guiding them inside the enclave. “You’ll have plenty of time to fuck with these people,” he advised.

Unlawful assembly

Before the event was even set to begin, the scene at Emancipation was a battle zone. Neo-Nazis and counter-protesters clashed openly in the streets. Flag poles turned into makeshift lances as racists

toppled metal barriers and jostled with those who dared challenge them. Clouds of orange and purple tear gas hung in the air like a dense fog.

Law enforcement declared Unite the Right an unlawful assembly just before noon, the first time they intervened in any way, and ordered everyone to disperse, meaning that the racists had to pass through the gauntlet of counter-protesters in order to leave.

This did not go well.

Female counter-protesters were dragged to the ground, sucker punched. Charlottesville resident DeAndre Harris was beaten by six men in a parking garage after a confrontation with neo-Nazis. Harris suffered extensive injuries, including a concussion and cut on his head which required eight staples to close, a broken arm, and injuries to his internal organs and back.

Ku Klux Klan leader Richard Preston allegedly fired a gun at a counter-protester who was assaulting his comrade with a makeshift flamethrower. Racists such as Elliot Kline, Tim “Baked Alaska” Gionet and Richard Spencer took healthy doses of tear gas to the face.

Almost two hours later, counter-protesters celebrated, marching through the streets exultant. “Charlottesville we’ve got your back, we’ve got your back, we’ve got your back!” They shouted jubilantly, waving homemade signs. Onlookers and local business owners cheered. It felt like the town had been taken back.

Around the same time, four blocks away, James Fields drove his Dodge Challenger into a crowd. News media captured horrific photos of bodies hurled into the air by the speeding 4,000-pound sports car.

Heather Heyer, a 32-year-old paralegal, was killed and at least 19 others injured, some with life-altering injuries, from the attack.

Fine people on both sides

Reactions from racists to her death were as callous and inhuman as they come.

While Congress condemned the August 12 violence by declaring “White nationalism, White Supremacy, and neo-Nazism as hateful expressions of intolerance that are contradictory to the values that define the people of the United States,” UTR organizer Jason Kessler saw it differently. “Heather Heyer was a fat, disgusting Communist,” he tweeted, “Communists have killed 94 million. Looks like it was payback time.” Kessler later recanted, claiming he was drinking and taking pills at the time of the tweet.

Andrew Anglin called Heyer “fat and a drain on society.”

And astonishingly, it took President Donald



Donald Trump claimed there were "very fine people on both sides" of the events in Charlottesville.

Trump two days to even address the fact that hundreds of neo-Nazis had taken to the streets of small town America. He denounced the violence on August 14, then backtracked on August 15 with a wink and a nod to the radical right whom he posited had been treated "very unfairly" by the media.

When asked to comment on the event by a reporter, Trump responded "Okay, what about the alt-left that came charging at [indiscernible] — excuse me — what about the alt-left that came charging at the, as you say, the alt-right? Do they have any semblance of guilt?" When a reporter pointed out that the neo-Nazis were the ones who "started this thing. They showed up in Charlottesville," Trump's answer was baffling. "Excuse me, they didn't put themselves down as neo-Nazis, and you had some very bad people in that group. But you also had people that were very fine people on both sides." Trump then proceeded to plug the nearby Trump Winery.

The aftermath

What brought all this on a quiet, liberal college town? First, organizer Jason Kessler lives in Charlottesville, and alt-right flimflam frontman Richard Spencer went to college there. The town has Confederate monuments, symbols of white supremacy, to be protected, which was the pretext for taking to the streets that day.

But it was also the scene of a torchlight demonstration led by Spencer, on May 14, 2017, at what was then called Lee Park. The spectacle drew international news coverage and that ever-important classification of "great optics," a fiery scene harkening back to Klan cross lightings. Police broke up the demonstration after about 10 minutes due to an altercation between Spencer's group and counter-protesters.

Later, on July 8, about 50 robed Klan members, and estimates as high as 1,000 protesters, rallied around a statue of Stonewall Jackson. The Klansmen's "White power!" chants were drowned out by "Racists go home!"

White nationalists were striking a nerve in Charlottesville, where 80 percent of the vote went for Hillary Clinton in 2016, and, most importantly, the media was paying attention.

It was a moment in time the movement had been building toward all year, beginning with rumbles in cities around the country that quickened the drum-beat of violent confrontations.

Nathan Damigo, an ex-felon and the former leader of the National Youth Front was photographed punching a woman in the face at an April 15 rally in Berkeley, California. LOS member Ryan King got into a fistfight at Richard Spencer's Auburn University speech in Alabama on April 18. Alt-right "fight clubs" such as the Proud Boys and the Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights — founded by Kyle "Based Stickman" Chapman — began popping up at an alarming rate.

Yet Charlottesville would also prove to be a breaking point, as the momentum the movement had been building all year was shattered.

Post-Charlottesville the climate changed. Racism forums were deplatformed, white nationalists were kicked off PayPal and Facebook, and rallies in places like Boston and Shelbyville, Tennessee, were under tight police control. Other rallies were canceled all together.

Yet for some, Charlottesville brought racism into the national conversation in a way it hadn't in decades. Many white nationalists declared victory.

"Charlottesville, in spite of all setbacks, was a total and spectacular success. We accomplished the most important goal of a rising movement or idea: we captured the attention of the world," wrote "AHAB" on alt-right.com. "We forced the president of the United States to weigh in on our side, we literally altered the course of history. And we rapidly accelerated the culture wars which must be brought to a head for our movement to win."

David Duke also weighed in, declaring the event a victory on CNN: "This represents a turning point for the people of this country. We are determined to take our country back, we're going to fulfill the promises of Donald Trump, and that's what we believed in, that's why we voted for Donald Trump, because he said he's going to take our country back and that's what we gotta do."

Duke and others need to portray UTR as a success, because accepting it as a dismal failure would be admitting that — apart from momentary truces — the movement still can't get past the egos of its leaders, let alone its penchant for violence. ▲



The radical right started the year on a roll, with allies in the White House. But then came Charlottesville, and the movement was knocked back on its heels. Still, Trump's rhetoric and the country's changing demographics continue to buoy the movement.

BY HEIDI BEIRICH AND SUSY BUCHANAN // ILLUSTRATION BY MAX-O-MATIC

If 2016 was the year of white supremacists being electrified by the rise of Donald Trump, his inauguration in January sent them into a frenzy. They believed they finally had a sympathizer in the White House and an administration that would enact policies to match their anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim and racist ideas.

Throughout the year, Trump thrilled and comforted them with his apparent kinship and pugilistic style, his refusal to condemn hate crimes committed in his name and his outrageous statements equating neo-Nazis and anti-racist activists after the deadly violence in Charlottesville.



President Trump shows his signature on the controversial travel ban in January 2017. The ban initially sought to block visitors to the United States from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, for 90 days. Backers included Steve Bannon (top right) and Sebastian Gorka (bottom right).

Trump's brand of nationalism wasn't just a U.S. phenomenon. Far-right populist movements were on a global tear, first with Brexit in 2016 and then with nationalist parties seeing hefty gains in political power across Europe.

Polls made it clear that certain voters, particularly those uncomfortable with immigration and the demographic change that comes with it, supported Trump because of his racist views, even when they were not suffering from economic anxiety. This core of hard-right voters threw its support behind political candidates like the overtly pro-Confederate Corey Stewart, who nearly won Virginia's GOP gubernatorial primary. In Alabama, Roy Moore, a rabidly anti-LGBT former state chief justice who has suggested that slavery was good for families, won the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate before losing a squeaker in the general election.

Trump may have faced dreadful approval ratings among all Americans, but he did not disappoint his adoring fans within the radical right.

In fact, he invited their white nationalism and bigotry into the White House. As key advisers, he hired extremists such as Steve Bannon — who boasted of transforming his website Breitbart News into “the platform for the alt-right” — and Sebastian Gorka, an infamous Muslim basher who, on the eve of



Charlottesville, claimed that white supremacists are not “the problem” when it comes to terrorism. Hate group leaders like Tony Perkins of the anti-LGBT Family Research Council and Brigitte Gabriel of the anti-Muslim ACT for America were given the president's ear. Trump moved quickly to enact policies sought by these groups and their allies. He ordered a ban on Muslims from overseas, for example, and barred transgender people from serving in our military. He instituted numer-

ous anti-immigrant policies, such as allowing the Obama-era Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program to expire, an act that threw the future of nearly 700,000 immigrants in limbo.

But the year did not continue on a high note for the white nationalist movement.

The multiday Charlottesville rally in mid-August, the largest by the radical right in a decade, ended in violence and disaster. Not only was an anti-racist protester killed by a white supremacist who rammed his car into a crowd, the movement as a whole was rebuked by public figures across the political spectrum and denounced in a unanimous, joint resolution by Congress. Perhaps worse for hate groups, their all-important online presence came under attack. Tech companies pulled PayPal accounts, took down websites and banned Twitter and Facebook accounts. Together, these moves greatly reduced the ability of extremists to spread demonizing propaganda to mainstream audiences and raise operating funds — at least for the time being.

The blowback from Charlottesville may have hit the white nationalist movement hard, but though they may be losing battles, they are having much more success in the war of ideas. A post-Charlottesville *Washington Post*/ABC News survey found that nine percent of Americans — about 22 million people — thought it was fine to hold neo-Nazi or white supremacist views. And racists were reminded in January that they still have a sympathetic ear in the White House when Trump referred to Haiti and

African countries as shitholes. Whatever the tactical losses the hate movement is suffering because of Charlottesville, the longer-term trend — in particular due to America's changing demographics and Trump fanning xenophobic flames — will continue to fuel a white nationalist backlash in the coming years.

The Young and the Restless

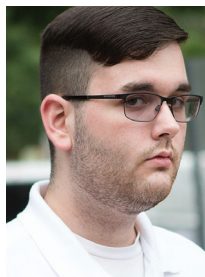
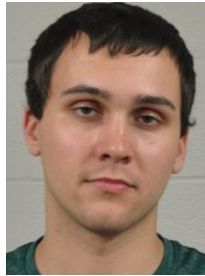
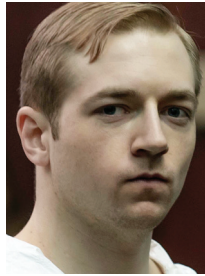
As white nationalism mushroomed in Europe, the excitement resulted in the recruitment of more and more young people — not just millennials but also the even-younger Generation Z. They injected new life into an international movement that previously seemed stagnant and unappealing to angry internet warriors. In the United States, Trump's win catapulted these young men from their keyboards into the streets, where they marched and rallied from coast to coast. Most notable was the deadly "Unite the Right" event in Charlottesville on August 12. It was so popular that even antigovernment militias, which usually shun hate group events, got into the act.

In 2017, being a white nationalist suddenly seemed hip. No longer was it just a movement made up of old men wearing Klan robes or swastika armbands. Now it was young men wearing "fashy" haircuts, khakis and polo shirts. Image and style became nearly as important as the message. And white nationalism — now rebranded as the "alt-right" — crept further into the mainstream than it had in decades.

Rabidly racist and antisemitic web forums like Andrew Anglin's Daily Stormer drew huge numbers up until the Charlottesville rally, when the finally outraged tech world began to take down their platforms. In the summer of 2016, Daily Stormer averaged about 140,000 unique page views a month. By the eve of the Charlottesville rally in August 2017, that number had reached nearly 750,000. Similarly, the oldest hate site, Stormfront, gained nearly 30,000 new registered users in the first eight months of 2017, bringing its total to over 326,000.

This excitement translated into growth among the white supremacist groups most closely aligned with the new president. In 2017, completely new groups sprouted up: Patriot Front, the Fraternal Order of Alt Knights, Identity Dixie and others. Groups that latched onto Trump flourished. Identity Evropa went from one chapter in 2016 to 15 in 2017; The Right Stuff expanded from four chapters to 21 and spawned Identity Dixie; and Vanguard America grew from 12 to 25. New voices, like Mike Enoch, became players in the movement.

These groups brought their messages onto college campuses, with aggressive recruitment efforts, most



Alleged alt-right killers: (from top) James Harris Jackson, Sean Christopher Urbanski, Jeremy Joseph Christian, and James Alex Fields.

notably by the white nationalist Identity Evropa. Richard Spencer, who gained notoriety for addressing a crowd of racists after Trump's win shouting "Hail Victory! Hail Trump!" prompting a mass "seig heil," launched a tumultuous, though limited, college tour that pushed white nationalism onto campuses and raised his status even further as a figurehead for young, white men looking for a face that mirrored their own dissatisfactions.

Like the year before, the hate movement was marked by considerable violence. According to the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University at San Bernardino, hate crimes in the six largest U.S. cities were up 20 percent from 2016.

Most prominent was the car attack on Heather Heyer, the woman killed in Charlottesville. But there were many other victims of this emboldened movement. In February, police say a white man in Kansas went to a bar and shot two men from India, one fatally, after reportedly telling them to "get out of my country." In March, James H. Jackson, a pro-Trump Daily Stormer reader, traveled from Baltimore to New York City to kill black men. Jackson allegedly killed one man before turning himself in, after which he was charged with terrorism. A black college student was stabbed to death May 20 at the University of Maryland. The alleged attacker, Sean Urbanski, was a member of a racist Facebook group called Alt-Reich. Six days later, police say Jeremy Christian, a fan of both Trump and Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, stabbed two men to death on the MAX train in Portland, Oregon. The men had come to the aid of two young Muslim women who were being harassed by Christian.

According to the Extremist Crime Database, there were nine fatal far-right attacks in the United States in 2017. The number of attempted plots was much higher. In one such failed attack, which occurred on the same day Heather Heyer was killed, the FBI arrested a man in Oklahoma City who was attempting to detonate what he believed to be a 1,000-pound truck bomb outside a bank building. The accounting in the Extremist Crime Database also does not include the gruesome, late December shooting of a couple in Virginia by a neo-Nazi who was dating their daughter and frequented alt-right sites.

Hate by the Numbers

In 2017, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) found that the number of hate groups rose to 954 from 917 the prior year, up four percent. Within the white supremacist movement, neo-Nazi groups saw the greatest growth — soaring by 22 percent from



Austin "Augustus Invictus" Gillespie was scheduled to speak at Charlottesville before law enforcement declared an unlawful assembly.

99 to 121. Anti-Muslim groups also rose for a third straight year. After tripling from 2015 to 2016, they grew by another 13 percent, from 101 chapters to 114 in 2017. Anti-immigrant groups also leapt, from 14 to 22 in 2017.

Overall, white supremacist groups experienced a net loss of one chapter, largely because Ku Klux Klan groups fell dramatically, from 130 to 72 in 2017. It's clear that the new generation of white supremacists is rejecting the hooded movement that was founded after the Civil War.

As the Klan declined, however, new movements arose, including 28 chapters of neo-Völkisch groups that practice an ethnocentric brand of paganism and see themselves as descendants of a mythic, pan-European Germanic people fighting for the survival of the white race. Also, for the first time, the SPLC added two male supremacy groups to the hate list. The vilification of women by these groups makes them no different than hate groups that attack entire populations, such as the LGBT community, Muslims or Jews, based on their inherent characteristics.

Black nationalist groups make up a little over 20 percent of the total list. This sector has been growing for several years, and that growth continued in 2017. It increased from 193 to 233 chapters, a leap of about 20 percent. Typically antisemitic, anti-LGBT and anti-white, these groups are likely expanding in reaction to rising white supremacy and Trump's emboldening of racists. "Mr. Trump is tearing away the skin of the onion of white civility," said Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan

in a 2016 radio interview, adding that Trump's election would land the country in the "abyss of hell." The Trump administration's sharp turn away from police reform and civil rights added fuel to the movement.

Importantly, the environment for the black nationalist groups is categorically different than those of white hate groups. Unlike the alt-right, whose champions found themselves in influential White House positions in 2017, black nationalists have little or no impact on mainstream politics and no defenders in high office. Given their proportion of the population, black people are also more than 10 times as likely to be victims of hate crimes than white people, according to the latest FBI statistics.

The antigovernment "Patriot" movement also rose about 10 percent in 2017, from 623 chapters to 689. Armed militias, which engage in paramilitary training and are part of the overall antigovernment count, rose about 65 percent, from 165 to 273 chapters. This movement benefited from both a newfound attachment to white supremacist elements of the alt-right and closer connections to far-right segments of the GOP. Criminal cases brought by the federal government against prominent members of this movement, in particular those involved in the 2014 Bundy Ranch stand-off and the militia takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in 2016, collapsed spectacularly in the past year.

The Charlottesville Reckoning

Until August 12, it was a euphoric year for most of the radical right. The ascension of Trump to the White House brought on a sense, however aspirational, that white supremacy was finding a firm foothold in mainstream American politics.

But the gathering in Charlottesville, which began triumphantly, marked a turning point. The largest white supremacist rally in at least a decade — one that brought together neo-Confederates, neo-Nazis, militiamen and other elements of a movement that is usually debilitated by infighting — resulted in considerable negative fallout. The movement was not helped by days of TV news coverage showing jarring images of young white men marching with torches and screaming "Jews will not replace us" in the lead-up to Heather Heyer's murder.

Congress was aghast at the violence and Americans outraged by Trump's bizarre claims of equivalence between racists and the counter-protesters who opposed them. Ultimately, even the movement's hero in the White House seemed

The multiday Charlottesville rally in mid-August, the largest by the radical right in a decade, ended in violence and disaster.

to turn against the racists, as Trump quietly signed a unanimous congressional joint resolution calling on him to do everything within his power to battle hate crimes and the rising numbers of hate groups. Within days of the Charlottesville rally, prominent alt-right allies Bannon and Gorka were ejected from the administration, and Attorney General Jeff Sessions began promising to vigorously prosecute hate crimes. It remains to be seen if Trump will live up to the resolution's promises by taking concrete steps that could tamp down the growing white supremacist movement. But Congress now has a basis to hold his feet to the fire, given his signature on the joint resolution.

Change also came to Silicon Valley, which had allowed hate speech to fester and grow on mainstream internet platforms for years. In the weeks following the protests, the tech world seemed to wake up to the threats emanating from this movement. Suddenly, extremist sites were pushed off the web. PayPal accounts were deleted. And the great era of “deplatforming,” “shuttering” and “deranking” began. White supremacists grew skittish as rallies were canceled or sparsely attended. Many racists have now come to see Charlottesville as a disaster.

There is no question that the awakening of Silicon Valley has had an impact. Web traffic to deplatformed sites has fallen; racists kicked off mainstream platforms now preach only to the crazy

choir on sites like Gab; and financial transactions have moved to bitcoin and other cryptocurrencies. It remains to be seen if hate groups can harness bitcoin or other cryptocurrencies to fund their activities. The net effect is a reduced capacity for spreading the kind of propaganda that fuels the movement and brings in new recruits.

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

NEO-NAZIS

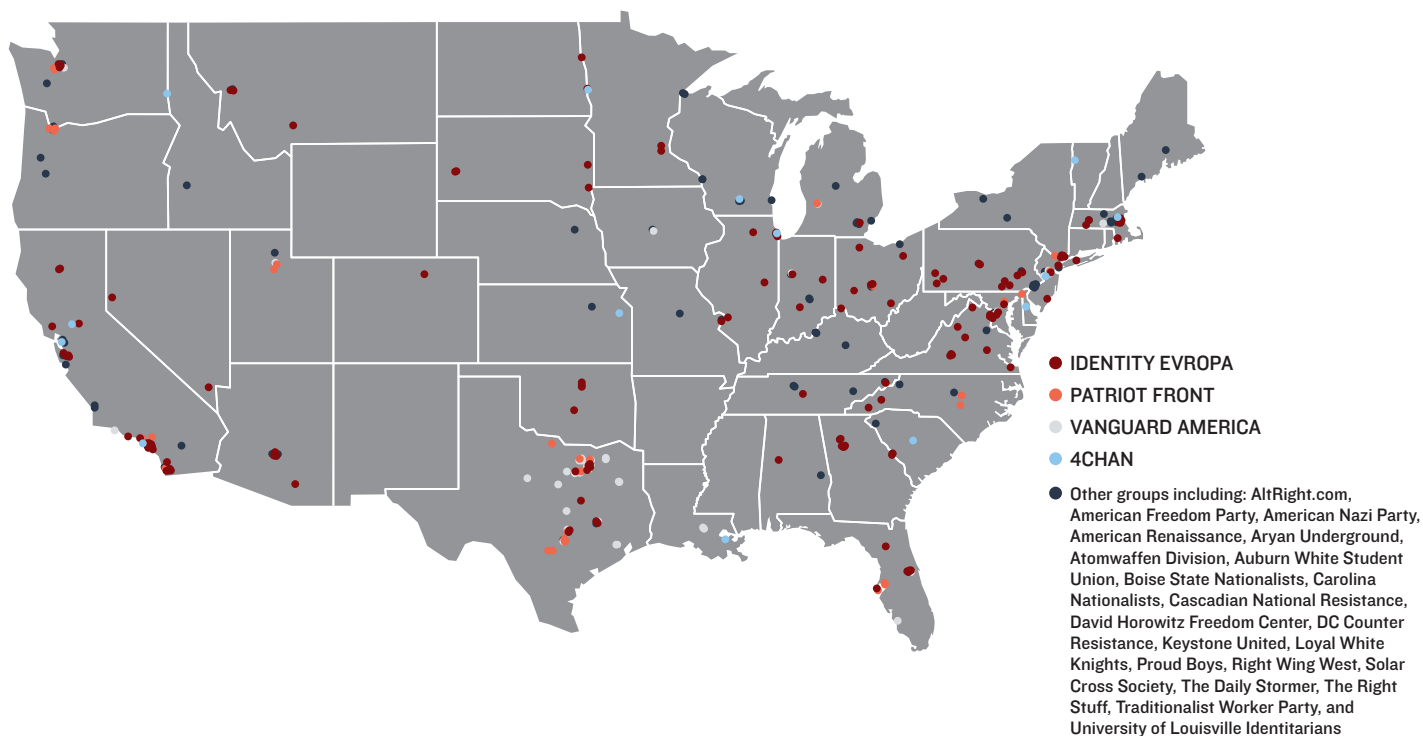
The number of neo-Nazi chapters grew by 22 — to 121 in 2017 — as young people flooded into the movement after imbibing its ideas online on gaming sites and mainstream platforms.

But, as is often the case on the radical right, infighting and tactical debates emerged following the ecstasy of Trump's election.

After the Charlottesville violence, The Daily Stormer's Anglin lectured its organizers and rank-and-file white supremacists about optics and strategy, declaring he would never organize a rally himself. On September 27, a frustrated Anglin said: “We've got all these bad optics, we've got this obese dead woman, we've given the media an easy narrative.” he later condemned a rally in Shelbyville, Tennessee, in late October, saying it made the movement look like idiotic thugs. He wrote, “I and many others criticized the look of the march, in particular the military-like 1980s-style costumes.”

HATE GROUPS 1999–2017





White Nationalists Dropped Fliers on College Campuses Almost Once a Day in 2017

Targeted as a symbol of diversity as well as a potential recruitment ground for disaffected white students, college campuses around the country faced an unprecedented number of propaganda flier drops from racist activist groups in 2017.

In all, at least 300 flier incidents occurred at 201 colleges and universities. The white nationalist group Identity Evropa (IE) — whose campus campaign #ProjectSeige was launched in September 2016 — and the neo-Nazi group Vanguard America (VA) were responsible for the bulk of incidents, while fliers advertising The Right Stuff and The Daily Stormer also appeared with some frequency. Both IE and VA are notable for their younger membership and leadership.

The drops typically occurred overnight, providing a low-risk, real-world activity for members while also generating press attention and creating the sense that the groups are larger than they in reality are.

The flier incidents were steady throughout the entire year, suggesting that colleges will likely remain a target for white nationalist groups into 2018 and beyond.

DATA COMPILED BY THE SPLC AND MEGAN SQUIRE.

These debates over public protests and attire continue to roil the movement as it competes for the next generation of recruits. Regardless, as Charlottesville proved, Hitler's ideas remain deadly.

WHITE NATIONALISTS

Reckless energy, bickering and violence plagued the white nationalist movement in 2017. Six people with ties to the alt-right allegedly committed homicide. In all, their victims included six killed and another 20 wounded. Major rallies were held in Pikeville, Kentucky; New Orleans; Charlottesville, Virginia; and Shelbyville, Tennessee. Richard Spencer — the movement's default leader, and its most vociferous — delivered speeches at Auburn University and the University of Florida as part of a strategy of targeting college campuses for easy publicity and access to young minds.

Spencer's appearance at Auburn in April, which the university initially cancelled because of safety concerns, took place only after a U.S. district court in Montgomery, Alabama, issued an injunction forcing the university to allow him to speak. Facing the threat of similar legal action by white nationalist attorney Kyle Bristow, the University of Florida allowed Spencer to speak on campus six months later. Security for the event, which came after Charlottesville, cost the university an estimated \$600,000.

Following a year of mostly online activism during the run-up to the 2016 presidential election,

Compared to 2012, when racist skinhead groups hit an all-time high of 138 chapters, the movement today has all the energy of a fizzled-out bottle rocket.

movement leaders made a conscious choice to increase public demonstrations and college recruitment efforts in 2017.

During his Florida speech, Spencer refused to acknowledge the role his rhetoric plays in inspiring violence from his followers, particularly the death of Heather Heyer at the Unite the Right rally. Rather than accept any responsibility, he called for justice for her accused killer. In a twist of fate that evening, three of his supporters were arrested in Gainesville for attempted homicide after one fired a shot at a group of counter-protesters following an argument at a bus stop.

As the year wore on, the white nationalist scene became more extreme ideologically, with groups such as the Traditionalist Worker Party and Vanguard America, once firmly rooted in an ideology based on the goal of establishing a white ethnostate, fully embracing neo-Nazism and “Blood and Soil” fascism. In addition to public demonstrations, groups such as Identity Evropa and the newly minted Patriot Front relied heavily on distributing fliers and dropping banners on college campuses, typically in the dead of night, as a form of activism designed to create camaraderie, drive press coverage and give the illusion of a much larger movement.

SKINHEADS

Compared to 2012, when racist skinhead groups hit an all-time high of 138 chapters, the movement today has all the energy of a fizzled-out bottle rocket.

The Intelligence Project documented just 71 active skinhead chapters last year.

The decline of Golden State Skinheads (GSS) over the past year is emblematic of this shift away from “boots and braces” organizations that have been eclipsed by the “alt-right.”

In late June 2016, as a roving, violent riot engulfed California’s state Capitol grounds, the collective focus of white supremacists worldwide trained on Sacramento and a small GSS crew.

In early March of 2017, the California Highway Patrol finally released a report recommending that 106 individuals be charged with 514 misdemeanors and 68 felonies in the Sacramento event. That same week, the first flashpoints of violence at

far-right rallies in Berkeley, California, took place. Charlottesville was still five months away. At all of those rallies, racist skinheads were relegated to what has long been their role as “foot soldiers” of the race war.

Nearly two years after Sacramento, GSS, like much of the skinhead movement, has hardly been heard except for the arrests of two of its members. One, William Scott Planer, was arrested this past July in Colorado after he and another man were caught defacing Jewish facilities in Colorado Springs.

Young white men concerned about future opportunities are lining up with Richard Spencer and Identity Evropa at neo-Nazi hubs like the Daily Stormer and fraternizing with groups like Matthew Heimbach’s Traditionalist Worker Party. As a result, the skinhead movement is shrinking, but those who remain are among the most fervent believers — men, mostly, whose tattooed fists clench knives and yearn to use them.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

While the number of active neo-Confederate groups declined in 2017, the drop belies an unprecedented level of militancy and media exposure of the ideology’s main practitioners, the League of the South (LOS) and its members. The LOS attempted to capitalize on the political turmoil wrought by the 2016 election and work aggressively to preserve Confederate monuments and other publicly supported memorials to white supremacy in the South. A resulting string of arrests came as LOS members and their neo-Nazi Nationalist Front pals, poised and trained for battle in a race war they believe is inevitable, increasingly took to the streets in populated and politically hostile areas.

As the LOS wholly abandoned attempts to brand itself as an organization composed of genteel Southern academics and dedicated to peacefully preserving testaments to “Southern heritage,” many long-time members distanced themselves from what has become a violent paramilitary outfit. In spite of the subsequent shuttering of many longstanding chapters in states like North Carolina and Georgia, several new chapters cropped up in Florida and Tennessee, two states that have been hotbeds of LOS activity.

The Nationalist Front faction — commanded by Michael Tubbs, the League’s chief of staff and its Florida chairman — initiated some of the worst violence at the disastrous Unite the Right rally. The Tennessee chapters were particularly active in the latter months of 2017 due to the efforts of a small group of activists closely allied with Matthew Heimbach’s neo-Nazi Traditionalist Worker Party.

KU KLUX KLAN GROUPS

As the oldest hate group in the United States, the Ku Klux Klan has reinvented itself many times over the past 150 years, but it seems now to have hit a wall, unable to adapt to the modern world and the changing tactics of the radical right. With no central organizational structure and feeble online activism, Klan groups have been unsuccessful in challenging the surging membership of the clean-cut, racist “alt-right.” And its rigidity has been the impetus for infighting.

While the number of active umbrella organizations changed little from 2016 to 2017, most saw a decline in the number of state or local chapters. The withering enthusiasm is reflected in an overall decline of 58 chapters.

Fractures within the Klan’s ranks were on display during several poorly attended events throughout the year. A June 10 protest against Sharia law in Stuart, Virginia, drew less than 15 members of the Rebel Brigade Knights and the Confederate White Knights. The following day, in Florence, Alabama, only 10 members of the Global Crusader Knights, the Exalted Knights and the International Keystone Knights showed up to protest the town’s pride parade.

Despite the lack of structure and stability, the Klan and its members remain capable of violence. The imperial wizard of the Confederate White Knights, Richard Preston, allegedly fired his gun at a black counter-protester while yelling racist slurs during the Charlottesville protests. Such hate-fueled violence is at the very core of the Klan’s ideology. With Preston’s trial set to begin on May 9, members of various Klan groups have initiated an effort to raise funds for his legal defense.

ANTI-IMMIGRANT GROUPS

“Getting out of bed these days is a lot more fun than it used to be. I’m having the time of my life.” These words of Dan Stein, president of the hate group Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), reflect the nativist movement’s gleeful mood in 2017. With the arrival of Trump, the movement now has close allies in the White House, the

U.S. Justice Department and the Department of Homeland Security. At the state and local level, emboldened nativist groups ramped up their advocacy efforts, and dormant figures resurfaced, revitalized by Trump’s election.

Due to the creation of new groups and the bolstering of extremism in those already established, the number of anti-immigrant hate groups grew from 14 in 2016 to 22 in 2017. And the movement’s “big three” Beltway organizations — FAIR, the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) and NumbersUSA — have provided the blueprint for Trump’s nativist agenda. CIS testified before Congress four times in 2017, despite a joint SPLC-Center for New Community investigation that found that over the past 10 years, the group circulated white nationalist material via email more than 2,000 times.

The influence of FAIR and other nativist hate groups on Trump is clear. Through executive actions, he has revved up the deportation machine, turning loose the agents of Immigrations and Customs Enforcement to pursue not just suspected criminals among the undocumented but ordinary families. He has declined to renew DACA, the Obama-era program that protected some 700,000 young people brought to this country as children. He has called on Congress to end “chain migration,” a derogatory term used by nativist groups to describe policies intended to reunify immigrant families. He has announced he would end the temporary legal status for 46,000 Haitians and some 200,000 Salvadorans — refugees who arrived here after earthquakes hit their countries in 2010 and 2001, respectively. And, he continued to verbally demean immigrants of color, like in January 2018 when, during a meeting with members of Congress, he questioned why the country accepted immigrants from the “shithole countries” of Africa.

The administration also has joined the efforts of state and local anti-immigrant groups to end so-called “sanctuary cities” that have declined to use local law enforcement to enforce federal immigration laws. Efforts are underway in Oregon, California, Nevada and in the city of Boston.

Exhilarated by the turn of events, some extremists who had left the nativist movement have popped back up. Joseph Turner, a white nationalist fired by FAIR a decade ago after the SPLC exposed his racist views, resurfaced in 2017 and formed American Children First, a group dedicated to barring undocumented children from schools in California. Turner told *The Los Angeles Times* in April that he was “reinvigorated” by Trump.

Perhaps the biggest winners in terms of policy from Trump's election have been hardline anti-LGBT groups that now have nearly unfettered access to, and sympathy from, the Trump administration.

ANTI-MUSLIM GROUPS

The number of anti-Muslim hate groups in the United States has steadily increased for the past few years, reaching its highest level in 2017 with 114 chapters. As it has grown, its connections to more hardline racist groups have also grown stronger.

At the federal level, rabidly anti-Muslim figures, most notably Sebastian Gorka, were given positions at the White House and other executive branch agencies. High-profile figures associated with the hate group ACT for America landed in positions where they were able to influence White House policy, such as the Muslim travel ban. Michael Flynn, an ACT advisory board member, became Trump's short-lived national security adviser, while ACT's founder and president, Brigitte Gabriel, spent an entire day meeting with officials at the White House in late March.

During 2017, 13 states introduced 14 anti-Sharia bills, with Texas and Arkansas enacting legislation. In addition, anti-Muslim activity and its intensifying overlap with other extremist movements resulted in the June 10 anti-Muslim rallies in 28 cities across the nation. In the months preceding the planned rallies, ACT struggled to control neo-Nazis and other extremists joining its ranks.

ANTI-LGBT GROUPS

Perhaps the biggest winners in terms of policy from Trump's election have been hardline anti-LGBT groups that now have nearly unfettered access to, and sympathy from, the Trump administration. Though Trump promised during the campaign to be a "real friend" to the LGBT community, the administration has instituted a wide range of discriminatory policies, including some that roll back protections put in place under Obama.

In October, Trump became the first sitting president to address the annual Values Voter Summit, which was sponsored by a host of anti-LGBT groups and led by the Family Research Council (FRC). Trump has remained unwaveringly supportive of his conservative evangelical base as he implements anti-LGBT policies sought for years by groups like the FRC.

The changes began in February 2017 with the revocation of Obama-era federal guidelines

specifying that transgender students have the right to use public school restrooms that match their gender identity. Since then, several other government agencies have quietly removed protections for, and services to, LGBT people. Trump attempted to ban transgender people from serving in the military. The DOJ submitted an *amicus* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in support of a Colorado baker who is asserting the right to deny service to LGBT people based on religious belief.

Among the Senate-confirmed judges is attorney John Bush, a Trump supporter who has compared abortion to slavery, spread anti-Obama conspiracy theories and ranted about liberal politics under a pseudonym on a blog. Another confirmed judge is Steve Grasz, rated "unqualified" by the American Bar Association, which stated that Grasz's "passionately held social agenda appeared to overwhelm and obscure [his] ability to exercise dispassionate and unbiased judgment." The Trump administration is quietly pushing through others who could endanger LGBT rights for generations, all with the seal of approval and input from anti-LGBT hate groups and their allies.

BLACK NATIONALISTS

Trump not only energized white supremacists, he provoked a backlash among the Nation of Islam and small, fringe black nationalist groups that see in him a powerful reassertion of the same centuries-old racism that has always fueled their desire to break away from white America. The white hate rallies, Trump's hostility to civil rights, and the administration's decision to abandon police reform all provided plenty of recruitment fodder.

Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan pointed to Trump as the avatar of today's white supremacy, blaming the president for encouraging a "growing sentiment" to "put the Black, the Brown, the Red back in a place they have cut out for us." He unleashed wild claims about the federal government — that it was turning black men homosexual and plotting to kill him and his members. But he was optimistic: "The white man is going down, the time to rule is up." Farrakhan's newspaper, *The Final Call*, wrote that "separation from White America" is the "divine solution" to the rise of white supremacy.

Not surprisingly, given the environment, the ranks of black nationalist hate groups — groups that have always been a reaction to white racism — expanded to 233 chapters in 2017, from 193 the previous year. These groups, typified by anti-Semitic, anti-LGBT, anti-white rhetoric and conspiracy theories, should not be confused with mainstream black activist groups such as Black Lives Matter that work to eliminate systemic racism in American society and its institutions.

Even with the growth, black nationalist groups lagged far behind the more than 600 groups that adhere to some form of white supremacist ideology. And, unlike white hate groups, they have made no inroads into the mainstream political realm and have virtually no supporters among elected officials — and certainly no supporters in the White House.

The Nation of Islam wasn't the only group active in 2016. The New Black Panther Party staged multiple demonstrations in Mississippi and Louisiana. On July 5, members started a near riot while protesting the death of Alton Sterling. A different group, the New Black Panther Party for Self Defense, worked closely with its rabidly antisemitic former chairman, Malik Shabazz, who has blamed “the Jews” for the Federal Reserve and the corruption of Hollywood.

The Revolutionary Black Panther Party staged an armed anti-police march in Wisconsin where members chanted “f*ck the pigs” and “free us or you die, cracker!” They also perpetuated conspiracy theories online about the Orlando Pulse nightclub shooting being an inside job meant to promote homosexuality.

ANTIGOVERNMENT “PATRIOT” GROUPS

Toward the end of 2016, the antigovernment movement was readying for “civil war” in the event of a Hillary Clinton presidency. Just a few months later, the movement had to reconcile its antigovernment ideology with its widespread support for Donald Trump.

A spate of protests in liberal cities following the election allowed the militia movement, part of the larger antigovernment sector, to thrust itself into the spotlight of urban America in a significant way for the first time since the Oath Keepers deployed militants to protect mostly white-owned businesses in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2015. Piggybacking on hard-right rallies organized in blue cities across the nation, militias sought to capture public attention and put their training to the test. They hoped that the public exposure and their attempts to work cooperatively with police would lend legitimacy to their cause and shake the movement's extremist

image. In Oregon, that state's GOP moved to have militias provide security for its events.

Unite the Right attracted a network of militia members under the command of the Pennsylvania Light Foot Militia.

Alex Michael Ramos, a former militiaman with the Georgia Security Force Three Percent, led by Chris “General Bloodagent” Hill, attended the rally and was arrested in connection to the brutal gang-style beating of DeAndre Harris, a black male who protested the white supremacist rally.

Ramos' arrest marks the second time in two years that individuals with connections to Chris Hill's Three Percenter organization were linked to racist or ethnically based violence — the first known instance took place in 2016 when a splinter of the Kansas Three Percent Security Force plotted to commit mass murder of Muslims and people of Somali descent in Garden City, Kansas.

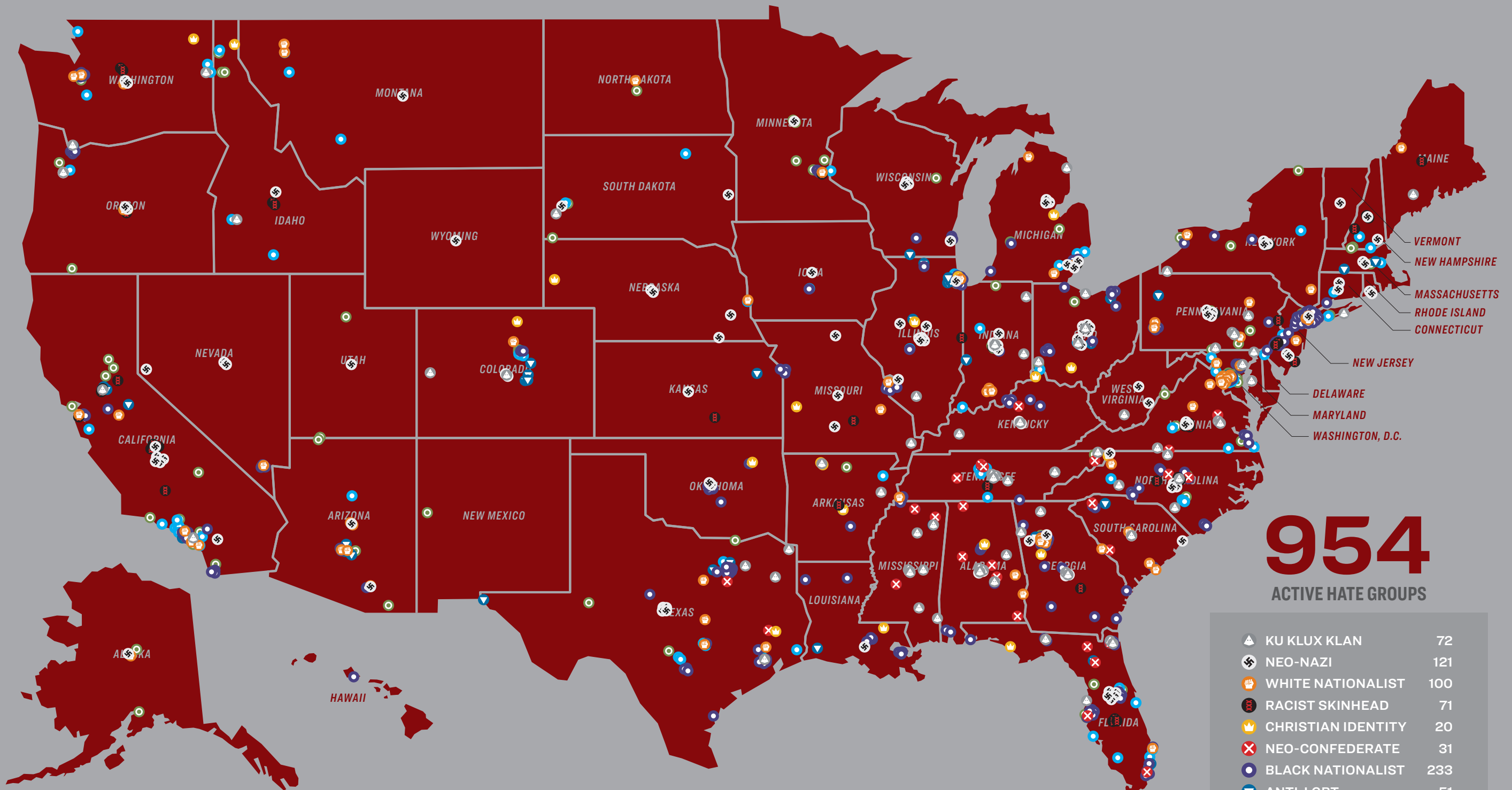
At the same time, some antigovernment groups grew closer to hate groups. In 2017, Oath Keepers were asked by the anti-Muslim Act for America to provide security at June 10 rallies that took place in 28 cities across the country. Oath Keepers founder and president, Stewart Rhodes, responded by putting out a “call to action” endorsing the events and asking his followers to go and “protect free speech.” Rhodes and a gathering of Oath Keepers attended one of the events in Dallas, Texas, with long guns and tactical gear; other Oath Keepers appeared at many rallies around the country.

Historically, the SPLC has found that antigovernment activity and membership has risen sharply when Democrats take the presidency, as fears of gun grabs and federal action against such groups surges, and decline during Republican administrations, when such fears abate. That doesn't seem to be the case with Trump in the White House, as the movement appears to be growing instead of shrinking, or at least treading water. Perhaps Trump's radical views and bigotry are having an energizing effect on antigovernment groups, drawing them into politics in the same way that he has emboldened white supremacists and others in the hate movement. Their growing collaboration with anti-Muslim groups in particular shows that their concerns have moved far beyond guns in the past years. ▲

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS STORY INCLUDE ALEX AMEND, STEPHEN PIGGOTT, KEEGAN HANKES AND RACHEL JANIK.

Active Hate Groups

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2017



954
ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

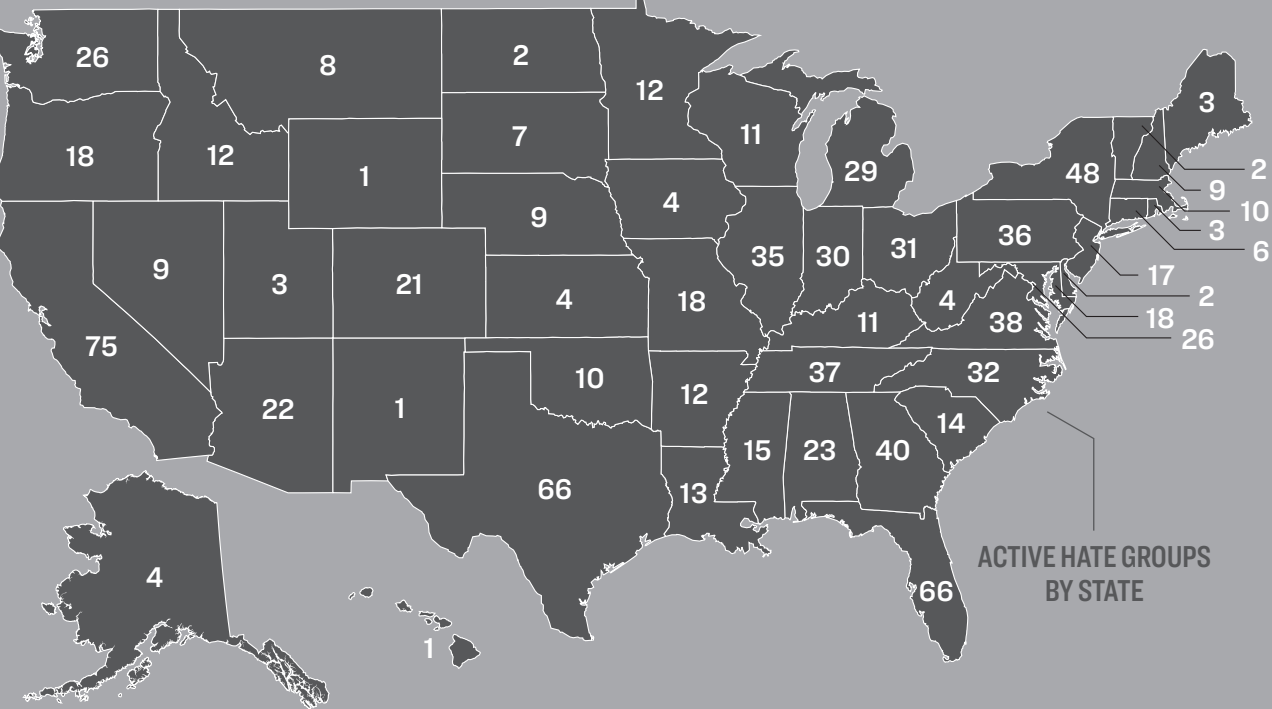
▲	KU KLUX KLAN	72
⚡	NEO-NAZI	121
👤	WHITE NATIONALIST	100
👤	RACIST SKINHEAD	71
👤	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	20
✖	NEO-CONFEDERATE	31
👤	BLACK NATIONALIST	233
▼	ANTI-LGBT	51
●	ANTI-MUSLIM	114
○	GENERAL HATE	141

Active Hate Groups

IN THE UNITED STATES IN 2017

This list of 954 active hate groups (see map p. 43) — up somewhat from 917 listed a year before — is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources, web postings and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2017, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, among other activities, were counted in this list. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be web publishers

falsely portraying themselves as powerful, organized groups. This list also does not document activism that takes place only online by individuals or groups, whether on Facebook, VK, or similar online forums. Major online web forums have in recent years seen their comment sections and registered users grow, but such activity does not occur in real life and thus is not reflected in this count. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group’s chapters and, if there are multiple chapters of the group, is marked with an asterisk (*).



← OPEN HERE
detailed map inside

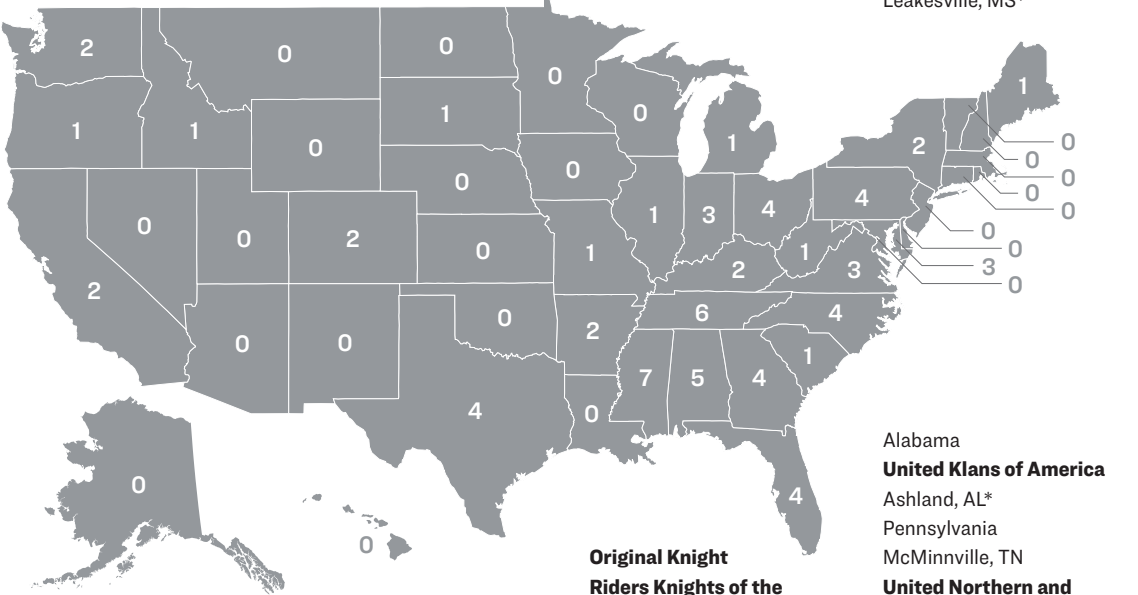
Groups are categorized as **KU KLUX KLAN, NEO-NAZI, WHITE NATIONALIST, RACIST SKINHEAD, CHRISTIAN IDENTITY, NEO-CONFEDERATE, BLACK NATIONALIST, ANTI-LGBT, ANTI-MUSLIM, AND GENERAL HATE**. Because skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and antisemitic. Black Nationalist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South. White Nationalist groups espouse white supremacy or white separatism, but generally avoid antisemitism. Anti-Muslim groups exhibit extreme hostility toward Muslims and attribute to Islam’s followers an inherent set of negative traits. Anti-LGBT groups engage in crude name-calling and disseminate disparaging propaganda and falsehoods about this population. General Hate groups espouse various ideologies of hatred and include the sub-categories of Anti-Immigrant groups, Hate Music labels, Holocaust Denial groups, Radical Traditional Catholic groups (which reject core Catholic teachings and espouse anti-Semitism), and Other (a variety of groups endorsing a hodge-podge of hate doctrines).

72 Ku Klux Klan

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

American Christian Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Alabama American Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Moselle, MS American Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Tennessee Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Panama, NY* Kentucky Confederate White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Rosedale, MD* Auburn, IN Sikeston, MO	Tennessee Global Crusaders: Order of the Ku Klux Klan Alabama Jacksonville, FL International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Vanndale, AR* Cedartown, GA Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Harrison, AR Knights of the White Disciples Hudson, FL Ku Klos Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Nashville, IL*	Georgia Maryland Mississippi Red Springs, NC Hampton Bays, NY Hamilton, OH Sandusky, OH Waynesboro, PA South Carolina Tennessee Houston, TX Richmond, VA Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Bruce, MS Nordic Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Dawson Springs, KY
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Patriotic Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Gladewater, TX
Rebel Brigade Knights True Invisible Empire
Martinsville, VA
Sacred Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Georgia
Southern Ohio Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Ohio
Texas Rebel Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Quinlan, TX
Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Custer, SD*
Florida
Idaho
Maine
Pennsylvania
United Dixie White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Leakesville, MS*



Vale, NC Virginia East Coast Knights of the Invisible Empire Rising Sun, MD* Eastern Pennsylvania North Carolina Exalted Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Alabama	Indiana Ohio Bristol, TN Knoxville, TN Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Pelham, NC* Anaheim, CA Grand Junction, CO Colorado Jacksonville, FL	Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Beckley, WV Original Knights of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Philadelphia, MS Pacific Coast Knights of the Ku Klux Klan California* Alpena, MI Oregon Spokane, WA	Alabama United Klans of America Ashland, AL* Pennsylvania McMinnville, TN United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Ellijay, GA* Connersville, IN United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan New Boston, TX White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America Vancouver, WA* Tupelo, MS
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121 Neo-Nazi

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

America First Committee

Lyons, IL

American Nazi Party

Westland, MI*

California

Aryan Nations Sadistic

Souls MC

Wood River, IL*

Canton, IL

Grovespring, MO

Ohio

Oklahoma

Tennessee

Wisconsin

Aryan Nations Worldwide

Villa Rica, GA

Aryan Renaissance Society

New York

Texas

Atomwaffen Division

Florida

Creativity Movement, The

Bloomington, IL*

Illinois

Ohio

Michigan

Brookings, SD

Daily Stormer, The

Worthington, OH*

Alabama

Alaska

Arizona

California

Colorado

Connecticut

Florida

Georgia

Illinois

Indiana

Iowa

Kansas

Kentucky

Massachusetts

Michigan

Minnesota

Missouri

Montana

Nebraska

Nevada

New Jersey

New York

North Carolina

Oregon

Pennsylvania

South Carolina

Texas

Utah

Vermont

Virginia

Washington

Endangered Souls RC/

Crew 519

Florida

Georgia

Idaho

Golden Dawn

Astoria, NY

National Alliance

Laurel Bloomery, TN*

Raymond, NH

Hillsboro, WV

National Alliance Reform

and Restoration Group

Carson City, NV

National Socialist German

Workers Party

Lincoln, NE

National Socialist Liberation

Front

Pennsylvania*

Alabama

California

National Socialist

Movement

Detroit, MI*

Tucson, AZ

Colorado

Florida

Georgia

Illinois

Indiana

Kentucky

Mississippi

Columbus, OH

Salem, OR

Pennsylvania

Myrtle Beach, SC

Nationalist Women's Front

California

NS Publications

Wyandotte, MI

New Order

Milwaukee, WI

Noble Breed Kindred

California

PzG Inc.

Rapid City, SD

Third Reich Books

Fairbury, NE

Traditionalist Worker Party

Paoli, IN*

Alabama

North Carolina

Ohio

Rhode Island

Tennessee

Texas

Virginia

Vanguard America

Indiana*

Connecticut

Florida

Georgia

Illinois

Louisiana

Maryland

Massachusetts

Michigan

Nebraska

Nevada

New Hampshire

New Jersey

New York

North Carolina

Ohio

Oklahoma

Oregon

Pennsylvania

Rhode Island

Texas

Virginia

Washington

West Virginia

Wyoming

Vanguard News Network

Kirkville, MO

White Aryan Resistance

San Jacinto, CA

White Devil Social Club

Wisconsin

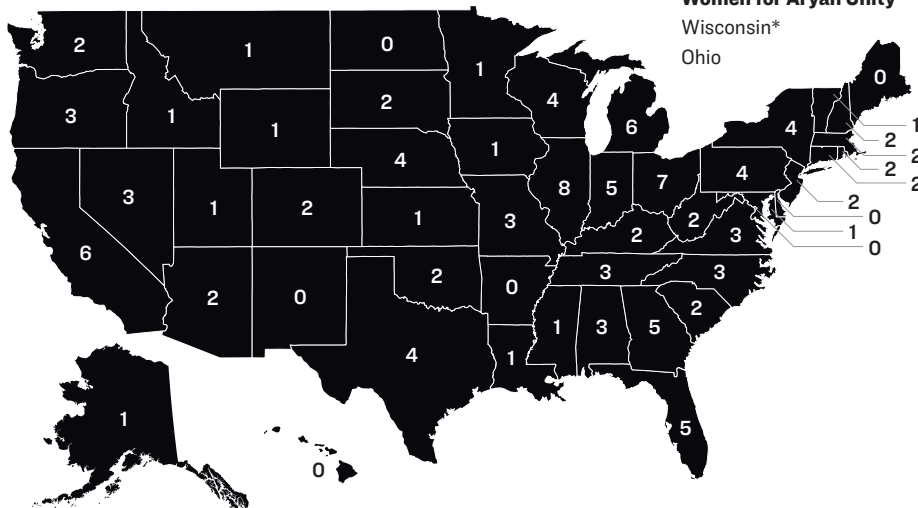
Wolfhook Life Clothing

Indiana

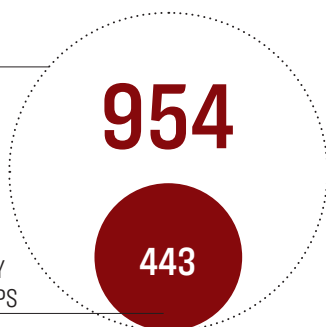
Women for Aryan Unity

Wisconsin*

Ohio



Beyond a goal of preserving the white race, these groups also share core prejudices against classes of people that white supremacists view as threatening. For instance, antisemitism undergirds every white supremacist ideology.



San Francisco, CA*
 New York, NY
 Seattle, WA
Counter.Fund
 Huntington Mills, PA
Faith and Heritage
 Killeen, TX
Fitzgerald Griffin
Foundation, The
 Vienna, VA
Forza Nuova
 New Jersey*
 Phoenix, AZ
Foundation for the
Marketplace of Ideas
 Clinton Township, MI
Free American
 Tucson, AZ
GoyFundMe
 Paoli, IN
H.L. Mencken Club
 Elizabethtown, PA
Identity Evropa
 Arlington, VA*
 Arizona
 California
 Colorado
 Florida
 Georgia
 Maryland
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 New Jersey

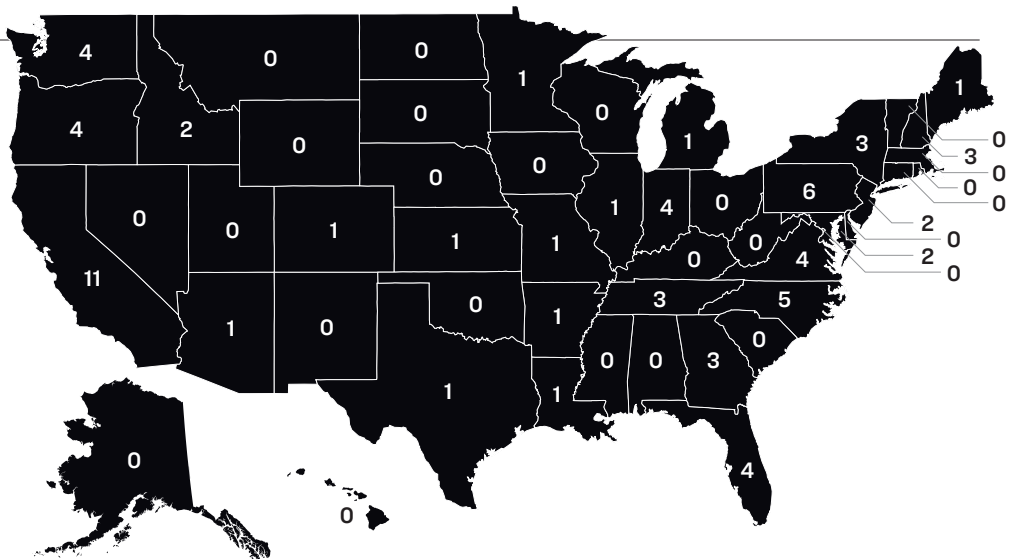
New York
 North Carolina
 Oregon
 Pennsylvania
 Tennessee
National Policy Institute
 Alexandria, VA
NewAlbion
 Jackman, ME
New Byzantium Project, The
 Charlottesville, VA
Northwest Front
 Bremerton, WA
Occidental Dissent
 Eufaula, AL
Occidental Observer
 Laguna Hills, CA
Occidental Quarterly/
Charles Martel Society
 Atlanta, GA
Operation Homeland
 Alexandria, VA
Patriot Front
 Texas*
 California
 Illinois
 Washington
Patriotic Flags
 Charleston, SC
Pioneer Little Europe
Montana
 Kalispell, MT
Political Cesspool, The

Bartlett, TN
Racial Nationalist Party of
America
 Lockport, NY
Radix Journal
 Whitefish, MT
Real Republic of Florida
 Tallahassee, FL
Red Ice
 Charleston, SC
Rise Above Movement
 Huntington Beach, CA
RootBocks
 Paoli, IN
Scott-Townsend Publishers
 Washington, DC
Social Contract Press
 Petoskey, MI
Stormfront
 West Palm Beach, FL
The Right Stuff
 Hopewell Junction, NY*
 Arizona
 California
 Washington, DC
 Florida
 Georgia
 Indiana
 Maryland
 Michigan
 Minnesota
 Nebraska
 Nevada

New York
 Oregon
 Pennsylvania
 Austin, TX
 Houston, TX
 East Texas
 Vermont
 Virginia
 Washington
Traditionalist Youth
Network
 Paoli, IN
True Cascadia
 Washington*
 Alaska
 Idaho
 Oregon
Tyr 1 Security
 Alexandria, VA
VDARE Foundation
 Warrenton, VA
Washington Summit
Publishers
 Augusta, GA
WeSearchr
 El Monte, CA
Western Outlands Supply
Company
 Mesa, AZ
White Boy Society
 Illinois
White Rabbit Radio
 Dearborn Heights, MI

Confederate Hammerskins

Florida
 Georgia
 North Carolina
 Tennessee
 Virginia
Crew 38
 California
 Florida
 Georgia
 Idaho
 Maine
 New Hampshire
 North Carolina
 Oregon
 Pennsylvania
 Tennessee
 Virginia



Washington
Die Auserwählten Skins
 Louisiana
Eastern Hammerskins

New Hampshire
Firm 22
 Florida
 Indiana

Missouri
 New Hampshire
 New York

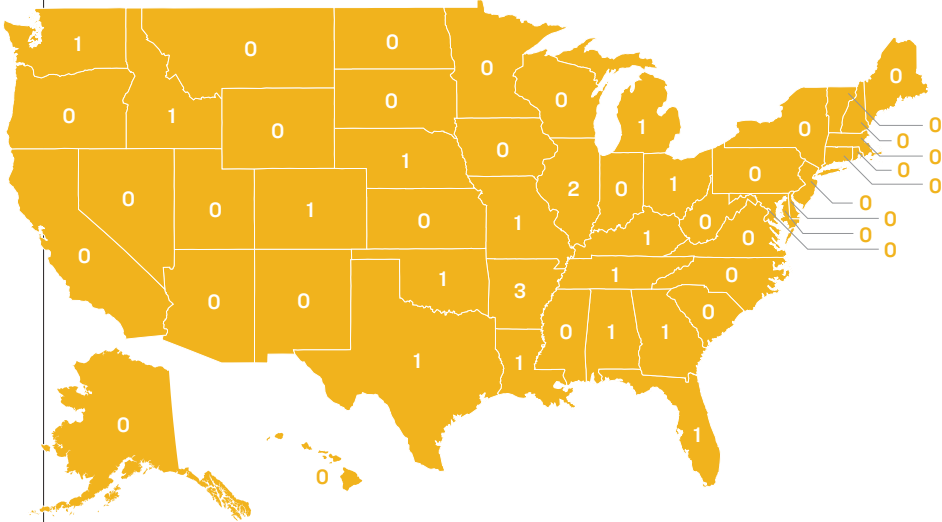
CONTINUED >>

 20 Christian Identity

Washington
Golden-State 45/Kindred 45
Northern California
Southern California
Golden State Skinheads
Northern California*
Southern California
Colorado
Keystone State Skinheads
Harrisburg, PA*
Philadelphia, PA
Maryland State Skinheads
Baltimore, MD
Midland Hammerskins
Wichita, KS
Northern Hammerskins
Detroit, MI
Northwest Hammerskins
Idaho
Oregon
Washington
Sacto Skins
Sacramento, CA
Vinlanders Social Club
Indiana*
Arizona
California
Florida
Minnesota
North Carolina
Texas
Warrior's Pride Clothing
Bakersfield, CA
Western Hammerskins
California

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

- Covenant Nation Church of the Lord Jesus Christ**
Center Point, AL
America's Promise Ministries
Sandpoint, ID
Christian America Ministries
Greensburg, LA
Christian Revival Center
Harrison, AR
Church of Israel
Schell City, MO
Covenant People's Ministry
Brooks, GA
Divine International Church of the Web
Morton, IL
Divine Truth Ministries
- Bainbridge, OH***
Arkansas
Euro Folk Radio
Chicago, IL
Fellowship of God's Covenant People
Union, KY
Kingdom Identity Ministries
Harrison, AR
Mission to Israel
Scottsbluff, NE
Non-Universal Teaching Ministries/Christogenea
Panama City, FL
Our Place Fellowship
Colville, WA
Sacred Truth Publishing & Ministries
Mountain City, TN
- Scriptures for America Worldwide Ministries**
Laporte, CO
Truth in History
Owasso, OK
Yahushua Dual Seed Christian Identity Ministry
Livingston, TX
Yahweh's Truth
Linwood, MI



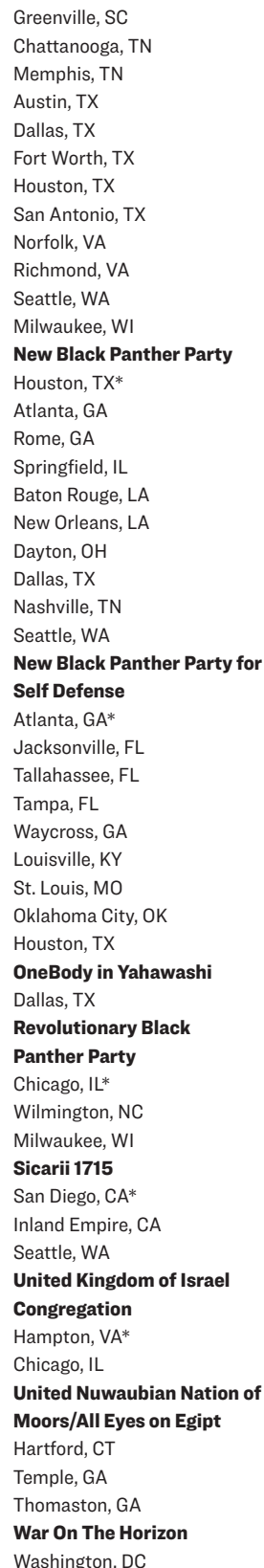
Hate By State

The arrows at right indicate whether the number of hate groups in each state rose or fell in the last year. The four highlighted states saw the steepest increases or decreases.

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

 233 Black Nationalist

CONTINUED >>



St. Louis, MO
North Carolina
Harlem, NY
Syracuse, NY
Oklahoma City, OK
Portland, OR
Philadelphia, PA
Greenville, SC
Nashville, TN
Houston, TX
Seattle, WA
Lions of Israel
Mount Vernon, NY
Nation OF KINGS AND PRIESTS
Orlando, FL
Nation of Islam
Chicago, IL*
Birmingham, AL
Mobile, AL
Montgomery, AL
Little Rock, AR
Pine Bluff, AR
Phoenix, AZ
Tucson, AZ
Compton, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Oakland, CA
Rialto, CA
San Diego, CA
Stockton, CA
Denver, CO
Washington, DC
Wilmington, DE
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Miami, FL
Pensacola, FL
Pine Hills, FL
St. Petersburg, FL
Tampa, FL
Albany, GA
Augusta, GA

Indianapolis, IN
Lexington, KY
Louisville, KY
Baton Rouge, LA
Monroe, LA
New Orleans, LA
Shreveport, LA
Dorchester, MA
Springfield, MA
Baltimore, MD
Benton Harbor, MI
Detroit, MI
Grand Rapids, MI
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Holly Springs, MS
Southaven, MS
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Greensboro, NC
Raleigh, NC
Wilmington, NC
Camden, NJ
Newark, NJ
Plainfield, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Willingboro, NJ
Brooklyn, NY
Buffalo, NY
Harlem, NY
Rochester, NY
New Brunswick, NJ
Akron, OH
Cleveland, OH
Dayton, OH
Toledo, OH
Oklahoma City, OK
Tulsa, OK
Harrisburg, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Wilkinsburg, PA
Charleston, SC
Columbia, SC

Greenville, SC
Chattanooga, TN
Memphis, TN
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
San Antonio, TX
Norfolk, VA
Richmond, VA
Seattle, WA
Milwaukee, WI
New Black Panther Party
Houston, TX*
Atlanta, GA
Rome, GA
Springfield, IL
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
Dayton, OH
Dallas, TX
Nashville, TN
Seattle, WA
**New Black Panther Party for
Self Defense**
Atlanta, GA*
Jacksonville, FL
Tallahassee, FL
Tampa, FL
Waycross, GA
Louisville, KY
St. Louis, MO
Oklahoma City, OK
Houston, TX
OneBody in Yahawashi
Dallas, TX
**Revolutionary Black
Panther Party**
Chicago, IL*
Wilmington, NC
Milwaukee, WI
Sicarii 1715
San Diego, CA*
Inland Empire, CA
Seattle, WA
**United Kingdom of Israel
Congregation**
Hampton, VA*
Chicago, IL
**United Nuwaubian Nation of
Moors/All Eyes on Egypt**
Hartford, CT
Temple, GA
Thomaston, GA
War On The Horizon
Washington, DC



114 Anti-Muslim

Anti-Muslim hate groups are a relatively new phenomenon in the United States, most of them appearing in the aftermath of the World Trade Center terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. Earlier anti-Muslim groups tended to be religious in orientation and disputed Islam's status as a respectable religion. Anti-Muslim groups listed here exhibit extreme hostility towards Muslims and attribute to Islam's followers an inherent set of negative traits.

ACT for America

Washington, DC*
Jonesboro, AR
Tucson, AZ
Calabasas, CA
Corona, CA
Laguna Woods, CA
Los Angeles, CA

Kalispell, MT
Lake County, MT
Whitehall, MT
Fayetteville, NC
Nashua, NH
New York
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH

American Public Policy Alliance

Washington, DC

American Security Rally of Montana

Helena, MT

Americans for America

Englewood, CO

Bomb Islam

Phoenix, AZ

Refugee Center

Buhl, ID

Conservative Forum of Silicon Valley

Cupertino, CA

Counter Jihad Coalition

Santa Monica, CA

Counter Terrorism Cell

Las Vegas, NV

Cultures In Context

Incorporated/Turning Point Project

Ave Maria, FL

Cumberland Conservatives

Fayetteville, NC

David Horowitz Freedom Center

Sherman Oaks, CA

Faith Leaders for America

Washington, DC

Family Security Matters

Washington, DC

Florida Family Association

Tampa, FL

Fortress of Faith

Bellingham, WA

Foundation for Advocating Christian Truth

Bronx, NY

G416 Patriots

Boerne, TX

Global Faith Institute

Omaha, NE

Jihad Watch

Sherman Oaks, CA

Keep South Dakota Safe PAC

Aberdeen, SD

Lincoln County Citizen

Fayetteville, TN

North Carolina Pastors

Morganton, NC

Network

Priest River, OH

Pig Blood Bullets

Nashville, TN

Political Islam

Nashville, TN

Proclaiming Justice

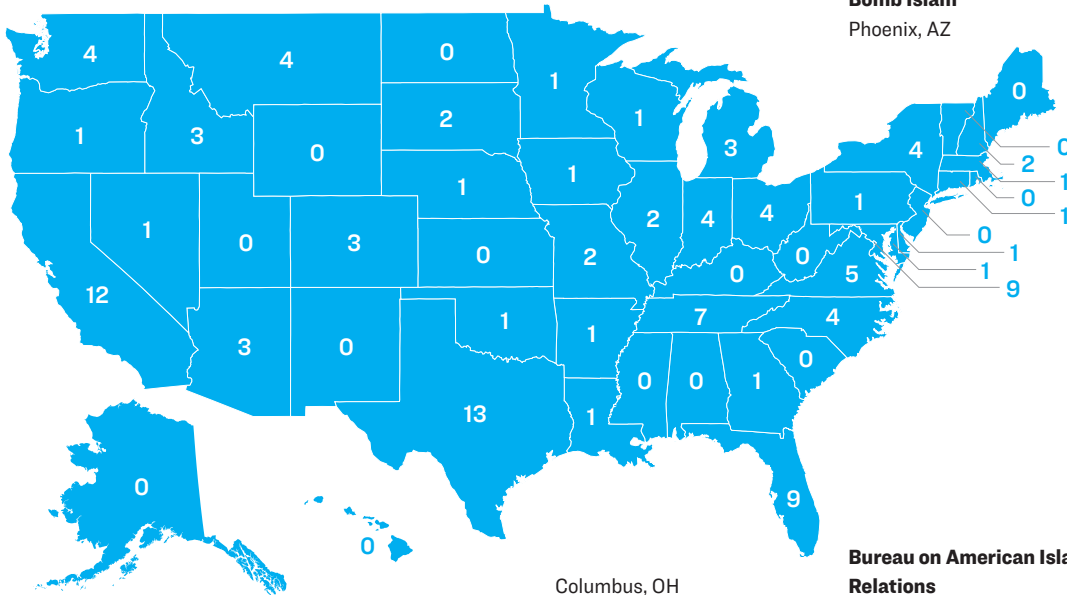
Franklin, TN

Radio Jihad/Global

New York

Refugee Resettlement

Fairplay, MD



Mission Viejo, CA
Santa Clarita, CA
Denver, CO
Cheshire, CT
Bear, DE
Brevard County, FL
Heathrow, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Des Moines, IA
Meridian, ID
Des Plaines, IL
Evansville, IN
Lafayette, IN
Terre Haute, IN
Baton Rouge, LA
Boston, MA
Minneapolis, MN
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO

Columbus, OH
Oklahoma
Silverton, OR
Rapid City, SD
Knoxville, TN
Memphis, TN
Austin, TX
Houston, TX
Lewisville, TX
Leesburg, VA
Virginia Beach, VA
Pierce County, WA
Spokane Valley, WA

American Freedom Alliance

Los Angeles, CA

American Freedom Defense Initiative

New York, NY

American Freedom Law Center

Ann Arbor, MI

Bureau on American Islamic Relations

Irving, TX

Center for Security Policy

Washington, DC

Christian Action Network

Forest, VA

Christians and Jews United for Israel

Hillsborough, NH

Citizens Action Group of South Florida

Hollywood, FL

Citizens for National

Security

Boca Raton, FL

Citizens for the St. Croix Valley

Hudson, WI

Clarion Project

Washington, DC

Committee to End the CSI

Religious Freedom Coalition
Washington, DC

Secure Michigan
New Baltimore, MI

Security Studies Group
Washington, DC

Shoebat Foundation, The
Newtown, PA

Silver Bullet Gun Oil
Courtland, VA

Soldiers of Odin
Flagstaff, AZ

Los Angeles/Ventura
County, CA

Denver, CO

Illinois

Indiana

North Carolina

Ohio

Tennessee

Beaumont, TX

East Texas

Houston, TX

River Region, TX

San Antonio, TX

Texas

Southeast Michigan Tea Party
Utica, MI

Straight Way and More, The
Venice, FL

Sunshine on Government (SONG) Alliance
Newton County, GA

Tennessee Eagle Forum
Nashville, TN

Truth in Love Project
Chattaroy, WA

Truth in Textbooks
Boerne, TX

Unconstrained Analytics
Washington, DC

Understanding the Threat
Dallas, TX

United West, The
Lake Worth, FL

Virginia Christian Alliance
Henrico, VA

141 General Hate

These organizations are subdivided into anti-immigrant, hate music, Holocaust denial, male supremacy, Neo-Völkisch, and radical traditional Catholic groups. A final “other” sub-category includes groups espousing a variety of hateful doctrines.

ANTI-IMMIGRANT (22)

American Border Patrol
Sierra Vista, AZ

American Children First
Torrance, CA

American Immigration Control Foundation/ Americans for Immigration Control
Monterey, VA

Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC)
Raleigh, NC

Borderkeepers of Alabama
Birmingham, AL

Californians for Population Stabilization
Santa Barbara, CA

Center for Immigration Studies
Washington, DC

Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform
Lakewood, CO

Dustin Inman Society, The
Marietta, GA

Federation for American Immigration Reform
Washington, DC

Immigration Reform Law Institute
Washington, DC

Legal Immigrants for America

Winter Springs, FL

Michiganders for Immigration Control and Enforcement
Frankenmuth, MI

North Carolinians For Immigration Reform and Enforcement
Wade, NC

Oregonians for Immigration Reform
McMinnville, OR

ProEnglish
Arlington, VA

Remembrance Project, The
Washington, DC

Respect Washington
Seattle, WA

San Diegans for Secure Borders
San Diego

Team America Political Action Committee
Littleton, CO

Texans for Immigration Control and Enforcement
Houston, TX

US Border Guard
Mesa, AZ

HATE MUSIC (15)

American Defense Records
Pittsburgh, PA

Behold Barbarity Records & Distro

Plymouth, MN

Elegy Records
Clifton, NJ

Hostile Class Productions
Burbank, IL

ISD Records
Denison, TX

Label 56
Baltimore, MD

Micetrap Distribution
Maple Shade Township, NJ

MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO

NSM88 Records
Detroit, MI

Poker Face
Allentown, PA

Resistance Records
Chicago, IL

Stahlhelm Records
Milwaukee, WI

Tightrope
Calico Rock, AR

United Riot Records
New York, NY

Wolf Tyr Productions
Holbrook, NY

HOLOCAUST DENIAL (10)

Barnes Review/Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
Upper Marlboro, MD

Campaign for Radical Truth in History
Coeur d'Alene, ID

Carolynyeager.net

Kerrville, TX

Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust
Mill Valley, CA*

York, PA

Deir Yassin Remembered
Geneva, NY*

Ann Arbor, MI

Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, CA

Irving Books
Key West, FL

The Realist Report
Poway, CA

MALE SUPREMACY (2)

A Voice for Men
Houston, TX

Return of Kings
Washington, DC

NEO-VÖLKISCH (28)

Ásatrú Folk Assembly
Brownsville, CA*

Alaska

Southern California

Georgia

Minnesota

North Dakota

Northern Ohio

Pennsylvania

South Carolina

Virginia

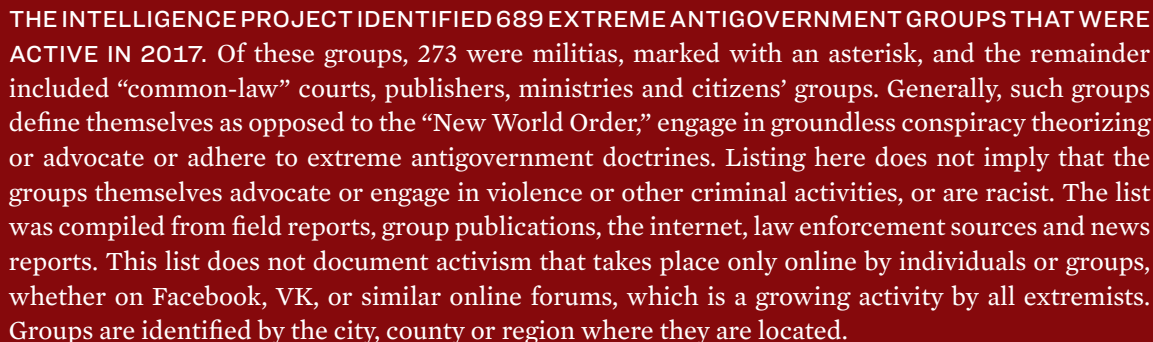
West Virginia

Folkgard of Hold & Odin
Apache Junction, AZ

Gallowglasses Fight Club, The

CONTINUED >>





ALABAMA (17)**III% Security Force***

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

Alabama Constitutional Militia*

Clanton

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Constitution Party of Alabama

Adamsville

Cullman

Eagle Forum

Birmingham

Free Patriot Press

Birmingham

Freedom Yell

Ozark

John Birch Society

Mobile

LewRockwell.com

Auburn

Limestone County**Constitution Party**

Athens

Medical Kidnap

Huntsville

Oath Keepers

Bay Minette

Republic for the united States of America

Dothan

South Alabama Militia*

Dothan

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

Shelby County

ALASKA (10)**III% Security Force**

Kenai Peninsula Borough

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

Alaska Citizens Militia*

Nikiski

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

Anchorage's Constitutional Militia, Anchorage Municipality Defense Force*

Anchorage

Oath Keepers

Anchorage

Delta Junction

South Central Patriots*

Wasilla

Superior Court for the Continental United States of America

Statewide

Three Percenters- III%ers, The

Statewide

ARIZONA (15)**III% Security Force***

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

America's Freedom Coalition

Higley

Arizona Liberty Guard*

Statewide

Arizona Militia*

Glendale

Hour of the Time

Eagar

Idaho Political Prisoner Foundation

Scottsdale

Molon Labe

Phoenix

Oath Keepers

Chino Valley*

Golden Valley*

Pima County

Outpost of Freedom

Tucson

Riders United for a Sovereign America Corp.

Phoenix

Three Percenters- III%ers, The

Statewide

ARKANSAS (7)**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

Arkansas State**Militia Corps***

Mansfield

Constitution Party of Arkansas

Fayetteville

Eagle Forum

Little Rock

Oath Keepers

Logan County

Secure Arkansas

Little Rock

Three Percenters- III%ers, The

Faulkner County

CALIFORNIA (50)**III% Security Force**

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

California State Militia*

Bay Area

Northern Region

Sacramento County

Southern Region

Constitution Club, The

Hemet

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

Santa Rosa

Educate Yourself

Costa Mesa

Guardians of the Oath

Orange County

HISAdvocates.org

Costa Mesa

Jefferson Three Percent*

Northern Region

Jeremiah Films

Los Angeles

John Birch Society

Orange

Sacramento

Liberty Under Fire**Freedom Fighters**

Taft

Oath Keepers

Northern Region

San Diego County*

Victorville

Overpasses for America

Statewide

Shasta Lantern

Redding

State of Jefferson**Formation**

Amador County

Butte County

Calaveras County

Colusa County

Del Norte County

El Dorado County

Glenn County

Humboldt County

Lake County

Lassen County

Modoc County

Nevada County

Placer County

Plumas County

Shasta County

Sierra County

Siskiyou County

Stanislaus County

Sutter County

Tehama County

Trinity County

Tuolumne County

Yuba County

Shasta Laker, The

Shasta Lake

Three Percenters- III%ers, The

Statewide

United States Justice Foundation

Ramona

Ventura County Tea Party

Ventura

We Are Change

Fresno

We Are Change

Los Angeles

COLORADO (10)**III% Security Force**

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Freedom Network

Johnstown

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Freedom First Society

Colorado Springs

John Birch Society

Colorado Springs

Superior Court for the Continental uNited States of America

Statewide

Team Law

Grand Junction

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

Statewide

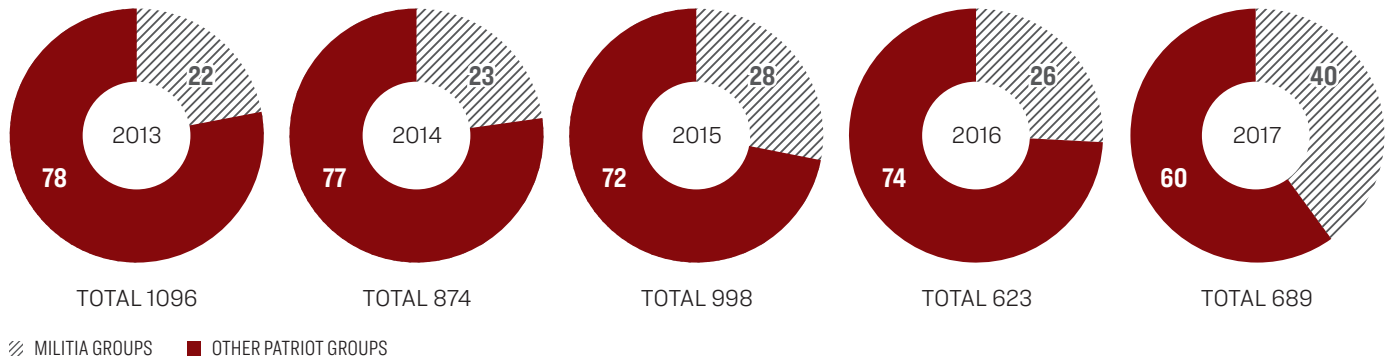
We Are Change

Statewide

CONNECTICUT (9)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

Antigovernment ‘Patriot’ Groups in percentages



The number of “Patriot” antigovernment groups has fluctuated wildly in the last two decades, peaking in 2012 with 1,360 groups. But the percentage of the count that consists of militias, meaning groups that actively engage in military-style training, has grown steadily over the years, and now numbers 40 percent.

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

Connecticut Militia III%*

Statewide

John Birch Society

Norwich

Southington

Oath Keepers

Hartford

Post & Email, The

Stafford

Three Percenters-

III%ers, The

Hartford County

We Are Change

Waterbury

DELAWARE (2)

First State Pathfinders*

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Statewide

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (4)

Renew America

Washington

Special Operations Speaks

Washington

World Governments

of World Citizens

Washington

WorldNetDaily

Washington

FLORIDA (30)

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

Agenda21Today

Shady Grove

American Coalition 4

Property Rights

St. Lucie

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Constitution Party

of Florida

The Villages

Eagle Forum

Sanibel

Sarasota

Florida Militia*

Central

Northeast

Northwest

Southern

Freedom Law School

Spring Hill

John Birch Society

Bellevue

Gainesville

Lady Lake

Newberry

Ocala

Palm Beach

KrisAnne Hall

Wellborn

Liberty First

Wellborn

Now the End Begins

Jacksonville

Oath Keepers

Gainesville

Statewide

Sarasota Patriots

Sarasota

Superior Court for the Continental uNited States of America

Statewide

Three Percenters-

III%ers, The

Orange County

Uncle Sam's Misguided

Children

Sarasota

We Are Change

Palm Beach

Tampa

Wild Bill for America

South Daytona

GEORGIA (15)

III% Security Force*

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

Constitution Party

of Georgia

Woodstock

Discount Book Distributors/

The Patriot Depot

Powder Springs

Eagle Forum

Marietta

Freedom Fighter Radio

Evans

John Birch Society

Barnesville

Jasper

Liberty Alliance

Dallas

Lost Horizons

Statewide

Moorish Science Temple

of America 1928, The

Athens

Oath Keepers

Duluth

Sovereign Filing Solutions

Morrow

Tea Party Patriots

Woodstock

Three Percenters-

III%ers, The

Wilkinson County

HAWAII (2)

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Three Percenters-

III%ers, The

Statewide

IDAHO (15)

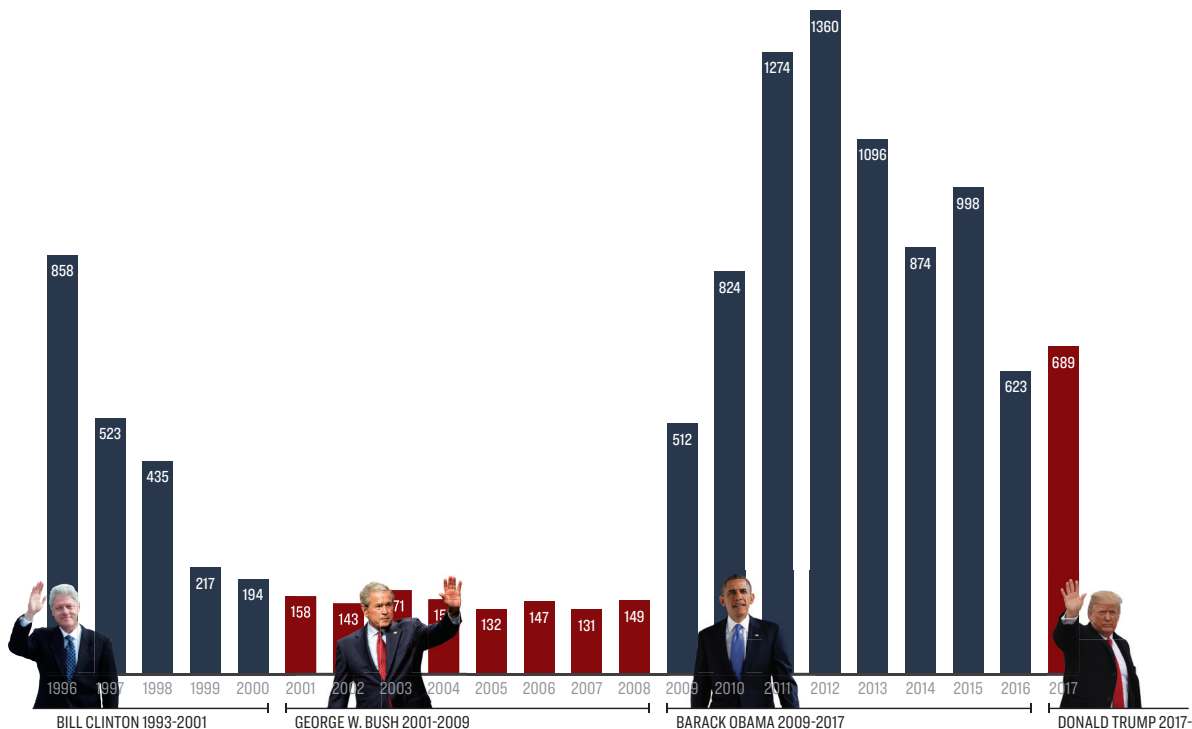
III% Security Force

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

Antigovernment 'Patriot' Groups 1995–2017



AVOW (Another Voice of Warning)

Rigby

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Idaho Light Foot Militia*

Kootenai County

Meridian

John Birch Society

Boise

Twin Falls

Oath Keepers

Bonner County

Boundary

Statewide

People for Constitutional Freedom (P4CF)

Emmett

Redoubt News

Priest River

The Voice of Idaho

Boise

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Statewide

ILLINOIS (7)

Illinois Sons of Liberty*

Livingston County

Peoria County

Statewide

Next News Network

Northbrook

Overpasses for America

Tuscola

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

DeWitt County

We Are Change

Chicago

INDIANA (15)

III% Security Force*

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

Constitution Preservation

Hammond

Indiana Baptist Temple

Indianapolis

Indiana Citizens Militia*

LaPorte County

Statewide

Tippecanoe County

Indiana Sons of Liberty*

Statewide

Indianapolis Volunteer Militia*

Indianapolis

Oath Keepers*

Dubois County

Hamilton County

Marshall County

Statewide

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Hamilton County

IOWA (6)

American Patriots III%*

Clay County

Marion County

Statewide

Iowa Three Percenters - Elite*

Statewide

John Birch Society

Earlham

John Birch Society

Guthrie Center

KANSAS (4)

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

Prophecy Club

Resources, The

Topeka

Three Percenters-III%ers, The

Ellsworth County

KENTUCKY (15)

III% Security Force*

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Constitution Party

of Kentucky

Lexington

AP IMAGES/JAN BAUER (CLINTON); AP IMAGES/MIKE GROLL (BUSH); AP IMAGES/CAROLYN KASTER (OBAMA); GETTY IMAGES/AP/FILM WATSON (TRUMP)

John Birch Society

Statewide

KY Mountain Rangers*

Bath County

Oath Keepers

Ekron

Glasgow

Hopkinsville

Statewide

Take Back Kentucky

Statewide

Tea Party of Kentucky

Louisville

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

Bullitt County

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

Louisville

Watchmen of America

Lexington

LOUISIANA (13)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Constitution Party**of Louisiana**

Eunice

**Continental Marshals for
the Republic**

Magnolia

Eagle Forum

Shreveport

Empire Washitaw de**Dugdahmoundyah**

Richwood

Gulf Coast Patriot Network

Shreveport

Oath Keepers

Baton Rouge

Central

Covington

Statewide

Outlaw Militia*

Tangipahoa Parish

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

Avoyelles Parish

MAINE (14)**American Patriots III%***

Aroostook County

Cumberland County

Franklin County

Hancock County

Kennebec County

Oxford County

Statewide

Washington County

York County

Maine Militia*

Statewide

Maine Volunteer**Responders***

Gardiner

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

Piscataquis County

Three Percent Republic*

Statewide

We Are Change

Bangor

MARYLAND (8)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

America's Survival, Inc.

Owings

American Patriots III%*

Frederick County

Harford County

Statewide

Washington County

Kerodin.com

Gaithersburg

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

Statewide

MASSACHUSETTS (4)**American Patriots III%***

Statewide

Massachusetts Militia*

Statewide

Oath Keepers *

Ware

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

Worcester County

MICHIGAN (37)**1st Michigan Assembly Free****De Jure State**

Statewide

1st Michigan Assembly

Statewide

III% Security Force*

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

Black Creek**Volunteers Division***

Isabella County

Genesee County**Volunteer Militia***

Genesee County

Great Lakes Three**Percenters***

Statewide

Jack Van Impe Ministries**International**

Troy

John Birch Society

Grand Rapids

Kalkaska

Troy

Kalkaska Volunteer Militia*

Kalkaska County

Lawful Path

Tustin

Lost Horizons

Commerce Township

Michigan Liberty Militia*

Barry County

Michigan Militia Corps**Wolverines***

Statewide

Michigan Peoples'**Reactionary Force***

Genesee County

Michigan Wolf Pack*

Gratiot County

Nesara - Republic Now -**Galactic News**

Statewide

Northern Michigan**Volunteer Militia***

Statewide

Northwest Lower Michigan**Civil Defense Militia***

Antrim County

Oath Keepers *

Statewide

Southeast Michigan**Volunteer Militia***

Livingston County

Macomb County

Wayne County

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

Berrien County

Calhoun County

Cass County

Kalamazoo County

Kent County

Muskegon County

Shiawassee County

Statewide

Van Buren County

United States**Defense Force***

Statewide

West Michigan**Volunteer Militia***

Statewide

MINNESOTA (13)**III% Security Force***

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Rice County

Statewide

American Patriot III%*

Becker County

Blue Earth County

Hennepin County

Statewide

Stearns County

Central Minnesota**Tea Party**

Saint Cloud

Genesis Communication**Network**

Eagan

John Birch Society

Chanhassen

Oath Keepers *

Statewide

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

Crow Wing County

MISSISSIPPI (10)**III% Security Force**

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Citizens Militia of**Mississippi***

Batesville

Constitution Party**of Mississippi**

Seminary

Mississippi Militia*

Statewide

Mississippi Tea Party

Jackson

Oath Keepers *

Statewide

Outlaw Militia*

Gulfport

Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Petal
MISSOURI (15)
2nd Amendment Patches.com
 Halltown
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Constitution Party of Missouri
 Piedmont
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 St. Joseph
Missouri Militia *
 Columbia
 Houston
 Joplin
 Lebanon
 Springfield
Oath Keepers
 Neosho
 St. Louis
 Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Cole County
MONTANA (9)
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Billings
 Great Falls
National Infantry Training Centre
 Kalispell
Oath Keepers
 Statewide
Stand Up America U.S.
 Bigfork
SteveQuayle.com
 Bozeman
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Statewide
NEBRASKA (4)
III% United Patriots*
 Comstock
FreeInhabitants.info
 Omaha

Oath Keepers *
 Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Custer County
NEVADA (6)
III% Security Force
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Black Legion Militia*
 Southern
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Statewide
We Are Change
 Las Vegas
NEW HAMPSHIRE (4)
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Belknap County
We Are Change
 Manchester
What Really Happened
 Concord
NEW JERSEY (26)
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Freedom Fighters Security Force*
 East Vineland
American Patriots III%*
 Cape May County
 North New Jersey
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Cranford
 Flemington
 Gillette
 Holmdel
 Keyport
 Madison
 Morristown
 Ringwood
 Sicklerville
 Somers Point
 Summit
 Totowa
 Union
 Wantage
New Jersey Light Foot*

Statewide
Oath Keepers *
 Bergen County
 Cape May
 North Region
 Statewide
R.V. Bey Publications
 Pleasantville
tomatobubble.com
 Saddle Brook
NEW MEXICO (3)
Constitution Party of New Mexico
 Los Lunas
John Birch Society
 Las Cruces
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Statewide
NEW YORK (34)
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
 Suffolk County
Corporate Freedom Group
 Buffalo
Creditors Debtors Contracts in Commerce (CDCIC)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Albany
 Binghamton
 Garden City Park
 Niksayuna
 Queens
Liberty State Militia*
 Chenango County
National Liberty Alliance
 Hyde Park
New York Light Foot Militia*
 Statewide
New York Militia TM*
 Albany County
 Mohawk Valley Region
New York Mutual Assistance Group*
 Statewide
Oath Keepers*
 Capital Region
 Catskill
 Central
 Chatham
 Finger Lakes
 Hudson Valley
 Long Island
 Southern Tier

Staten Island
 Statewide
 Thornwood
 Warren County
 Wayne County
 Western Region
Sovereign News, The
 New York
Three Percenters III%ers, The
 Buffalo
 Depew
 Herkimer County
 Staten Island
NORTH CAROLINA (15)
III% Security Force*
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
America's Remedy
 Charlotte
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Camp Constitution
 Charlotte
Constitution Party of North Carolina
 Rocky Point
Eagle Forum
 Statewide
Free North Carolina
 Cape Carteret
John Birch Society
 Crumpler
NORTH-CAROLINA American Republic
 Western North Carolina
Oath Keepers
 Granite Falls
 Piedmont Triad
 Statewide
Stokes County Militia*
 King
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Wake County
NORTH DAKOTA (3)
III% Security Force*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Sheridan County
OHIO (29)
III% Security Force*

Statewide
American Patriots III%*
 Clermont County
 Portage County
 Statewide
 Youngstown
Cowboys Motorcycle Club CFFC*
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Columbus
 Independence
Last Militia, The*
 Allen County
 Butler County
 Clark County
 Hamilton County
 Montgomery County
 Portage County
 Statewide County
 Summit County
 Trumbull County
March to Exodus
 Statewide
Oath Keepers *
 Statewide
 Wood County
Ohio Defense Force
Home Guard*
 Cincinnati
 Cleveland
 New Lexington
 Zanesville
Ohio Irregulars*
 Statewide
Ohio Minutemen Militia*
 Statewide
Ohio Valley Minutemen
Citizen's Volunteer Militia*
 Statewide
Silver Shield Xchange
 Cleveland
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Knox County
OKLAHOMA (6)
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Oklahoma City
Overpasses for America

Tecumseh
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Pottawatomie County
OREGON (23)
III% Security Force
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriot Party
 Ashland
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Central Oregon Constitutional Guard*
 Redmond
Embassy of Heaven
 Stayton
Freedom Bound International
 Klamath Falls
Freedom From Government
 Newberg
Heirs of Patrick Henry
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Portland
McCutcheons Ink.
 Central Point
News With Views
 Merlin
Oath Keepers*
 Statewide
Southern Oregon Constitutional Guard
 Southern
Spectre Training Group*
 Northwest
State of Jefferson Formation
 Coos County
 Curry County
 Jackson County
 Josephine County
 Klamath County
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Statewide
Voice of Freedom, The
 Klamath Falls
You Have the Right
 Eugene
PENNSYLVANIA (39)
III% Security Force*
 Statewide

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
Alt Market
 Pittsburgh
American Patriots III%*
 Berks County
 Chester County
 Erie County
 Montgomery County
 Somerset County
 Statewide
 Westmoreland County
Berks County Patriots
 Blandon
Carlisle Light Infantry*
 Carlisle
John Birch Society
 New Oxford
 Philadelphia
 Pittsburgh
Oath Keepers*
 Armstrong
 Dauphin County
 Girard
 Harrisburg
 Mercer County
 Millersburg
 Reading
 Statewide
 Wyoming
Pennsylvania American Patriot Radio
 Crawford County
Pennsylvania Armare Woodsmen*
 Statewide
Pennsylvania Home Guard*
 Statewide
Pennsylvania Light Foot Militia*
 Adams County
 Berks County
 Dauphin County
 Franklin County
 Juniata County
 Lancaster County
 Schuylkill County
 Statewide
 Tioga County
 Westmoreland County
The Three Percent Republic*
 Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Northumberland County

RHODE ISLAND (3)
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 North Kingstown
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Statewide
SOUTH CAROLINA (12)
III% Security Force*
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Christian Exodus
 Fort Mill
Constitution Party of South Carolina
 Taylors
John Birch Society
 Greenville
 Lancaster
 Spartanburg
 Statewide
 Summerville
South Carolina Light Foot Militia*
 Horry County
Three Percenters-III%ers, The
 Sumter County
SOUTH DAKOTA (2)
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Three Percenters-III%ers, The*
 Stanley County
TENNESSEE (9)
III% Security Force*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Montgomery County
Eagle Forum
 Nashville
East Tennessee Mountain Militia*
 Knoxville
National Black Robe Regiment
 Springfield
Oath Keepers
 Knoxville

Three Percenters Club*

Nashville

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

Smith County

TEXAS (37)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

Adask's Law

Garland

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Americans Standing for**Liberty**

Hamlin

Brave New Books

Austin

Constitution Party of Texas

Iredell

Constitution Society

Austin

Defense Distributed

Austin

Eagle Forum

Anderson

Fearless Nation

Leander

Freedom School

Austin

Golden Triangle Militia*

Groves

Orange

InfoWars

Austin

John Birch Society

Dallas

Houston

Midland

Richardson

Robinson

Temple

Victoria

Oath Keepers

Fort Worth

High Plains

Quitman

Statewide

Temple

Republic Broadcasting

Round Rock

Republic of Texas

Bastrop County

Rule of Law Radio

Austin

Silver Bear Cafe

Garland

TURF - Texans Uniting for Reform and Freedom

San Antonio

Texas Eagle Forum

Dallas

Texas Light Foot Militia*

Anderson County

Cherokee County

Henderson County

Smith County

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

Comanche County

UTAH (6)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

John Birch Society

Sandy

Liberty RoundTable

Highland

Oath Keepers

Statewide

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

Statewide

VERMONT (2)**American Patriots III%***

Statewide

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

Orange County

VIRGINIA (29)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

American Policy Center

Warrenton

Constitution Party**of Virginia**

Newport News

Constitutional Rights PAC

Alexandria

Declaration Alliance

Herndon

GrassTopsUSA Inc.

Lorton

Gun Owners of America

Springfield

John Birch Society

Chesterfield

Fredericksburg

Gloucester County

Petersburg

Yorktown

Oath Keepers

Bedford County

Culpeper Fauquier and

Rappahannock Counties

Dinwiddie

Fairfax County

Franklin County

Fredericksburg

Goochland

Hampton

Orange Greene and

Madison Counties

Pittsylvania-Henry

Prince William County

Roanoke

Statewide

Winchester

Outlaw Militia*

Albemarle County

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

Buckingham County

WASHINGTON (17)**III% Security Force**

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Black Horse Militia*

Seattle

Citizen Review Online

Sequim

I UV

Bellevue

John Birch Society

Gig Harbor

Kalama

Spokane Valley

Vancouver

Yelm

Kingdom of YAH of HOSTS

Tacoma

Liberty For All III%*

Yakima

Oath Keepers

Statewide

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

Statewide

Washington Light Foot**Militia***

Spokane County

Toppenish

WEST VIRGINIA (9)**III% Security Force***

Statewide

Oath Keepers

Eastern Region

Statewide

Ohio Valley Minutemen**Citizen's Volunteer Militia***

Statewide

Three Percenters Club*

Statewide

Three Percent Republic*

Sutton

West Virginia Light**Foot Militia***

Central

Southwest

Statewide

WISCONSIN (6)**III% United Patriots***

Statewide

American Patriots III%*

Statewide

John Birch Society

Appleton

Northern Wisconsin**Militiamen***

St. Croix County

Oath Keepers*

Statewide

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

Marathon County

WYOMING (9)**III% Security Force***

Statewide

III% United Patriots*

Statewide

American Patriots III%

Statewide

Natural News

Cody

Oath Keepers

Northeast

Northwest

Southeast

Southwest

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

Statewide ▲

WORLD.



The radical right and WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION –
an enduring threat to the American homeland

BY ALEJANDRO J. BEUTEL



Property belonging to William Krar and Judith Bruey recovered by federal authorities in a raid in April 2003 at a storage facility in Noonday, Texas.

March 2018 marks the 15th anniversary of U.S. military forces' invasion of Iraq over alleged ties to Al-Qaeda and the concealment of a weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program. Neither allegation turned out to be true.

Yet on April 10, 2003, one of the most alarming discoveries in recent U.S. counterterrorism history took place inside a storage locker located in Noonday, Texas. The contents: a hydrogen cyanide device with enough deadly chemical material to kill an estimated 6,000 people — more than twice the number of victims in the September 11, 2001 attacks.

The individual chiefly responsible for the illicit material was William Krar, a violent, far-right, antigovernment extremist from New Hampshire. Krar, 62, was active in the New Hampshire militia scene and had ties to members of the New Jersey Militia group.

When federal agents raided his storage locker in Noonday, they found copies of Henry Ford's anti-semitic screed *The International Jew*, along with a copy of the violent white supremacist fantasy novel *The Turner Diaries*, which served as inspiration for Timothy McVeigh's infamous 1995 bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City that killed 168 people.

Despite the fact that a chemical WMD was found on American soil at a time of high public concern about terrorism, the incident generated little media fanfare or public attention.

Drawing from a number of various open sources, the SPLC has identified at least 17 cases of extremists since 1993 — 16 of those involving U.S. far-right extremists who have sought to, or successfully acquired, deadly chemical, biological or radiological weapons capabilities.

The Cases

APRIL 8, 1993 Beaver Creek, Yukon Territory, Canada

Thomas Lavy, 54, a far-right survivalist extremist, was detained by Canadian custom authorities at the Alaskan border as he attempted to drive into Canada. Canadian customs seized four guns, 20,000 rounds of ammunition, \$89,000 in cash and a plastic bag containing white powder. Since Lavy had technically not broken any Canadian laws, except for failure to declare his items, he was released. Canadian authorities later realized the bag of white powder was 130 grams of ricin. It wasn't until 1995 that U.S. authorities learned about the 1993 discovery and arrested Lavy at a cabin near Onia, Arkansas, in violation of the Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989 (BWATA). Several days after his arrest, on December 23, 1995, Lavy committed suicide, hanging himself in his jail cell.

AUGUST 4, 1994 Douglas County, Minnesota

Four antigovernment activists bent on assassinating law enforcement officials were arrested and tried

under BWATA a year before Lavy hanged himself. Douglas Baker, LeRoy Wheeler, Dennis Henderson and Richard Oelrich were members of the Minnesota Patriot's Council, a far-right antigovernment extremist group. Authorities began monitoring their activities in 1991 when Henderson's friend Scott Loverink approached the Douglas County Sheriff's Office, telling them that Henderson belonged to an extremist organization interested in bombing a federal office and killing a local deputy sheriff with ricin. A year later, Collete Baker contacted the Swift County, Minnesota sheriff's office, informing them her husband Douglas was threatening to kill her with a shotgun and possessed a substance that "would kill a person on contact." She later corroborated her claim, bringing a baby food jar containing ricin to authorities. Federal authorities found several explosives and enough ricin to kill approximately 100 individuals, according to government analysts. On February 28, 1995, Baker and Wheeler were convicted of violating the BWATA — the first conviction of its kind — and both received 33-month sentences. On October 25, 1995, Henderson and Oelrich were also convicted and received 37- and 48-month jail sentences, respectively.

MAY 12, 1995 Lancaster, Ohio

Authorities raided the residence of Larry Wayne Harris, a trained microbiologist and Aryan Nations lieutenant who boasted to co-workers that he was on the governing board of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, at the time the country's largest hate group. Harris also wrote the book *Bacteriological Warfare: A Major Threat to North America*, which some viewed as a manual for bioterrorism. The raid came after suspicions were raised by officials at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). They said Harris ordered vials of *Yersinia pestis*, a highly transmittable and fatal microorganism that causes the bubonic plague and has been associated with the former Soviet Union's offensive bioweapons program. Authorities found three unopened vials of the bacteria in Harris' vehicle, and he was charged with purchasing the deadly material using false identification. On April 22, 1997, Harris pleaded guilty to one count of wire fraud and was sentenced to 18 months of probation, 200 hours of community service and ordered to pay a \$50 fee. As a result of the incident, the CDC raised its standards for monitoring and regulating the purchase of dangerous



biological materials. Harris was also arrested in 1998 for telling an informant that he had enough anthrax to kill an entire city. Instead, it turned out he had a legal vaccine.

JUNE 13, 1996 Long Island, New York
Three members of the Long Island U.F.O. Network — John Ford, 47, Edward Zabo, 49 and Joseph Mazzuchelli, 42 — were arrested for conspiring to assassinate several elected officials on Long Island, New York, by inserting radium, a highly radioactive substance, into their food. The plot appears to have been inspired by the belief that local elected officials were covering up evidence of a UFO crash they blamed for causing a forest fire. Police found radioactive materials inside the home of Zabo, a former Department of Defense employee. Ford was deemed incompetent to stand trial and involuntarily committed to a mental health facility. Mazzuchelli was convicted of second-degree conspiracy and sentenced to three years in prison; Zabo pleaded guilty to supplying the radium and served a year in prison.



Larry Wayne Harris (top) was charged with receiving stolen property. For allegedly obtaining bubonic plague cultures through the mail.

APRIL 1, 1997 Multnomah County, Oregon

The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) searched the home of the parents of James Dalton Bell, a member of Oregon's Multnomah County Common Law Court, a sovereign citizen group. The search was initiated after Bell set off a stink bomb at a Vancouver, Washington, IRS office in retaliation for his car being seized for failure to pay his taxes. The search revealed a cache of chemicals, including sodium cyanide and a precursor to sarin nerve gas. Authorities also found antigovernment militia literature and explosives manuals. According to a federal

criminal complaint, Bell had authored an essay that advocated for the creation of a digital currency and electronic payment system to facilitate the assassination of government employees and “specifically mentioned Tax Collectors as part of his plan.” In July 1997, Bell struck a plea deal and was sentenced to 11 months in prison, plus additional supervision upon release. On November 6, 2000, his residence was searched, with authorities discovering many of the same chemical materials found during his 1997 arrest. Eventually he was rearrested for stalking federal officials and their family members. Nearly two weeks later, he was arrested and eventually found guilty on April 10, 2001, on two counts of stalking government officials. He was sentenced to 60 months of prison for each count and was released on December 20, 2009.

DECEMBER 3, 1999 San Joaquin County, California
Officials seized several small arms and explosives, along with an unnamed type of cyanide and nerve gas antidote from Kevin Ray Patterson, 42, and Charles Dennis Kiles, 49, two members of California’s San Joaquin County Militia. Patterson and Kiles were arrested for attempting to attack a propane petro-chemical storage facility in nearby Elk Grove. A search of their homes turned up 30 pounds of fertilizer that could be used in a bomb, as well as 50 guns and 50,000 rounds of ammunition. Patterson was sentenced to 21 years in federal prison; Kiles received 22 years.

APRIL 10, 2003 Noonday, Texas

Antigovernment extremists and white supremacists William Krar and Judith Bruey were arrested in Noonday, Texas, and charged with building and possessing chemical weapons. Authorities first became aware of Krar’s illicit activities 16 months earlier, when a delivery man dropped off a package from Krar containing fake government identification documents intended for Edward Feltus, a member of the far-right New Jersey Militia. The package was delivered to the wrong person, who then reported it to authorities. In addition to explosives, firearms, 500,000 rounds of ammunition, landmines and pipe bombs, Krar was in possession of a device containing enough chemicals to construct a cyanide gas bomb capable of killing up to 6,000 people. Krar was sentenced to 11 years and three months in prison; Bruey received 57 months.

JUNE 23, 2004 Agawam, Massachusetts

Michael Crooker, an individual with a history of far-right, antigovernment extremism, was initially arrested on charges related to a firearms violation. After his arrest, authorities discovered a weapons lab in Crooker’s apartment, including possession of explosives-making chemicals, along with raw materials and equipment needed to create the biochemical poisons ricin and abrin. Nearly two months after Crooker’s arrest, his father was cleaning a window on his property and accidentally discovered additional material — a vial that, according to federal officials, contained enough powder ricin to kill up to 750 people. Crooker admitted to possessing the ricin-filled vial and noted he had it for several years. He pleaded guilty to possession of a potentially lethal toxin and threatening a federal prosecutor. Crooker was sentenced to 15 years in prison.



William Krar, 63, left, and his common-law wife, Judith Bruey, 55, right, are escorted by authorities following their sentencing on May 4, 2004, at the U.S. Courthouse in Tyler, Texas.

NOVEMBER 5, 1999 Tampa, Florida

James Kenneth Gluck, 53, was arrested in Tampa, Florida, for threatening to use ricin and explosives against judicial officials and facilities in Jefferson County, Colorado. Shortly after his arrest, investigators found antigovernment literature, a copy of *The Anarchist Cookbook*, and a makeshift laboratory that included the ingredients necessary for the manufacture of ricin inside his home. He was charged with two counts of issuing threats against court officers. Gluck ended up spending a short time in prison before being released in early 2001.

OCTOBER 25, 2004 McKenzie, Tennessee

Demetrius “Van” Crocker, 39, who held strong anti-government and neo-Nazi views, was arrested for attempting to purchase sarin and explosives from an undercover FBI agent. The FBI’s investigation into Crocker began after he told an informant he was looking for radioactive material. At one point during the investigation, Crocker was exploring the possibility of manufacturing and detonating a radiological dispersal device (“dirty bomb”) on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. He was sentenced to 30 years in federal prison.

JANUARY 1, 2005 Ocala, Florida

A former roommate tipped off authorities that Steven Michael Ekberg, 22, might have illegal biological materials and firearms. Ekberg held far-right, antigovernment views and once said that he would “take some sort of action” if the federal government harmed him. A week later, he was arrested in Ocala, Florida, on charges of violating the terms of his concealed carry permit. A search of Ekberg’s residence related to his arrest identified terrorist-associated literature, including the Unabomber’s manifesto, how-to manuals on various ways to kill people, along with ricin, castor beans and various other unspecified chemicals. Ekberg accepted a plea deal that included two years of probation and attending drug-counseling sessions.

JULY 13, 2005 Manitowish Waters, Wisconsin

Originally from Arizona, Denys Ray Hughes was a 58-year-old survivalist with far-right anti-government views. Hughes was arrested in Manitowish Waters, Wisconsin, on charges of illegal possession of explosives. A search of his cabin quickly revealed 43 guns, along with materials needed for the manufacture of ricin, including production formulas, six bottles of castor beans and dimethyl sulfide. A search of his residence in Phoenix also revealed several castor bean plants, a pipe bomb, bomb-making components and an illegal suppressor.

Hughes was convicted in 2006 and sentenced to 87 months in prison. However, after several years behind bars, Hughes was allowed to serve out the rest of his sentence in a halfway house. While being transported back to Wisconsin, in May 2011,



Hughes escaped custody and was a fugitive before his corpse was eventually discovered in Western Nebraska in April 2012. The body’s identity was publicly confirmed in April 2013. Authorities believe he died of prior health complications.

DECEMBER 9, 2008 Belfast, Maine

Police in Belfast responded to an emergency call from Amber Cummings, who said she shot and killed her abusive husband, James. Inside the house, officers noticed Nazi memorabilia and paraphernalia, along with a completed application to join the U.S.-based neo-Nazi organization the National Socialist Movement, all belonging to James. They also found radioactive materials, including depleted uranium, thorium-232, beryllium, instructions on creating a dirty bomb and handwritten notes indicating an intent to acquire cobalt-60, cesium-137 and strontium-90 — all highly radioactive substances. Interviews with Amber revealed that James had intended to kill President-elect Obama and scores of other individuals with a radiological bomb. She also noted James had successfully made several dry runs to practice bypassing police checkpoints. Publicly known facts about this case suggest it is so far the most operationally advanced radiological terrorist plot to target the U.S. homeland in modern U.S. counterterrorism history. Amber was convicted of murder but the judge suspended her eight-year sentence.

NOVEMBER 1, 2011 Toccoa, Georgia

Four members of a northern Georgia-based militia cell — Frederick Thomas, 73, Dan Roberts, 67, Ray Adams, 65, and Samuel Crump, 68 — conspired to execute a terrorist attack that involved the use of ricin. While some observers pointed out that the plan was operationally unsophisticated and unlikely to succeed, a search of Crump’s and Adams’ homes in Toccoa, Georgia, nevertheless revealed several important materials consistent with a ricin-related terrorist attack, including castor beans, books concerning safety regulations, hazardous materials and emergency



Amber Cummings, 31, leaves Maine’s Belfast District Court on February 17, 2009, following her initial court appearance on charges of murdering her husband, James (above).



Glendon Scott Crawford



Eric J. Feight



William Christopher Gibbs

was also a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Crawford and Feight were accused of attempting to build a radiation dispersal device — or what media dubbed a “death ray” gun — that they would use to emit lethal amounts of radiation against Albany-area Muslim institutions and President Obama. (Experts noted that the device, as designed, was unlikely to work.) On December 19, 2016, Crawford was sentenced to 30 years in prison on charges that included an attempt to produce and use a radiological dispersal device — the first conviction of its kind since the law was passed almost 15 years ago. Feight was sentenced to eight years and one month.

FEBRUARY 2, 2017 Fannin County, Georgia

William Christopher Gibbs, 27, a member of the racist Georgia Church of Creativity, was arrested for possession of ricin and probation violation. Authorities learned of Gibbs’ ricin possession when he checked himself into a hospital after accidentally exposing himself to the substance. A field test on his car showed trace amounts of ricin present. If convicted, Gibbs faces up to five years in prison.

response procedures, seed pods, toxic plant guides, acetone, castor bean plants and instructions in the production of ricin. Crump and Adams were both sentenced to 10 years; Roberts and Thomas were sentenced to five years each.

AUGUST 12, 2011 Yemen

The New York Times reported that U.S., Saudi and Yemeni intelligence agencies identified a credible a plot by Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) to attack various soft targets in the United States, including malls, railways and airports using a ricin dispersal bomb. Although officials noted that the plot was largely aspirational, they also pointed out that AQAP operatives did attempt to acquire large quantities of castor beans — a necessary ingredient for making ricin.

JUNE 19, 2013 Albany, New York

Glendon Scott Crawford and Eric J. Feight — two individuals with strong far-right and anti-Muslim views — were arrested by federal authorities in Albany, New York. At the time of his arrest, Crawford

As these examples suggest, far-right extremists and others have been seeking to acquire highly destructive weapons capabilities which could be used on American soil. The operational sophistication and potentially deadly nature of these cases varies greatly.

Some examples, like the 2011 Georgia militia ricin plot and the KKK “death ray” gun plot, show conspirators who lacked the technical know-how for a sophisticated attack. William Krar and would-be “Nazi dirty bomber” James Cummings are the exact opposite; highly skilled individuals with highly destructive weapons material that were only discovered by accident.

Regardless of the actors’ varied capabilities, extremists of multiple ideologies — not just those justifying their actions through an extremist form of Islam — continue to pursue the ability to obtain and possibly use weapons of mass destruction in the United States. Our nation and its elected officials cannot lose sight of the fact that there plenty of individuals who, acting in the name of far-right extremism, remain an enduring threat to the American homeland. ▲

AP IMAGES/THE ALBANY TIMES UNION/SHIP DICKEY (CRAWFORD AND FEIGHT); FACEBOOK (GIBBS)

english? **Blue-Eyed English**

Speechroom, birdlore and wordstock: white nationalists
push for a new language to drive out the impure old

BY RYAN LENZ

White nationalists have gone looking for a moth-
ertung. No, that isn't a misspelling, rather how the
word would look for white nationalists obsessed
with seeing English in widespread use.

English? I must certainly mean English, right?
Nope.

Derived from "linguistic purism," an idea that
dates to the 16th and 17th centuries, English is the
English language either expunged of words with
Latin or Greek origins, or with those words
completely reimagined with deference to Germanic
roots. In the 19th century, writers such as Charles
Dickens and Thomas Hardy favored the style, even
introducing words like "birdlore" instead of ornithology and "bendsome" in place of flexible.

But in the last year, as the racist "alt-right" has
moved farther into the mainstream, this old idea has
seen some newfound enthusiasm. (Maybe racists
have come to realize that if a white ethnostate can't
be built on a gene pool, grammar will do.)

As early as 2010, though, English was casually
discussed in places such as Stormfront, once the
largest white supremacist website in the world.

There, last summer, someone with the username
"Hail Britain," lauded English after someone posted
a YouTube video exploring the question, "What if
English were 100 percent Germanic."

"Good to see this sort of thing circulating," a user
named "Branmakmorn" wrote. "Hopefully it'll spur
a few normies to start asking more questions about
their white identity."

More recently, last November, an author revisited
the idea of English in the Renegade Tribune, an
online anti-Semitic newspaper that has dabbled in
Holocaust denial and featured headlines such as,
"The Jewish [sic] Plans for 2018: Immigrant
Invasion, Miscegenation, and White Genocide."

"How is that White countries with languages
derived from Latin fell easier to Jewish universalism

than Germany? Of course language is not the main
reason but it is certainly related to it, and it had
its own contribution," an author last opined last
November for the Renegade Tribune.

He added, in a comment to his own post: "Latin
is a slave language because it is intended to be
universal, to facilitate the breeding together of
different humans."

While the idea is bizarre, and almost certain to
fall short in a racist culture driven more by memes
more than transliterate mental gymnastics, there
have been discussions about pushing English into
the mainstream on Reddit, and online forums else-
where dedicated to English.

But even for racists concerned with racial purity,
the idea of speaking an entirely different language
seems daunting.

"What would be the point in changing the
time-proven fully functional English language???"
a user named "Rebel Robbie" asked last July on
Stormfront. "Language is the least of our problems.
... a common language is a way of communicating
with with [sic] the peoples that are local to each
other in a specific area."

Rebel Robbie has a point, even if he expressed it
with some grammatical stumbles.

Every white nationalist knows its hard enough
getting the movement to agree on anything, and
that's when everyone involved is pulling from the
same "wordstock." That's not to mention how
the anti-immigrant movement and groups such
as Pro-English, one of Michigan ophthalmologist
John Tanton's projects, have spent the better part of
nearly three decades feebly pushing for the United
States to adopt English as a national language.

But, hey, the brainy racists obsessed with
language are right about one thing: language matters.
And even they have to realize that pushing English is
one thing above all else: laughably stupid. ▲