

Intelligence Report

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'WE NEVER SLEEP'

How a group of homeless teens became
the largest and most dangerous white
prison gang in Oregon

All Forms of Violence Need Condemnation

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

On June 14, President Trump called for unity. His remarks came after a vicious shooting during a baseball practice in Alexandria, Virginia. The shooter was a man reportedly enraged at the president and GOP policies; Rep. Steve Scalise (R-La.) and four others were severely injured.

“We can all agree that we are blessed to be Americans, that our children deserve to grow up in a nation of safety and peace,” Trump said, concluding, “We are strongest when we are unified and when we work together for the common good.”



It was the right message, but one that Trump has too often failed to follow. This has been especially true when it comes to violence motivated by hatred. The Southern Poverty Law Center documented nearly 900 hate incidents in the 10 days after Trump’s election,

around a fifth of which were committed by Trump supporters or in his name. The populations most targeted in those 10 days — immigrants and Muslims — had been regularly demonized by Trump during the campaign.

Always ready to condemn attacks motivated by extremist interpretations of Islam — like those in Manchester and London in May — when it comes to hate violence by white supremacists the president is untypically quiet.

And that’s a serious problem because this type of violence is on the rise.

In March, James H. Jackson traveled from Baltimore to New York City to kill black men. A reader of the pro-Trump, neo-Nazi site Daily Stormer and a veteran, Jackson killed one man before turning himself in, after which he was charged with terrorism.

In February, a man in Olathe, Kansas, walked into a bar yelling, “Get out of my country,” and then shot two men from India, killing one. Adam Purlinton was booked for murder.

In early June, federal hate crime charges were brought.

The father of one of those injured blamed the attack on Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric, imploring Indian parents “not to send their children to the United States.”

A black college student and commissioned Army officer was stabbed to death May 20 at the University of Maryland, College Park. The attacker, Sean Urbanski, was a member of a racist Facebook group Alt-Reich. A Trump fan, Urbanski liked a post online that read, “Trump isn’t lying that hispanics [sic] are taking the land away and that times are bad.” It featured graphics that claimed the white race was being snuffed out by minorities. The FBI is investigating the murder as a hate crime.

Six days later, Jeremy Christian stabbed two men to death on the MAX train in Portland, Oregon. The men died after coming to the aid of two young Muslim women Christian was harassing. A participant in a pro-Trump “March for Free Speech” rally in late April, Christian, too, had extremist beliefs. He praised Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, defended the American Nazi Party and called for a white ethnostate.

Christian was indicted on 15 charges including aggravated murder.

This hate violence is happening in an increasingly volatile environment, as this issue of the *Intelligence Report* documents. Extremist secessionist movements are popping up across the country, white supremacist criminal gangs are growing in numbers and cops are being killed by white and black extremists alike.

Particularly challenging for law enforcement, violence is breaking out on the streets between militant far right groups and antifascist activists. On the right, new radical right fight clubs like the DIY Division, the Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights and the Proud Boys have popped up to do battle in clashes between pro-Trump and anti-Trump groups.

One would think that with this volatility and the shocking amount of hate violence we’ve seen, our president would provide some guidance. At the least, he could denounce the hatred, some of it committed by his supporters, as strongly as he did the horrific shooting on June 14. Perhaps Trump could take a page from former President George W. Bush, who decried hate violence against Muslims after the 9/11 attacks, helping to ease a spasm of anti-Muslim attacks.

Unfortunately, we’ve seen little interest by the Trump Administration in taking such a stand.

In March, Trump spokesman Sean Spicer said the administration decried hate crimes, but he quickly added that people are unfair to those on the political right after such incidents. In most cases, the administration remains silent. It took the Trump Administration three days to speak out against the Portland attacks — and only from the official POTUS Twitter account that Trump doesn’t really use, preferring his personal account.

It is a spineless response to a serious problem raging across America. With such indifference in charge, the plague of hate violence looks set to continue. ▲

IN THE SPRING 2017 ISSUE of the *Intelligence Report*, a quote on page seven was taken out of context. When Henrico County, Virginia Sheriff Mike Wade said “The majority of those people in these situations that are shot are on the way to jail,” he was referring to those suffering from mental illness and/or substance abuse, not to black men. We regret the error.



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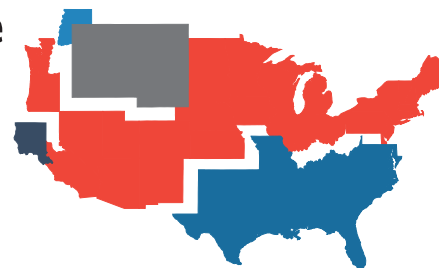
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Be it a new Confederate States of America, new “states” of Liberty and Jefferson in California and Washington or an American Redoubt in the Pacific Northwest, a number of movements are calling for the breakup of the United States.



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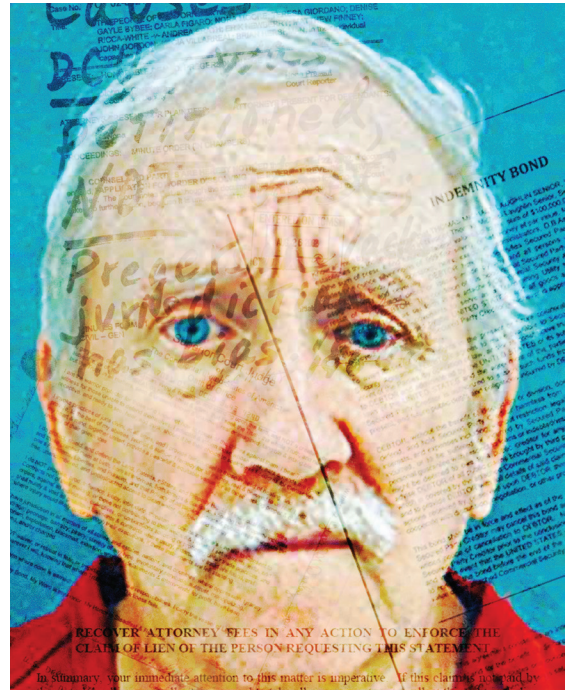
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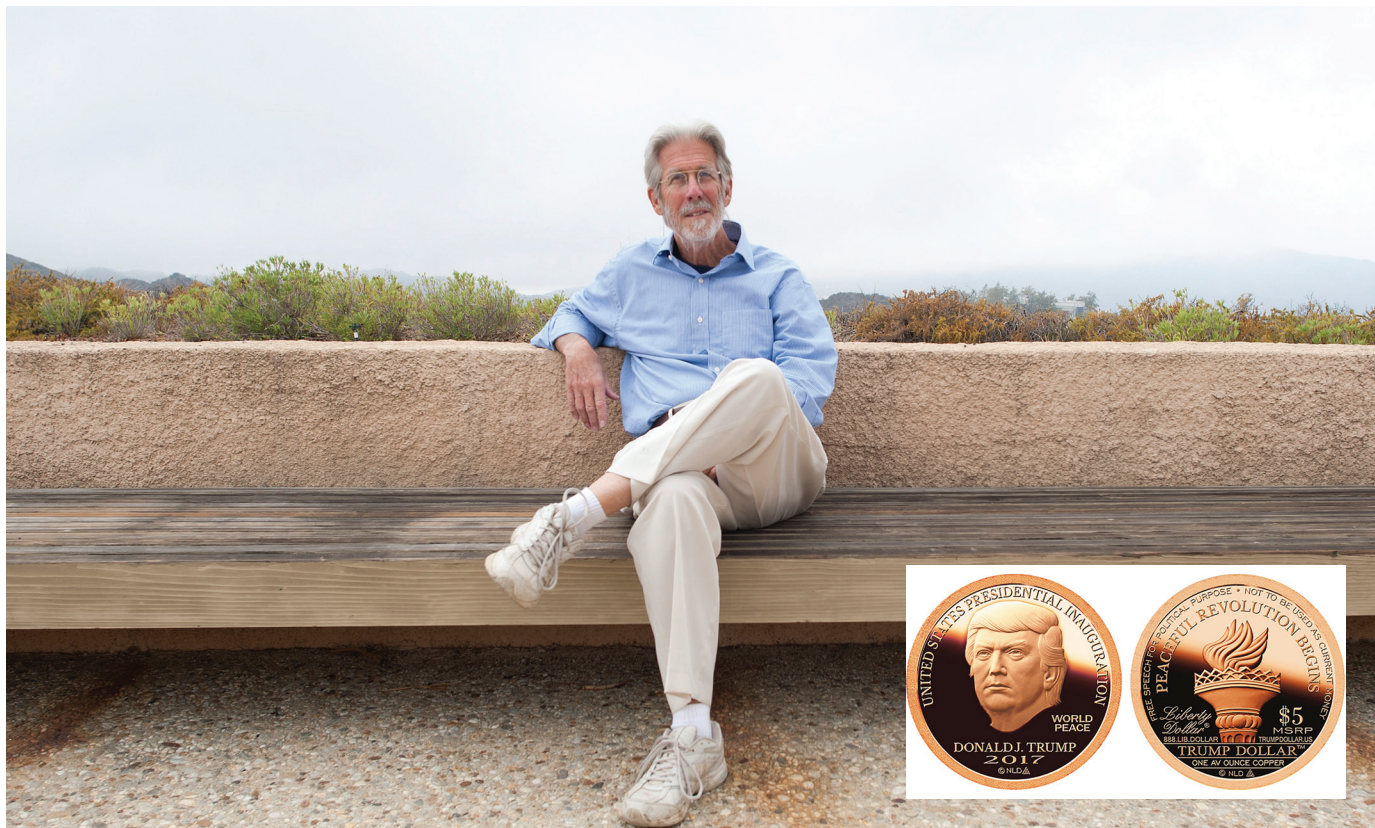
Donald Trump's presidency has led to troubling rollbacks of LGBT equality which has been welcomed by the radical right.

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High profile attacks indicate the reemergence of the violent Black Nationalist, a domestic terrorist threat not seen since the 1970s.

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.



[ANTIGOVERNMENT]

Felon Bernard von NotHaus Hopes to Make a Mint

Donald J. Trump may not know it, but his image appears on “Trump Dollars” being minted and sold by a felon previously convicted of federal counterfeiting and fraud charges.

Bernard von NotHaus is selling 2017 “Trump Dollars,” minted in gold, silver and copper, with the president’s image under the slogan, “Make America Great Again.”

His sales literature attempts to hook itself to the Trump bandwagon.

“Fed up with the political class?” it says. “Fed up with money that loses its value? Show how you feel with the ‘Trump Dollar’ — a silver-dollar size commemorative coin made of REAL SILVER!”

The coins have Trump’s “iconic image engraved in ultra-high relief,” the literature boasts. Trump Dollars made of silver sell for \$25 apiece, while those minted in gold currently sell for \$1,403.

Before Trump’s election in November, von NotHaus was offering for public sale similar “dollars” with the slogan “Trump the Government” on their face.

About that same time late last year, von NotHaus was promoting his new-found friend, Milwaukee sheriff David Clarke — a proud supporter of the Constitutional Sheriffs and Police Officers Association, a far-right “constitutionalist” organization promoting the belief that federal agencies and laws should be ignored.

It may be no surprise that Trump’s election seems to have rejuvenated von NotHaus’ 20-year battle with the federal government — making him sound almost giddy. The self-described “monetary architect” did not respond to written questions, including whether the Trump Administration may look at his venture with approval.

“President Trump’s call to action — ‘Make America Great Again’ — is not just a campaign slogan or the President’s personal mission — it’s an invitation for every patriotic American to take action and help make America great again,” the Florida pitchman says in the promotional material.

Bernard von NotHaus has spent 20 years fighting the federal government, including a conviction on violating federal counterfeiting, fraud and conspiracy laws. Now he’s back with a shiny new Trump coin.

Visit www.splcenter.org/intelligence-report for more information on the state of hate in America.

His new 2017 Trump Dollar, von NotHaus claims, “provides a model for a value-based standard and encourages the President to redefine the U.S. dollar based on value vs. the foul hot air of the entrenched political elite class and the fiat Federal Reserve dollar.”

It’s apparent that “making America great again” includes buying Trump Dollars from von NotHaus who now lives in Florida. He immodestly calls himself “the Rosa Parks for Monetary Rights” — a twisted affront to the real civil rights movement by a showman who continues to believe he has a constitutional right to mint coins in competition with the U.S. Government.

It’s not his first go at it, either.

In 1998, he founded the National Organization for the Repeal of the Federal Reserve Act and the Internal Revenue Service Code — a popular theme among antigovernment conspiracy buffs who believe the Federal Reserve is part of a Jewish, One World conspiracy.

While claiming he despises the federal monetary system and the IRS, von NotHaus nonetheless secured tax-exempt, non-profit status for his NORFED startup. He also found time to create his own marijuana-smoking church and become its “high priest.”

He took in millions in U.S. currency by selling his counterfeit “Liberty Dollars.”

His coins were marked with a “\$,” the word “dollar,” USA and “Trust in God” instead of “In God We Trust,” which is found on U.S. coinage.

In 2007, he minted and sold “Ron Paul Dollars,” supporting the candidacy of the Republican congressman from Texas who unsuccessfully sought the 2008 GOP presidential nomination.

After a five-year FBI investigation, von NotHaus was indicted in

North Carolina in 2009 on criminal charges of counterfeiting and selling “Liberty Dollars.”

At trial, he attempted to convince the jury that he had a constitutional right to mint and sell coins in competition with the Federal Reserve. It took the jury only 90 minutes to convict him of violating federal counterfeiting, fraud and conspiracy laws for minting and distributing his “Liberty Dollars.”

The case was the first successful criminal prosecution of someone undermining legitimate U.S. currency and a direct threat to the U.S. Mint and the Federal Reserve System.

While prosecutors argued his activities amounted to “domestic terrorism” worthy of a 17-year prison sentence, von NotHaus ended up getting six months of home confinement and three years of probation. His requests for a new trial or a voiding of the jury conviction were both denied.

To the assertion that his coin-making was a form of domestic terrorism, von NotHaus just laughed, telling *The New York Times*, “This is the United States government. It’s got all the guns, all the surveillance, all the tanks, it has nuclear weapons, and it’s worried about some ex-surfer guy making his own money? Give me a break!”

His probation later was reduced to one year, ending on Dec. 9, 2015, just in time for the “numismatic gadfly” to figure out his next minting brainchild — the Donald Trump Dollar.

To stay ahead of federal investigators and prosecutors who secured the jury conviction, von NotHaus has a disclaimer on his new “Trump Dollars: “Political purpose — Not to be used for current money.”

In the now-closed criminal case, federal prosecutors summed it up, saying von NotHaus continues to confuse what he believes

should be legal “versus what is in fact legal.”

[WHITE SUPREMACIST OUTRAGE]

White Supremacists Protest Torres and Norton Sentencing, Threaten Judge

On February 27, 2017, a Douglas County Circuit Court judge sentenced José Ismael Torres and Kayla Rae Norton to more than 20 years in prison for terrorizing African Americans at a child’s birthday party in Georgia.

Since then, white supremacists have come out in droves claiming the two defendants were given unjust sentences for using racial epithets and displaying the Confederate battle flag, going so far as to threaten the judge and one of the victims’ supporters.

“Something needs [to be] done about judges like this,” Branden Young wrote in a comment thread on former Klansman John Girton’s Facebook page.

Jeremy Walls, an associate of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Neo-Confederate League of the South, said, “You want real justice, find out where he lays his head, find out where his family sleeps at night and go take the things he loves from him,” referring to one of the victims’ supporters.

After Torres and Norton were sentenced, Girton and James Oliver, a member of the largest neo-Nazi group Nationalist Socialist Movement (NSM), and several white supremacists threatened one of the victim’s supporters and Judge William Beau McClain. They also started an “[a]ll out cyber war against” the district attorney overseeing the case.

Even though Steven Shane Howard of Vancouver,



Washington, a longtime Klan leader and former NSM member, agreed that Norton and Torres should serve time in jail, he opposed the lengthy sentences according to an article in the *Douglas County Sentinel*.

“That judge is going to hear from me personally because I am going to go to his office,” Howard said. “I am going to find out where he is ... and I am going to personally sit down and have a talk with that judge.”

Shortly after the sentencing, Howard unsuccessfully attempted to organize a Klan rally in protest.

Oliver and Girton also published a Facebook video claiming Norton and Torres’ innocence and a variety of white supremacists created their own version of what actually happened on July 15, 2015, and peppered their Facebook pages with racial epithets.

“Not one negro was harmed. However, one of them did get their feelings hurt by the use of the n-word,” Girton said in the video.

“What ACTUALLY happened,” Girton said in a video posted to Facebook, “was these flaggers were INVITED to the party in a very fake act of goodwill in the spirit of interracial peace & harmony and such assorted bullshit, but when they arrived some ‘urban youth’ outside began throwing beer bottles

at their truck, causing them to swerve into the median which popped a tire on their truck, stranding them on the scene of what would have been another incident of black on white mob violence.”

Girton did not refute that Torres, “reached for his shotgun [and] said, ‘I’ll kill all y’all niggers.’” He claims it was in self-defense. According to Girton, “in the heat of the altercation, 30 Negros” attacked the defendants and one member “got stuck there in front of a whole unruly mob of screaming Negros” after his tire blew out. According to Oliver, the “Douglasville 15” — a reference to the 15 Respect for the Flag members tried for their role in the incident — “were invited to a trap ... to get them to show up ... so they could get jumped by all these Negros ... at this ‘supposed’ birthday party.”

Another person posted a comment on Girton’s Facebook page to suggest that the incident was spurred by a participant at a “black wedding” rupturing a truck tire with a brick. The situation escalated, the story goes, by “the propensity of negroids for hysteria.”

While Girton publicly aired his grievances, he asked individuals who “belong to a registered hate group ... to help quietly,” in his video. “Let the grown-ups handle



this in secret like we’re supposed to, invisibly.”

Oliver reiterated this sentiment shortly after when he said, “This is a man’s job not a kid’s job.” At the end of the Facebook video dedicated to Torres and Norton, Oliver ended with a Nazi salute and said, “White Power, Sieg Heil, 1488.”

[VIOLENT RACISTS]

Organized Racists Look to Capitalize on Viral Political Violence

Anti-racist activists and racist groups have fought running battles at rallies and marches across the United States for decades.

Billy Roper, one of Dr. William Pierce’s most dedicated acolytes within Pierce’s neo-Nazi National Alliance, led such marches in the early 2000s.

In July 2001, Roper led a small procession in support of neo-Nazi musician Hendrik Möebus,

On Feb. 27, 2017 Superior Court Judge William McClain sentenced Jose Ismael Torres and Kayla Rae Norton, right, to lengthy prison terms for their role in the disruption of a black child’s birthday party, much to the dismay of their fellow white supremacists. National Socialist member James Oliver (left) and former Klansman John Girton (right) were among several white supremacists who threatened the victim and judge after Torres and Norton were sentenced for terrorizing a child’s birthday party and driving by in trucks bearing Confederate flags.



Members of organized hate groups, including Identity Evropa's Nathan Damigo (lower, blue shirt), have taken political violence to the streets in increasing numbers.

who was at that time fleeing murder charges in his home country of Germany. Under scattered rain showers, Roper was attacked, his right eye smacked with a metal bar. Photographers clicked away, capturing him with blood running down his face, onto his blue-and-white striped dress shirt.

In January of 2002, Roper again led a march. Devotees of the movement traveled to the small town of York, Pennsylvania. Objects and fists flew. Blood flowed. Within the canon of this subcultural street war, it earned a name, “The Battle of York.”

Later that year, in August, Roper led marchers through northwest Washington, D.C., from Union Station to the West Lawn of the Capitol. There, around 1,000 gathered to counter-protest an equal number of racists. Separated by metal barricades, neither could reach the other.

These skirmishes took place before the advent of social media and were anomalies to both media

and bystanders. The act of political violence wasn't vogue or viral then like today.

Just as some within the far-right — particularly those within the white nationalist “Alt-Right” — believe their “meme war” delivered Trump the White House, many within those circles now appear to believe the viral potential of digitally recorded violence occurring at political rallies will win them recruits and a way forward for their ideas in an American political landscape.

There is precedent for such belief.

An ugly undercurrent of violence perpetrated by supporters and detractors marred many of Trump's campaign rallies. The nation watched while Trump, at times, eagerly encouraged violence. The news website Slate chronicled 20 such incidents at his rallies between October 14, 2015 and June 18, 2016.

The Don Quixote of today's white supremacist soapboxers, Matthew Heimbach, head of the Traditionalist Workers Party, claimed this spring that he was acting on Trump's direct orders when he shoved and screamed at a young African-American female during a campaign rally in Louisville, Kentucky, in July, 2016.

For organized, violent racists and nationalists, this mindset is an everyday one. And they helped transfer a Spartan shield wall mentality from Trump's campaign rallies to the series of “Make American Great Again” (“MAGA”) rallies coordinated across America in late March.

Aging racist skinheads from the Vinlanders Social Club (VSC) and The Hated launched a new group in February called the American Guard (AG). One of its leaders, Brien James, once bragged that his Joint Terrorism Task Force file is “a mile long,” a reputation that extends from his position as a national leader of VSC.

Its members have been imprisoned for drug charges, assaults on minorities, and murder.

The Hated, long defunct, counted skins like Gabriel Cafara as members. Cafara has been convicted of biased intimidation and making terroristic threats, both hate-related offenses, and on firearms charges.

Upon being sentenced to 15 years in prison, New Jersey's Attorney General at the time, Zulima V. Farber, said, “We are pleased that this dangerous criminal is going to prison. This defendant's violent strain of racism and his access to firearms made him a grave threat to our communities.”

Curiously, the American Guard bills itself as open to all races.

The group made its debut at the “MAGA” rally in Indianapolis, Indiana. Members of VSC came to support James, whose new group claimed a Klansman and his own sons amongst its ranks. Screws had been driven through their homemade shields, and one was ringed with a sharpened blade. Makeshift PVC flagpoles concealed lead pipes. One member carried a Glock with 10 extra magazines on his tactical vest. The group was denied entry to the capitol grounds based on the weapons they carried.

Members of a neo-Nazi fight club, however, did find opposition at the “MAGA” rally in Huntington Beach, California. The club, calling itself the “DIY Division,” attacked vastly outnumbered anti-fascists with zeal, pummeling them into the sand before news media. Amongst them were members of the Hammerskin Nation, a notoriously violent racist skinhead crew. Wade Michael Page, whose rampage at a Sikh Temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin in 2012 left six dead, including himself, was a member.

The coverage of the brawl in Huntington Beach would pale

in comparison, though, to what occurred two weeks later, in mid-April, in Berkeley, California.

There, the rally's setting itself was provocation for what has become known as "The Battle of Berkeley." Staged in Martin Luther King, Jr. Park, a mish-mash of white nationalists and other bigoted, far-right miscellany intermingled with a milieu of ardent Trump supporters. One shirtless, tattooed warrior donned a Spartan war helmet.

The mish-mash, like their counterparts, came prepared to brawl, replete with masks, goggles, helmets, remedies for pepper spray and medic kits.

But what looked like a scene from WWE Smackdown devolved into a roaming riot, and included tear gas, gang-style beatings, and arrests amidst omnipresent cell-phone and GoPro cameras. The right proclaimed victory and launched a messaging offensive across Twitter and Facebook.

That was the day that the so called "Alt-Right's" meme-war manifested "irl" — "in real life." Nathan Damigo, leader of the white nationalist student group Identity Evropa, became a far-right darling after video of him punching a 95-pound female counter-protestor in the face, then fleeing the scene went viral.

Three weeks later, in early May, at another right-wing rally in Berkeley, Damigo posed for pictures with other rally-goers, basking in his newfound fame, as Shane Bauer of *Mother Jones* magazine reported. This time, the far-left didn't show, and Damigo and others were at loss for online fanfare, which has also failed to materialize for fight clubs like the American Guard.

The new Spartans have arrived, Damigo and Brien James will tell you. Roper's path was a dead-end, they'll say, but not theirs. Yet they still cling to the hope that the virus of political violence is catching,



"I'm appealing now to the homosexuals out there. Shouldn't you treat the Christian couple in Phoenix as if they ought to have religious freedom instead of hiring religious police to metaphorically throw them off a roof? You don't like it when it's done to you, so why are you doing it to others?"

—Former Colorado state legislator and Navy chaplain **Gordon Klingenschmitt** on his "Pray in Jesus Name" TV program **Dec. 14**, in which he compared a Phoenix couple's refusal to print a gay couple's wedding invitations in violation of a local nondiscrimination ordinance to ISIS fighters reportedly killing a man accused of being gay by throwing him off a roof.



"I don't walk around looking at little white children seeing future slaves anymore."

—**Michael Savage** on the **Dec. 26** edition of his radio program, "The Savage Nation," declaring that Donald Trump's election had relieved his concerns about the future of the country.



"We've seen evil come out of our State Department, unfortunately, where financial incentives are withheld from countries unless they advance, for instance, the gay agenda."

—Former Rep. **Michele Bachmann**, (R-Minn.) speaking to Family Research Council President Tony Perkins on his "Washington Watch" radio show **Jan. 5**.



"John Lewis ought to look at history. It was Abraham Lincoln that freed the slaves. It was Rutherford B. Hayes and Ulysses S. Grant that fought against Jim Crow laws. A simple 'thank you' would suffice."

—Maine Republican Gov. **Paul LePage**, suggesting **Jan. 17** on WVOM Maine radio's George Hale and Ric Tyler Show that civil rights icon, Rep. John Lewis, D-Ga., should thank Republican presidents for civil rights advances, after Lewis said President Trump wasn't a legitimate president.



"I find that many feminists are too good to clean their houses. They live in filth."

—**Sandy Rios** of the American Family Association on her radio show **Jan. 23**, mocking those who attended the Women's March on Washington.



"Together we can defeat the Jewish landlords that are engaged in ethnic cleansing, pushing out black and Latino people out of upper Manhattan. I don't take one dollar in contributions from these greedy Jewish landlords, and Mark Levine has taken over \$100,000 in campaign contributions from these greedy Jewish landlords."

—**Thomas Lopez-Pierre**, running in the **Sept. 12** Democratic primary for New York's 7th District City Council seat against incumbent Mark D. Levine, in a YouTube video posted April 25.



Jeff Schoep (upper left), Matt Heimbach (lower left) and Josh Steever (upper right) had high hopes for their Nationalist Front organization in late 2016. Six months later, after a series of poor leadership decisions, the coalition is floundering.

[HATERS ATTEMPT TO UNITE]

The Nationalist Front Limps into 2017

Touted by its co-founders as the new nucleus the organized hate movement would gather around, the Nationalist Front (NF) is floundering. Broke, bleeding member organizations and bereft of leaders with the vision to match their voices, the fledgling organization is hardly the blitzkrieg its founders imagined when NF was formed last fall.

Conceived by Jeff Schoep, 43, of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and Matthew Heimbach, 26, of the Traditional Worker's Party (TWP) as the thread that would unite white supremacist and white nationalist circles, the NF has already fallen on hard times after just six months.

Even in January of this year Heimbach remained convinced the threads were tying together, as evidenced in Vegas Tenold's piece for *The New Republic*, "When the White Nationalists Came to Washington."

Tenold captures a bullish Heimbach on inauguration day, brimming with glowing portends about himself as a doyen of the racist right:

"Remember how only a year ago we were sitting in a pizza restaurant in Kentucky, hardly 10 members in our party? Today, a year later I'm giving a speech in the most important Republican club to a group of Republican operatives. Things are happening. I can feel it."

Heimbach's statement fell flat, and what happened afterward gave him little to be confident about. That period evidenced a series of collapses across a number of unity efforts attempted by dozens of white racist groups.

Efforts like the Coalition of Aryan Organizations and the United Aryan Front appeared early but disappeared by April 2016. The latter collapsed when one of its leaders — Rebecca Barnette of Tennessee — defected for the Aryan National Alliance (ANA), a short-lived confederacy marked by betrayals from its birth.

When ANA announced itself in the spring of 2016, Schoep

was piloting the coalition along with the help of New Jersey's Josh Steever, who leads the racist skinhead crew Aryan Strikeforce (ASF), and Steve "Bowers" Nastasi, of Pennsylvania.

On the last weekend in July, 2016, the coalition held its first meeting on private land in Salem, Ohio. There, Barnette was tapped to lead NSM's and ASF's women's divisions.

The coalition boasted close to 30 groups.

Intrigued by a chance to bloc recruit or fearful of being left out, Heimbach traveled to Salem where he announced TWP's membership in ANA, calling again for the creation of a whites-only ethno-state.

A march-turned-riot on the state capitol grounds in Sacramento, California, occurred that same weekend. The Golden State Skins (GSS), a California-based racist skinhead crew, carried the banner of the Traditionalist Worker's Party that day. But after months of baiting and provoking far-left opposition on TWP's behalf, Heimbach was a ghost at his own event.

Dozens of Heimbach's troops were injured and several people were stabbed. The violent chaos of that day resulted in the California Highway Patrol recommending 514 misdemeanor and 68 felony charges involving 106 individuals.

Heimbach, safe and sound some 2,500 miles away in Ohio, stood unscathed by — and unindicted for — a fight he helped pick. He had chosen instead to align with Schoep, long a pariah within organized hate, rather than to stand with racist skinheads who fought for his party. GSS has not been seen flying the TWP banner since.

The Salem meeting proved to be flypaper for Heimbach, damaging his reputation in some circles. He had chosen a side, one on which a rift was about to emerge.

The NF was announced in early November. On its website, Schoep and the NSM wiped the ANA name from the original April 26 news release, plugging in the NF's in its place.

Overnight, a new coalition emerged, but the turbulence caused by poor leadership endured.

By the New Year, Barnette had been drummed out of the movement. Schoep and Steever parted ways, and the NF could only boast about half the groups that the ANA could six months previously.

Flash-forward to April 2017: The NF was comprised of nine groups and things were going from bad to worse.

Steever was arrested on April 13 and is currently under indictment for illegal possession and transfer of firearms, interstate racketeering, and conspiracy to distribute methamphetamine and conduct money-laundering transactions — all for the alleged purpose of funding and supplying his group and its comrades. Meanwhile, Schoep was busy begging for money, as the leaders of TWP, NSM and the League of the South were struggling to cover the costs an April 28 Pikeville, Kentucky, rally.

The NF conceived its Pikeville rally with cynical intentions. They hoped the hardships of a state that in 2015 sat at 49th in median household income would provide them footholds within the community into which they could stamp race-hate.

The event flopped, drawing just over 100 bigots to Pikeville who gathered in a pen constructed by authorities around the rally site. Ten different extremist groups were reportedly represented, some NF and some not. Clad in their varying uniforms, most were

attracted by news cameras and the chance to face down rival leftists, the conflict du jour across the racist right after riots in Sacramento and Berkeley, California.

Over 200 mostly non-local counter protestors amassed to confront the racists, and in a county that is 98% white the NF failed to attract any measurable support from residents — the rally's stated purpose.

[ALT-RIGHT EXPLAINED]

Explaining the Alt-Right 'Deity' of Their 'Meme Magic'

Who, or what, is Kek?

You may have seen the name bandied about on social media, especially in political circles where Alt-Right activists and avid Donald Trump supporters lurk. Usually it is brandished as a kind of epithet, seemingly to ward off the effects of liberal arguments, and it often is conveyed in memes that use the image of the Alt-Right mascot, Pepe the Frog: "Kek!"

Kek, in the Alt-Right's telling, is the "deity" of the semi-ironic "religion" the white nationalist movement has created for itself online — partly for amusement, as a way to troll liberals and self-righteous conservatives — and to make a political point. He is a god of chaos and darkness, with the head of a frog, the source of their memetic "magic," to whom the Alt-Right and Donald Trump owe their success, according to their own explanations.

In many ways, Kek is the apotheosis of the bizarre alternative reality of the Alt-Right: at once absurdly juvenile, transgressive and racist, as well as reflecting a deeper, pseudo-intellectual purpose that lends it an appeal to young ideologues who fancy themselves deep thinkers. It dwells in that murky area

they often occupy, between satire, irony, mockery, and serious ideology; Kek can be both a big joke to pull on liberals and a reflection of the Alt-Right's own self-image as serious agents of chaos in modern society.

Most of all, Kek has become a kind of tribal marker of the Alt-Right: Its meaning obscure and unavailable to ordinary people — "normies," in their lingo — referencing Kek is most often just a way of signaling to fellow conversants online that the writer embraces the principles of chaos and destruction that are central to Alt-Right thinking.

The name, usage, and ultimately the ideas around it originated in gaming culture, particularly on chat boards devoted to the World of Warcraft online computer games, according to Know Your Meme. In those games, participants can chat only with members of their own faction in the "war" (either Alliance or Horde fighters), while opposing players' chats are rendered in a cryptic form based on Korean; thus, the common chat phrase "LOL" (laugh out loud) was read by opposing players as "KEK." The phrase caught on as a variation on "LOL" in game chat rooms, as well as at open forums dedicated to gaming, animation and popular culture, such as 4chan and Reddit — also dens of the Alt-Right, where the Pepe the Frog meme shares its origins, and similarly hijacked as a symbol of white nationalism.

At some point, someone on 4chan happened to seize on a coincidence: There was, in fact, an Egyptian god named Kek. An androgynous god who could take either male or female form, Kek originally was depicted in female form as possessing the head of a frog or a cat and a serpent when male; but during the Greco-Roman period, the male form was depicted as a frog-headed man.

Pepe the Frog, the meme-mascot of Kek followers.

More importantly, Kek was portrayed as a bringer of chaos and darkness, which happened to fit perfectly with the Alt-Right's self-image as being primarily devoted to destroying the existing world order.

In the fertile imaginations at play on 4chan's image boards and other Alt-Right gathering spaces, this coincidence took on a life of its own, leading to wide-ranging speculation that Pepe — who, by then, had not only become closely associated with the Alt-Right, but also with the candidacy of Donald Trump — was actually the living embodiment of Kek. And so the Cult of Kek was born.

Constructed to reflect Alt-Right politics, the online acolytes of the "religion" constructed in short order a panoply of artifacts of the satirical church, including a detailed theology, discussions about creating "meme magick," books and audio tapes, even a common prayer:

*Our Kek who art in memetics
Hallowed by thy memes*

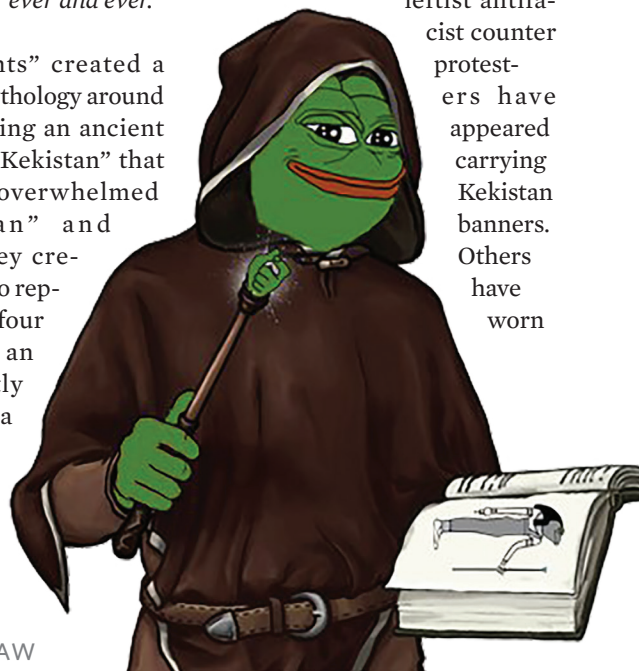
*Thy Trumpdom come
Thy will be done
In real life as it is on /pol/
Give us this day our daily dubs
And forgive us of our baiting
As we forgive those who bait
against us
And lead us not into cuckoldry
But deliver us from skills
For thine is the memetic king-
dom, and the shitposting, and
the winning, for ever and ever.
Praise KEK*

Kek "adherents" created a whole cultural mythology around the idea, describing an ancient kingdom called "Kekistan" that was eventually overwhelmed by "Normistan" and "Cuckistan." They created not only a logo representing Kek — four Ks surrounding an E — but promptly deployed it in a green-and-black banner, which they call the "national flag of Kekistan."

The banner's design, in fact, perfectly mimics a German Nazi war flag, with the Kek logo replacing the swastika and the green replacing the infamous German red stripes. Alt-Righters are particularly fond of the way the banner trolls liberals who recognize its origins.

In recent months, Alt-Right marchers at public events planned to create violent scenes with

leftist antifa-
cist counter
protest-
ers have
appeared
carrying
Kekistan
banners.
Others
have
worn



BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

DEC. 19

Self-professed **Ku Klux Klan** member **Glendon Scott Crawford** was sentenced by a federal judge in **Albany, New York**, to 30 years in prison after he was found guilty of conspiring with another man to build a radiation dispersal device, sometimes dubbed a "death ray" or a "dirty bomb," against Muslims and Barack Obama. Dirty bombs combine radioactive material with conventional explosives. Crawford's co-conspirator was sentenced to eight years and one month in prison.

JAN. 6

Law enforcement officials

announced the seizure of 83 guns, 10,000 rounds of ammunition, 50 pounds of gunpowder and a helmet with a Nazi insignia from the home of a **Lexington, Massachusetts**, man who earlier in the week was arraigned on civil rights and harassment charges. The earlier charges against **Robert Ivarson** stemmed from his allegedly throwing banana peels onto the driveway of a black family living nearby. The weapons cache resulted in 13 additional charges.

JAN. 30

A former firearms dealer was sentenced to 15 years in prison by a federal judge in **Brunswick,**

Georgia, after pleading guilty to illegally possessing guns he sold to federal agents. **David J. Gould** believed the agents were members of a militia organization that wanted to overthrow the government. Gould offered to provide the undercover agents with semi-automatic weapons and 10 pounds of marijuana a week, prosecutors said. Gould's lawyer said her client was trying "to make money for his son's college tuition."

FEB. 6

A man who set fire to a **Fort Pierce, Florida**, mosque that Orlando nightclub shooter **Omar Mateen** sometimes

attended, was sentenced to 30 years in prison after pleading no contest to the crime. **Joseph Schreiber**, who is Jewish, also was ordered to pay \$10,000 in restitution, although damages exceeded \$100,000.

FEB. 7

Seven defendants, including members and associates of the **Aryan Brotherhood of Texas** prison gang with monikers such as "Pretty Boy," "Kilo" and "Whisper," were sentenced by a federal court judge in **Fort Worth, Texas**, to prison sentences ranging from 25 years to life for their roles in a methamphetamine distribution conspiracy that

patches adorned with the Kek logo.

Besides its entertainment value, the “religion” is mainly useful to the Alt-Right as a trolling device for making fun of liberals and “political correctness.” An Alt-Right rally in support of adviser Stephen Bannon in front of the White House, posted on YouTube by Alt-Right maven Cassandra Fairbanks, featured a Kekistan banner and a man announcing to the crowd a “Free Kekistan” campaign.

One of the leaders of the group offered a satirical speech: “The Kekistani people are here, they stand with the oppressed minorities, the oppressed people of Kekistan. They will be heard, they will be set free. Reparations for Kekistan now! Reparations for Kekistan right now!”

“We have lived under normie oppression for too long!” chimed in a cohort.

“The oppression will end!” declared the speaker.

The main point of the whole exercise is to mock “political

correctness,” an Alt-Right shibboleth, and deeply reflective of the ironic, often deadpan style of online trolling in general, and Alt-Right “troll storms” especially. Certainly, if any “normies” were to make the mistake of taking their “religion” seriously and suggesting that their “deity” was something they actually worshipped, they would receive the usual mocking treatment reserved for anyone foolish enough to take their words at face value.

Yet at the same time, lurking behind all the clownery is an idea that Alt-Righters actually seem to take seriously: Namely, that by spreading their often-cryptic memes far and wide on social media and every other corner of the Internet, they are infecting the popular discourse with their ideas. For the Alt-Right, those core ideas all revolve around white males, the patriarchy, nationalism and race, especially the underlying belief that white males and masculinity are under siege — from feminists,

from liberals, from racial, ethnic, and sexual/gender minorities.

In such Alt-Right haunts as Andrew Anglin’s neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer, references to the Kek “religion” have become commonplace, and Kek as the “god of chaos” has been credited at the site, besides electing Trump, with killing over 30 people in a fire at an Oakland artists’ collective.

Anglin himself makes frequent references to Kek, making clear that he too subscribes to the underlying meme-spreading strategy that the “religion” represents. Describing a black artist’s piece showing a crucified frog — which appeared to Anglin to be a kind of blasphemy of the Kek deity — he declared that “there’s some cosmic-tier stuff going on out there.” Another post, published in March, was headlined: “Meme Magic: White House Boy Summoned Spirit of Kek to Protect His Prophet Donald Trump.”

Anglin devoted the post to explaining a teenager’s use of an Alt-Right hand signal while

operated in North Texas for more than two years.

FEB. 16

A former Tennessee Valley Authority engineer was convicted in federal court in **Chattanooga, Tennessee**, of planning to attack a mosque in rural New York. **Robert Doggart** was recorded in phone conversations in which he discussed burning down a mosque at **Islamberg** and using assault rifles on any Muslims who opposed him or his militia. He was convicted on two of the four charges that carry a maximum sentence of 10 years each.



FEB. 21

A campaign manager and a political consultant for

Michael Peroutka, an **Anne Arundel County, Maryland**, council member and former neo-Confederate **League of the South** member, were convicted of making illegal political robocalls about Peroutka’s election rival. **Dennis Fusaro** and **Stephen Waters** were sentenced to 30 days in jail, after falsely linking Peroutka’s gay opponent in a 2014 election to a “Bathroom Bill” that supported transgender rights. The call claimed it was authorized by “Marylanders for Transgenders,” a non-existent group. Peroutka denied knowing about the call and was not charged.

APRIL 26

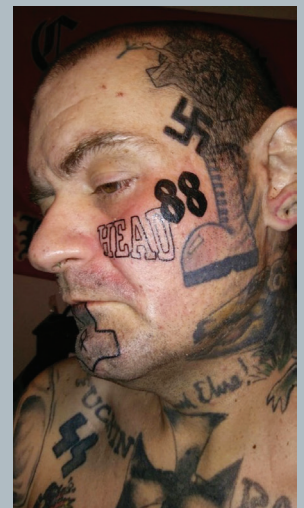
An Idaho man who pleaded guilty to a hate crime in the 2016 killing of a gay man was sentenced by a federal court judge in **Boise, Idaho**, to 28 years in prison. **Kelly Schneider** had been sentenced in state court earlier that month to life in prison for the murder of Steven Nelson. Schneider posted a solicitation ad online to meet the victim, then used steel-toed boots to kick the victim 20 to 30 times while he begged for his life, court documents stated. Three other men also were charged in the case.

meeting Trump, concluding that “the only possibility here is that this is an example of Carl Jung’s synchronicity — seemingly acausal factors culminating to create an event based on its meaning. But it is not really acausal — it merely appears that way to the non-believer. It is our spiritual energies, channeled through the

internet, that caused this event to manifest,” he wrote. “It is meme magic.”

Whether they really believe any of this or not, the thrust of the entire enterprise is to mock everything “politically correct” so loudly and obtusely — and divertingly — that legitimate issues about the vicious core of white

male nationalism they embrace never need to be confronted directly. The Alt-Right’s “meme war” is ultimately another name for far-right propaganda, polished and rewired for 21st-century consumers. The ironic pose that Kek represents, and accompanying claims that the racism they promote is just innocently



Jacob Mark “Boots” Robards was arrested in mid-April and charged for his alleged role in a conspiracy that spanned four states, involved dozens of weapons, 48 pounds of simulated methamphetamine and the laundering of thousands of dollars. Robards, a high-ranking member of the racist skinhead crew Aryan Strikeforce (ASF), and four other ASF members are alleged to have perpetrated these crimes largely in service to the racially motivated extremism that compelled their crew. Robards’ tattoos, pictured here, stand as a living document of his own radicalization and a life devoted to the cause of race hate. His face bears the alpha-numeric 88 for “Heil Hitler” just below ASF’s logo, partially over-grown by his hair, and the logo of the neo-Nazi terror cell Combat 18 above the Valknut, a Norse symbol not exclusive to racists that some believe represents a warrior spirit. Combat boots serve as his sideburns. On his back above a Viking ship are the faces of four heroes to neo-Nazis everywhere (l-r): David Lane and Robert Matthews, both of the neo-Nazi terror cell “The Order,” alongside Rudolf Hess and Adolf Hitler.

meant to provoke, in the end are just a façade fronting a very old and very ugly enterprise: racial, ethnic and misogynistic hate.

[ALT-RIGHT VIOLENCE]

New Alt-Right “Fight Club” Ready for Street Violence

A new fight-club “fraternity” of young white, pro-Trump men is being formed, its organizers claim, to defend free-speech rights by “Alt-Right” leaders and engage in street fighting.

Kyle Chapman, a California activist arrested in April after a clash in Berkeley between anti-fascist protesters and pro-Trump demonstrators, announced this week he is forming the Fraternal Order of Alt Knights (cleverly called “FOAK”).

Chapman, who uses the Internet meme “Based Stickman,” says his new militant, highly-masculine group will be the “tactical defensive arm” of the Proud Boys, another group that shows up at pro-Trump rallies looking to rumble with counter-protesters.

“We don’t fear the fight. We are the fight,” Chapman said in a recent social media post announcing FOAK’s formation.

“I’m proud to announce that my newly created Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights will be partnering with Proud Boys,” Chapman said, with the “full-approval” of its founder, Gavin McInnes.

McInnes is a co-founder of Vice (although he and the magazine severed ties 10 years ago) and more recently has been a frequent guest on FOX News and a contributor for the racist site VDARE where he denigrated Muslims and called Asian Americans “slopes” and “riceballs.”

Now described as a “neo-masculine reactionary,” McInnes calls



his Proud Boys a “pro-West fraternal organization.”

Others describe it as the military arm of the Alt-Right.

And now there’s “FOAK,” which Chapman proudly describes as a “fraternal organization,” a Proud Boys affiliate chapter, “with its own bylaws, constitution, rituals and vetting processes.”

Although there initially aren’t any overt racist themes, the new Alt-Right group of street fighters sounds quite similar to a neo-Nazi “fight club” called the “DIY Division.” Members of that white supremacist group showed up in March in Huntington Beach, California, mingling with an estimated 2,000 Trump supporters.

The Proud Boys reportedly have a four-step initiation process. It starts with a prospect declaring himself a “Proud Boy,” suiting up in Fred Perry polo shirts with yellow stripes — similar to those worn by skinheads.

The second degree is a “cereal beat-in” during which the new member is punched and beaten by current members until the plebe can rattle off the names

of five cereals (you know, Corn Flakes, Rice Krispies, Cheerios!)

The third degree reported involves “adhering to the masturbation regimen and getting a tattoo,” blogger Will Sommer wrote in a recent post.

Since then, a fourth-degree has been added to the initiation ritual — brawling with antifascists at public rallies.

Chapman said his Proud Boys’ affiliate, Alt-Knights, are ready to take it to the streets.

“Our emphasis will be on street activism, preparation, defense and confrontation,” he said. “We will protect and defend our right wing brethren when the police and government fail to do so.”

Chapman says his organization “is for those that possess the Warrior Spirit. The weak or timid need not apply.” ▲



Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes speaks at a rally in Berkeley in April. Below, Kyle “Based Stickman” Chapman attends a New York protest of Muslim activist Linda Sarsour.

BLOOD GUILT

Utah's polygamous Kingston clan mixes incest and white supremacy with old-fashioned capitalism

BY STEPHEN LEMONS

When it comes to racist Sunday school lessons, the polygamous Kingston clan could teach the Ku Klux Klan a thing or two.

During a recent interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Jessica Kingston, a former member of the secretive, Salt Lake City-based cult and a star of the A&E reality series “Escaping Polygamy,” remembered, when she was 12, her Sunday school teacher coming into class with a bucket of water and a vial of black food coloring.

The teacher added a drop of dye to the water, and the children watched as the blackness slowly spread.

“The teacher was like, ‘You can never get that out, that is always there now,’” recalled Jessica, now 29. “She talked about how you can’t associate with black people or anybody of a different race.”

This racist display was no one-off. Jessica said she and other children of the Kingston clan — a group also known as The Order, the Davis County Cooperative Society, and the Latter-Day Church of Christ — dropped the N-bomb all the time, as did their parents.

Black people supposedly suffered from multiple scriptural curses, from the mark of Cain and Noah’s curse on Ham in the Old Testament to the racist tenets of early Mormonism that have since been renounced or abandoned by the mainstream Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as the LDS or Mormon church.

Black blood was “the worst thing you can have,” Jessica said, particularly since the Kingstons consider themselves to be the whitest of the white, descended directly from Jesus Christ and

"If you have as much as one drop of that blood in your veins you're cursed from holding the priesthood." — Attorney Carl Kingston to fellow Order members warning of the Biblical "curse of Ham."

King David, the Middle Eastern origins of both men notwithstanding.

Obsessed with the purity of their bloodline and empowered by a sense of entitlement on par with the divine right of kings, the Kingstons have made incest the cornerstone of a self-serving theology that loathes non whites, fosters homophobia and abhors government authority.

Additionally, ex-Order members tell of a reputed church prophecy of an "End of the World War," an apocalyptic vision that foresees a bloody race war with the Kingstons as the ultimate victors, chosen by their Heavenly Father to rule the world for a millennium.

But given that the Kingstons command an estimated 6,000 adherents, boast a business empire reportedly worth as much as \$1 billion and have outlasted myriad bouts with law enforcement and the press, these dreams of world domination may be less delusional than they first seem.

All Along the Watchtower

The Order denies that it encourages racism and homophobia within its ranks.

In a letter to the *Intelligence Report* responding to allegations made by former members, Kent Johnson, a spokesman for the Davis County Cooperative Society, claimed that The Order's "foundational principles" include the Golden Rule, and that the church rejects any form of racism or bigotry.

"[W]e directly condemn in action and in words, racist, homophobic or hateful actions against any group or individual," Johnson wrote.

Johnson maintained that The Order's vast array of businesses — which includes a grocery store, pawn shops, a garbage disposal business, an insurance company, a politically-influential biofuels plant, and a high-end firearms manufacturer — employs individuals of various racial and ethnic minorities.

The letter asserts that one of the earliest members of the church was a Native American man and that the "Co-op," as

it is sometimes called, has been the victim of prejudice and harassment by Utah's "majority religion" (i.e., the LDS church) because of the former's "progressive" ideas.

Indeed, the group was founded during the Great Depression as a communal religious organization where members dedicated their earnings and possessions to building "the Kingdom of God on Earth," as one church document attests.

Its ominous-sounding moniker, "The Order," is a reference to the United Order, a quasi-utopian society proposed by LDS-founder Joseph Smith, and practiced in some Mormon communities under the leadership of early church president Brigham Young.

The Order can rightly claim discrimination by mainstream Mormonism, but this is due to its embrace of polygamy, which the LDS church officially abandoned in 1890 in order for Utah to become a state. The renunciation of polygamy is now church doctrine, and the Mormon church has a policy of excommunicating polygamists. Kingston forebears were among those who suffered this fate.

Polygamy is outlawed in Utah, both by the state's constitution, and in statute, where it is a third-degree felony, with a possible punishment of five years in prison. But for their part, The Order and other fundamentalist sects believe the LDS church exists in a state of apostasy for abandoning what they see as a bedrock principle of their faith.

According to church lore, The Order came into existence when founder Charles "Elden" Kingston saw Jesus in the mountains above the family's settlement in Bountiful, Utah, inspiring him to create the DCCS in 1935.

The family's dedication to "the principle" of polygamy already had been established by Kingston's father, who had three wives. Elden continued the tradition. According to historian Brian Hales' *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations After the Manifesto*, Brother Elden, as he was also known, had five wives and 17 children.

Elden also instituted the church law of "one above the other," requiring members' blind obedience to the church's hierarchy of "numbered men," with Elden being Brother Number One.

Brother Elden died of penile cancer in 1948, despite the best efforts of some family members to burn away the cancer using acid. Elden had predicted that he would be resurrected from the dead, so clan members kept his body on ice for three days, to no avail.

His brother, John "Ortell" Kingston, took over the leadership of The Order — incorporated in the 1970s as the Latter Day Church of Christ. Ortell is credited with expanding The Order's business empire and making the family immensely wealthy. His seven sons and two daughters by LaDonna Peterson, the second of his 13 wives, are reputed to be the inner circle that runs the cult.

A stern disciplinarian, who in later years looked and dressed like a mortician, Ortell made incest a tenet of the clan's faith, informed by his work breeding Holstein cows on the Kingstons' dairy farm.

A 1999 *Salt Lake Tribune* article mapped the Kingstons' incestuous family tree, quoting one of Ortell's 65 kids, ex-Order member Connie Rugg as saying, "My father experimented [with] inbreeding with his cattle and then he turned to his children."

In order to maintain his family's "superior bloodlines," Ortell married and had children with two of his half-sisters and two nieces. He orchestrated all unions within the cult, which was maintained with classic mind control techniques, corporal punishment, fasting and bizarre dietary practices. Ortell died in 1987, but his progeny continued the polygamy, the inbreeding and the marriages to young female teens that he instituted.

Control of The Order then passed to Ortell's well-educated son Paul Kingston, one of several lawyers in a cult whose members dress normally and try not to draw attention to themselves.

Known variously as "Brother Paul," "the leader," and "the man on the watchtower" by Order members, this unremarkable, balding middle-aged man reportedly has 27 wives and over 300 children. Three of his wives are his half-sisters. One is a first cousin. Two are nieces.

Similarly, his older brother John Daniel Kingston has had 14 wives, four of them his half-sisters. Another is a first cousin.

Like polygamy, incest is a third-degree felony in Utah, and as with polygamy, convictions are rare. Over the years, state law enforcement and the courts have sporadically addressed the incest in the Kingston ranks.

In 1999, Paul's younger brother David Ortell Kingston was convicted of taking his 16-year-old niece as wife number 15. The incest came to light after the girl tried to escape the arranged "celestial" marriage — an illegal marriage, sans license.

Her disobedience incurred the wrath of her father Daniel, who took her to a family ranch near the Idaho border and savagely beat her. The girl, who as an adult would unsuccessfully sue the clan, then walked miles to the nearest gas station, where she called the police.

Daniel was arrested and eventually spent 28 weeks in a county jail for felony child abuse. David was sentenced to 10 years in prison for the incest, but served only four before being paroled.

In 2003, another clan member, Jeremy Kingston pleaded guilty to incest

for taking 15-year-old Lu Ann Kingston as his fourth wife. Jeremy was nearly 10 years her senior at the time. Due to the Kingstons' convoluted genealogy, Lu Ann was both his first cousin and his aunt. As part of a plea bargain, Jeremy spent just one year in prison.

The 'Curse' of Blackness

In secret videotapes of Order church meetings aired on *Escaping Polygamy*, Paul's nephew Nick Young, speaking from a church lectern, identifies himself as a numbered man, number 72, to be precise.

The son of Paul's sister Rachel — herself a daughter of Ortell and LaDonna Kingston — Young was the only current member of the Kingston clan, out of the many contacted for this story, who consented to a live, on-the-record interview.

Young is the owner of Desert Tech, a Utah gun manufacturer, which produces sniper rifles and so-called "bullpup" rifles. The latter, unlike conventional magazine-fed rifles, have shorter barrels, with the gun's action located behind the trigger. These specialty firearms can cost anywhere from \$2,500 to \$8,000 each.

Desert Tech and its rifles have been featured on Fox News, *Mythbusters*, *Daredevil* and *The Blacklist*, among other TV shows. Young told *Intelligence Report* that his company has sold weapons, with the approval of the U.S. State Department, to governments in Europe and the Middle East, Saudi Arabia being one.

Young also claimed Desert Tech had sold guns to Picatinny Arsenal, the research division of the U.S. military.

"We haven't gotten any big U.S. contracts," Young explained. "Obviously, we would love to."

Spokesmen for both the U.S. State Department and for Picatinny Arsenal could neither verify nor deny Young's claims.

The company was founded in 2007 with an investment from family members. Young denied that The Order was racist or taught any form of bigotry, and said he had people of all races working for him.

"What we're taught is to love our neighbor, that all people, all races no matter who they are ... deserve to be loved," he explained.

Still, he conceded that some Order members may have prejudiced beliefs because "in our organization people have freedom of choice."

So what about polygamy? Is it a requirement to gain the highest levels of heaven?

"Yeah, I believe in it," he said. "As far as how you end up in heaven, that's up to God."

Young declined to comment when asked if he practices polygamy. *Intelligence Report* then read the names of women believed to be his wives — four in all.

"Okay, I have one legal wife," he said. "But I do have children with other women."

Asked if two women named were in fact his first cousins, Young paused, finally replying, "I guess I'm curious as to what you're trying to get at here."

Before the call ended, Young insisted that he "didn't admit to any kind of incest or anything." When *Intelligence Report* inquired if Young thought there was anything wrong with first cousins getting married, Young opined that such issues were between the individuals involved and God.

Nevertheless, former members of The Order say that incest and racism are inextricably linked in The Order's teachings.

During an interview with this reporter, Lu Ann Kingston, whose defiance of the cult led to the conviction of her former "spiritual" husband Jeremy, recalled that Order members saw intermarriage as a way to "keep the bloodline pure."

And by pure, they meant pure white.

All outsiders are considered to be beneath Order members, she explained. But The Order saves most of its bile for blacks and other non whites. Ethnic jokes and stereotypes were commonly repeated. Chinese people were called "stupid," and Mexicans were "dirty," said Lu Ann, adding, "because of their skin."

Allison, a 17 year-old ex-Kingston member says not much has changed since Lu Ann's day.

"I didn't even know the n-word was bad until I was like 15 or 16," she told *Intelligence Report*.

Once free of the cult, Lu Ann, Allison and other ex-Order members have had to unlearn the hatred that was drilled into their heads. The mere rumor of black blood could condemn someone in the eyes of Order members.

That's what happened with Ron Tucker's family. Tucker is another of Ortell's many sons, though not from the favored wife, LaDonna.

Seated on a couch, sipping lemonade in his home in a Salt Lake City suburb, he resembles Paul Kingston quite a bit. The two were playmates when they were boys.

A loyal Order member for years, he lost his faith and ended up leaving the Order over a curse of sorts, leveled at his family by LaDonna. Supposedly, LaDonna had a dream wherein it was revealed that anyone who left The Order would be tainted by black blood.

Somehow LaDonna's curse was transferred to the Tuckers via Christy, Ron's wife, because, Christy's mom left The Order and married an Irishman, before leaving him and returning to the fold.

"I could see that the leaders of The Order really did believe we had black ancestors," Ron explained, with Christy next to him, and his adult daughters Emily and Julie nearby.

Boys began to show interest in Julie as she matured, but Paul, as the clan's leader, warned them away, because of Julie's black blood.

Up to this point, Julie had treated the rumor like a joke. Her younger sister Emily thought it was a joke, too, until one day another Order kid told her, "We can't play with you because the Tuckers are niggers."

Julie left the cult at age 19. Her parents and siblings eventually left as well.

Ron says the cult's justification for its racism goes back to early Mormon teachings about a war in heaven between the forces of Satan and those of Jesus. The battle took place in the spiritual pre-existence that Mormons believe all souls come from. Blacks were "the less valiant people in heaven"



John Daniel Kingston (above), seen here in 1999, pleading no contest to beating his 16-year-old daughter after she attempted to flee an arranged marriage with her uncle David, Kingston's brother. In 2003, Order member Jeremy Kingston (below) pleaded guilty to incest for taking his first cousin, 15-year-old Lu Ann Kingston, as his fourth wife.



"That will open up for The Order to rise up and take over the world," Ron said.

The Tuckers think this is all hogwash now, though they were programmed to believe it at the time.

Recordings of church testimony given by various Kingstons serve as further evidence of the cult's bigoted teachings.

In one, Ortell warns that there is a movement afoot that wants to "homogenize the people" and "make one race," by mixing all the races up.

In another, Order attorney Carl Kingston warns listeners about marrying up with "Ham's kids," a reference to the aforementioned Biblical curse. "If you have as much as one drop of that blood in your veins," says Carl, "you're cursed from holding the priesthood."

The lawyer's words call to mind another heavenly curse, described in 2 Nephi, Chapter 5 of the Book of Mormon, where God caused a "skin of blackness" to come upon a group called the Lamanites, supposedly ancestors of Native Americans.

Modern interpretations of this passage vary, but The Order apparently takes quite literally this idea of "blackness" being a sign of iniquity.

Soy Makes You Gay

LGBT people fare little better in the Kingston clan.

who sat on the sidelines while others took sides, according to The Order.

Their punishment? Dark skin, of course.

Another of Ortell's teachings: Adolf Hitler had the right idea about creating a master race, but didn't have the Lord's help, so he failed.

Tucker recounted the clan's version of the apocalypse, the "End of the World War," a riff on a prophecy some ascribe to Joseph Smith, called The White Horse Prophecy. In it, black people come close to killing off the white race until they are countered by Native Americans, symbolized by a Red Horse, which gallops to the White Horse's rescue.

One ex-Order member, who asked to be referred to as “Scott,” instead of his real name for fear of retribution by clan members, said hatred of gays was big in the Kingston clan, with the word “fag-got” in frequent use.

For fun he and other Order men would go to a park frequented by gay males, looking for victims.

“We would cause harm,” he confessed. “Bad harm. Hospital harm.”

While part of The Order, Val Snow, a twenty-something gay man with a wry sense of humor, believed being gay was like “spitting in the eye of God.” Snow is the son of Daniel Kingston, whom he paints as “a little man with a lot of power.”

From a young age, Snow worked for Order companies to help feed his siblings, a responsibility some Kingston men are known to shirk.

Snow began dating men when he was 22. When this got around to his dad, his father packed up Snow’s belongings and left them in the room of a hotel owned by The Order. Daniel’s ultimatum: Stay in The Order, date no one, and have no contact with family. Or leave.

Snow left.

He says The Order regards homosexuality as a choice. If gay men stay in the closet, they are allowed to remain in the cult as “worker bees.”

Snow also remembered being taught end-time prophecies, with a “cleansing” wherein the streets of Salt Lake City would run red with blood.

“All of the gay people would definitely be the first to go,” he said.

Another of the cult’s teachings was that soy can make you gay, an anti-government conspiracy theory popular in some right-wing circles.

“I guess I just had too much soy,” Snow smiled.

Ex-order members interviewed by the *Intelligence Report* generally agreed with the characterization of the Kingston clan as a “hate group.”

Ron Tucker went so far as to call his former brethren “white supremacists,” and “ten times more racist” than your run-of-the-mill skinhead.

As for its anti-government views,

allegations of fraud against government entities have long dogged the Kingstons.

In the 1980s, the state of Utah sued John Ortell Kingston over welfare fraud related to his many wives. Rather than submit to DNA tests, which could have revealed the incest in his brood, he coughed up a more than \$200,000 settlement.

More recently, the Kingston-owned Washakie Renewable Energy (WRE) agreed to pay a \$3 million fine after it was sued by the federal government for raking in tax credits for biofuels it never produced.

WRE’s influence earned special scrutiny in February 2016 after the IRS, the EPA and other government agencies raided owner Jacob Kingston’s house as well as The Order’s bank and other locations, carting away banker’s box after banker’s box of records. Nothing has come of the raids yet, and the IRS refused comment on the matter when contacted by this publication.

But The Order’s critics say that cult members see nothing wrong with bilking the government, a time-honored tradition among FLDS sects, gleefully referred to as “bleeding the beast.”

More troubling, during a contentious 2004 custody case that ensued when Jessica and her sister Andrea fled Daniel Kingston’s household, a judge in the case reportedly was the subject of a death threat, allegedly from Kingston clan members. There was also testimony, during one hearing, that someone in the Kingston clan wanted to blow up the courthouse.

Given such incidents, could Order members be a threat to law enforcement?

Ron Kingston says The Order’s leadership has too much to lose for something like that to happen.

“Paul would rather have the wealth and the money than the isolation and the conflict,” he said.

Matt Browning seems less sure. A retired Arizona law enforcement officer, Browning is the president and founder of the Skinhead Intelligence Network and is in charge of security for the A&E show, where his wife Tawni works as the casting producer.

Browning sees similarities between The Order and the religion-minded racists of the World Church of the Creator and the Christian Identity movement. There is also some overlap with Sovereign citizens, he contends.

“They’re basically the Utah Mafioso of the white power world,” Browning told *Intelligence Report*.

And they are growing. Former Order members tell of babies being born nearly every week in the church. And during a recent picnic to honor the birthday of patriarch John Ortell Kingston, Order families descended on a Salt Lake Valley park, where hundreds of children of all ages blanketed the park’s green expanse.

Accounts of clan babies being born with congenital defects and other problems abound, including dwarfism, albinism and children born minus fingernails or without genitals.

Home births and the frequency of miscarriages and still-borns among the Kingstons have led to macabre legends of dead infants buried in Kingston back yards.

There are also accounts of dead babies being buried at the “Holy Spot,” a tree-shrouded patch of land across the street from a grade school in Bountiful, just north of Salt Lake City.

Asked about these legends, Kingston spokesman Kent Johnson, explained via email that “on occasion” Order families have asked to “spread the ashes” of a child lost before or after birth at the Holy Spot.

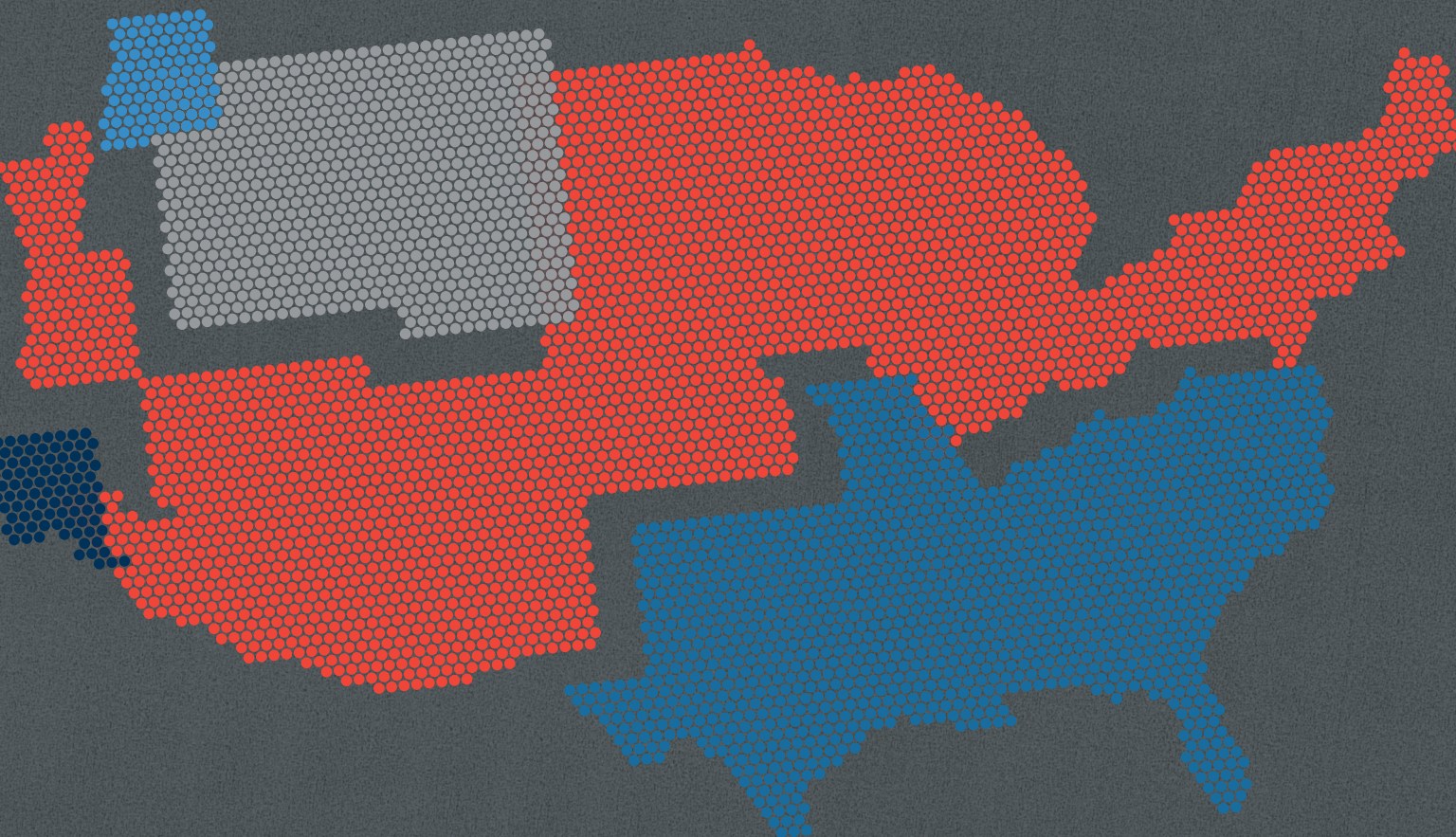
Johnson also acknowledged hearing family lore — dating to the Depression era — of Order families burying fetuses from late-term miscarriages “on their respective properties.”

Don’t the infant deaths and tales of horrific deformities belie Ortell’s home-spun eugenics?

Scott remembered that Ortell had an answer for that question.

“Something along the lines of, to build a superhuman, if you have four or five defects to get the one good one, it’s worth it,” he recalled.

“Because that one is going to be genius-level purity, and that’s what The Order is looking for.” ▲



The contentiousness of the 2016 presidential campaign culminated in a hasty about-face for some, as Democratic and Republican politicians, pundits, and activists seem to have traded places on a number of long-held principles in reaction to the widely unpredicted Trump win.

SPLITTING THE DIFFERENCE ON SPLITTING THE DIFFERENCE

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF

Whether it's the legitimacy of executive orders, trust in the objectivity of the intelligence community, the legality of whistleblowing, or perhaps most surprisingly, the role of the 10th Amendment in determining where federal jurisdiction ends and state jurisdiction begins, much of the political landscape of the past few decades seems to have been flipped wholly on its head.

The concept of states' rights in particular — whether the Southern strain born out of opposition to Reconstruction or that of far-right libertarian and paleoconservative reactionaries — is now being echoed by members of the Democratic Party, who months ago appeared content with inheriting a strong federal government whose powers they now oppose.

Now, certain corollaries to the historical state's rights argument have begun to take hold, particularly with regards to secession and separatism dating back to Shays' Rebellion and the earliest days of the Republic.

As with Democrat politicians who now rail against what they deem to be federal overreach, those advocating for a #Calexit or breakdown of the U.S. into an archipelago of blue city-states set apart by the red sea of Middle America neglect that the very platform that they espouse has long been a mainstay of numerous radical far-right movements.

This shift is not occurring in isolation but in tandem with the long-running history of malcontents, racists and secessionists actively promoting policy through allies at the state level throughout the country.

What follows is a survey of a handful of contemporary movements that have emerged from the minds of the American far-right. Some have a long and storied historical precedent. Others are recent byproducts of a growing wave of militant antigovernment beliefs.

The movements discussed herein can be described as partitionists who seek to split from an existing state and join the union as a new one — as is the case for Liberty and Jefferson — or separatists that desire a fracture with the United States either physically or politically, typically with an understanding that such a separation would be predicated on violence, as is the case for the League of the South. Others still, like the American and Appalachian Redoubts, are perhaps best understood as ideas that more easily lend themselves to *de facto*, rather than *de jure*, sovereignty.

The first purpose of *Splitting the Difference* is to inform. Rather than a comprehensive list, it represents a short primer on these movements, their driving animus against the prevailing order, and some depiction of what life might look like within them based on the words and writings of the groups and leaders promoting them.

Its second purpose is to provide historical context for those entering the pro-balkanization debate as to the exact nature of the groups and movements who they are inadvertently energizing and legitimizing by calling for the breakup of the United States.

The New CSA

“A few thoughts on a pleasant evening in May...

“It seems the Jew-controlled elite media are getting quite nervous over the rise of the nationalist right in the US, especially the hard blood and soil nationalists in the South. You can expect the neurotic whining to escalate with each passing nationalist event.

“Well, let’s give them something to wet their beds about. Let’s make their worst nightmares come true. Let’s take back control of Dixie and make it once again White Man’s Land.”

The quote above, shared on Facebook by Michael Hill, president of the neo-Confederate League of the South (LOS), best exemplifies Hill’s current conception of the spark that would ignite a second Southern secession.

Among far-right groups advocating for secession, the League is the only group with any clear level of leadership and organization, and by representing the “survival, well-being and independence of the Southern people,” would advance their agenda through formal separation from the United States of America.

In this iteration, an independent South would stand for the rejection of a standing army in favor of unregulated state militias, the right of citizens to own any firearms they may purchase, the right of states to secede from the new Confederate States of America (CSA), closed borders and restrictions on the rights of “non-citizens.”

Michael Hill’s preferred definition of “the Southern people” can be gleaned from a post on the League of the South website titled “Past, Present, and Future.”

“In 2004, I began to publicly speak on the fundamental notion of Southern nationalism. That is, I began identifying the Southern nation correctly as the Southern people (whites) and not as a current or defunct political entity ... we stand for the Anglo-Celtic people of the south and that we defend our historic Christian faith.”

Regarding “non-citizens” and the legacy of slavery in the antebellum South (and presumably in his new South), Hill wears his racism with pride, posting in the League’s Facebook group, “If you think you have to apologize for or rationalize slavery, ‘racism,’ segregation, or any other actions our attitudes of our Southern forebears, then you don’t belong in The League of the South,”

While Hill is clear about the role of “Anglo-Celtic people” in the South, he is typically vague regarding the place of Southern African Americans and other minorities in his new world, writing “The LS disavows a spirit of malice and extends an offer of good will and cooperation to Southern blacks ...”

That spirit of goodwill and cooperation is nowhere to be seen in posts like “Charlotte and Negro Violence,” where Hill describes “Feral negroes and those puppeteers who control their actions,” and further depicts blacks as “a long-standing enemy” to Southerners.

In a blog post titled “*A Plausible Lie: A Critique of the South Was Right*,” Hill takes two LOS allies, the Kennedy brothers, to task over their assertion that black people are Southerners:

“... blacks and whites have lived in the South for nearly 400 years and remain easily distinguishable from one another. There has been virtually no blood admixture between them in legitimate society. They tend to live, worship, and socialize apart, not together. They are easily distinguishable physically, mentally, emotionally, aptitudinally, and in many other ways. By only the most Clintonesque twist of the truth can they be called the same people group.”

Reading between the lines, Hill’s message to Southern blacks is clear: comply or get out.

Looking beyond the South’s African American population, Hill has been famously hostile toward Mexican

“Let’s take back control of Dixie and make it once again White Man’s Land.”



— MICHAEL HILL

immigrants and downright hateful to Muslims. It was under Hill’s guidance that the League began its “No Jihad In Dixie” protests, authoring posts describing imagined scenes where “[European] “men” stand by helplessly while their women are groped and raped by Muslims and Africans.”

Hill has also recently molded anti-Semitism into his antigovernment beliefs, claiming that a cabal of Jews is responsible for most of the grievances a typical Southerner might find with the U.S.

What began for Hill as “cultural genocide” is now being decried as a full-on “white genocide” organized at the highest levels of global politics. The most recent evidence of this is the removal of Southern monuments commemorating the Civil War. Predicting the imagined globalist cabal’s next steps after the removal of statues in New Orleans, Hill posted on Facebook, “When our enemies are finished coming after the stone, they will come after the flesh. Will you be ready, Southern man?”

Although Hill claims to have identified his bid for secession as “Southern

Nationalism” since 2004, he only did so on the LS blog sporadically up until 2014, when the rise of identitarianism brought constructions of various “nationalisms” i.e. “Southern Nationalism” into vogue.

Hill and Thomas Fleming announced the formation of the “Southern League” in *The Washington Post* on Sunday, Oct. 29, 1995. The op-ed, “New Dixie Manifesto: State’s Rights Will Rise Again,” stated that it was their intent “... to seek the well-being and independence of the Southern people by every honorable means.” Beyond that statement of purpose, present-day League rhetoric has maintained little semblance of the ideals espoused in their “Manifesto.”

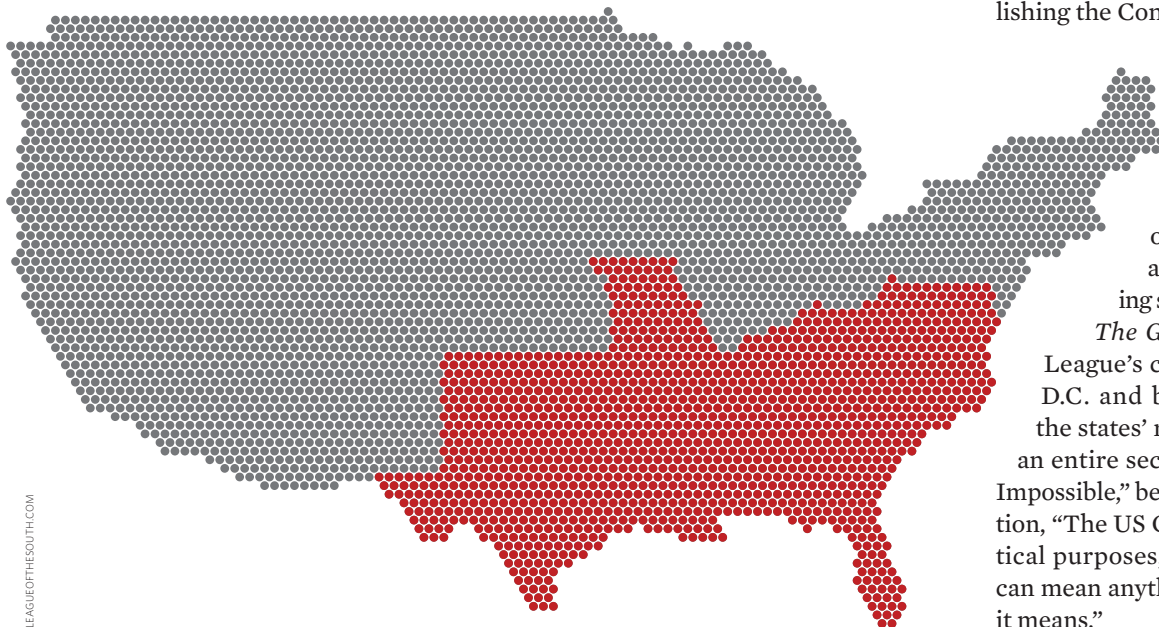
The “Manifesto” is quite firmly entrenched in the “state’s rights” appeals that form the bedrock of Lost Cause mythology and the modern neo-Confederate movement. Hill and Fleming posit that “sending men and women to Congress who will insist upon a strict construction of the Constitution and a restoration of the 10th Amendment that explicitly reserves all powers not granted explicitly to the

federal government to the states and to the people.”

The militantly secessionist League of today first emerged with *The Grey Book: Blueprint for Southern Independence*, published during the early 2000s as the League lost a passel of high-profile members, including Lake High, Virgil Houston, Grady McWhiney, Michael Peroutka, and Fleming, over Hill’s increasing divisiveness and insistence on a state-sanctioned religion in their new South.

Although *The Grey Book* is intended as “a blueprint for reaching our goal of establishing the Confederate Southern States (CSS),” readers will find its pages — with wide margins and large typeface — long on rhetoric and short on concrete goals, plans, or policies, needless to say any milestones for achieving secession.

The Grey Book abandons the League’s conciliatory tone toward D.C. and belief in the validity of the states’ rights doctrine, featuring an entire section on “Why Reform is Impossible,” beginning with the declaration, “The US Constitution, for all practical purposes, is irrelevant because it can mean anything a Federal judge says it means.”



The decade between the first and second printings of *The Grey Book* — 2004 and 2015, respectively — has not been favorable for the League or Hill’s disposition. Whereas 2008 marked a highwater period for discontent with the Federal government, the election of the nation’s first African American president sent a jolt down the spine of many along the far right, Hill included.

Barack Obama’s 2012 re-election saw many calls across the Southeast for secession, with six states’ secession petitions reaching the 25,000-signature mark necessary for a WhiteHouse.gov petition to receive an official response.

For his part, Hill stirred the pot by posting a series of articles decrying “Emperor Obama” and insisting with increasing frequency and vitriol that the federal electoral political system is irredeemably tarnished and Southerners must separate. Hill foretold of a day “when drones fill the skies for the purpose of surveillance, intimidation, or worse, then you might see the need to own a couple of hand-held rocket launchers.”

Although Hill and the League now firmly believe that participation in federal electoral politics is a pointless affair, they still express positive sentiments about certain Southern politicians.

Roy Moore, in particular, was championed by the League, both during his first legal battle to keep a monument dedicated to the 10 Commandments in the central rotunda of Alabama’s Supreme Court building, and more recently during his drive to nullify *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which affirmed same-sex marriages as a fundamental right under the 14th

Amendment, by claiming that federal law does not apply in the state of Alabama. Moore lost both challenges filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

When Moore was suspended for the second time on Sept. 16, 2016 for violation of judicial ethics, Hill had this to say:

“Perhaps Judge Moore has learned the hard way that there in [sic] no future in playing in a rigged system controlled by neo-Bolsheviks and others who hold the Christian religion in contempt. Also, perhaps he will come around to seeing things our way: secession and independence for Alabama and the South. We would welcome him into our ranks.”

Although most of Hill’s original co-founders left due to Hill “supporting a state-based religion,” he has not clarified whether his South would be a theonomy, or which branch of Christian doctrine would dominate. Hill’s recent drift further and further toward the tenants of Christian Identity (CI) provides some clues.

On April 19, 2016 Hill posted on Facebook, “The ‘Jews’ greatest advantage has come from making the world believe they are something they are not: God’s Chosen People. If this is who they are not, then who are they, really? What is their actual identity and why are they carrying out this masquerade?”

On November 22 of that year, Hill tweeted “If Alt-Right non-Christians understood the book of Obadiah and who is Esau-Edom & who [is] Jacob-Israel, then they might begin to see the light.

The notion of Jews — who Identity practitioners believe descended from Esau and refer to as “Edomites,” — having

stolen the “identity” of Israel is a core tenant of CI. Other Identity believers include convicted murder and Klansman Sam Bowers, Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, Olympic Park bomber Eric Rudolph, and perhaps most notably Hill’s own Chief of staff, Michael Tubbs, an ex-Green Beret convicted of a plot to attack and bomb black and Jewish businesses with weapons stolen from the U.S. Army.

State sovereignty, while no longer the core focus of the League still remains a strong organizing principle for the LOS. While some League members (not Hill) have entertained notions of fracturing several of the states in Southern Appalachia to form a “free state of Appalachia” after secession, to be composed of the entirety of West Virginia, and parts of those Southern states with a section of the Appalachian Mountains running through them, this idea has gained little traction outside of League webspaces.

As for the long-running question of which states are “Southern,” Hill’s answer varies. Typically his response includes some variation of “the States of the old Confederacy and the Border States of Missouri, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Maryland,” although sometimes West Virginia is granted entrance despite having had a strong pro-Union sentiment during the 1860s.

Having answered who is and who is not “Southern,” and whether those Southerners should secede, the question still remains for Hill and the League as to *how* exactly they would bring about that secession. Though the U.S. Constitution clearly lays out the process for statehood and entry into the union, there is no similar language regarding how a state would go about leaving the union.

While some might argue that such an omission was by design, those clamoring for a new CSA would likely try



From top: Sam Bowers, Timothy McVeigh, Eric Rudolph and Michael Tubbs.

MISSISSIPPI DEPT. OF CORRECTIONS (BOWERS); AP IMAGES/HO (MCVEIGH); CHEROKEE COUNTY JAIL (RUDOLPH)

Liberty and the Pursuits of the Radical Right

a similar tactic as their predecessors did in the 1860s, by calling for a secession convention. Their other two legal routes would be either a constitutional amendment or an Article V convention of the states.

Recent efforts in Oklahoma to remove “inseparable” from their constitution’s description of the state’s status in the union, in North Carolina to repeal a secession prohibition from their constitution, and the continued persistence of Texas’ small but vocal “independence movement” all indicate that a handful of local politicians with access to the levers of power are sympathetic to the secessionist cause.

Nevertheless, those legal efforts involve a long and cumbersome political process that likely would have sat well with Hill in earlier years, but no longer. In a January 30, 2017, post entitled “*Trump and the Coming Chaos*,” Hill outlines the possibility of “left-wing violence,” a presidential assassination and general political havoc. Hill’s response to this?

“Our task as Southern nationalists is to prepare for that eventuality and be flexible and strong enough to take advantage of it.”

Flexibility is the key word. Throughout the League’s existence, Hill’s views and positions have been flexible. The League of the South, representing the most “viable” option for a second Southern secession on the far-right is inseparably tied to the whims of a man who has shifted on the very viability of secession, points of religion, prominence of Confederate symbols and states’ rights.

While some may see the desire to see the South “rise again,” Michael Hill has yet to offer a picture of what that would look like beyond a nightmare for any non-white non-Christians, as portrayed in Hill’s thoughts from “a pleasant evening in May.”

A Sagebrush Rebel-supporting state legislator with ties to an anti-Muslim hate group wants to split Washington State in two, to set apart Republican red from Democrat blue.

Washington State Representative Matt Shea calls his new state Liberty, and so do his supporters. The imagined state is made up of the 20 central- and eastern-Washington counties that rest east of the north-south Cascade Range, whose great mountains divide the urbanized, coastal west and the agricultural, inland east. But underneath Washington’s latest cry for fragmentation is the worldview of Liberty’s bell cow, who seeks state sanction for the goals of the radical right.

“SOME THINGS ARE JUST BETTER APART,” Shea posted on the hopeful state of Liberty’s private Facebook page. “We want to divide Eastern Washington from Western Washington for a multitude of reasons.....political differences, economic differences, and some even say a bit of differences in faith.”

Liberty’s supporters say they’re alienated by a government that legislates over rural Washington from far-away Olympia, the state capital, levying too-high taxes for unwanted social services and mandating environmental regulations that

hinder a producerist economy. But for Pia Hallenburg of *The Spokesman Review*, “The numbers — and recent election results — suggest Liberty is about ideology more so than cherry picking parts of the state to make a stronger economy.”

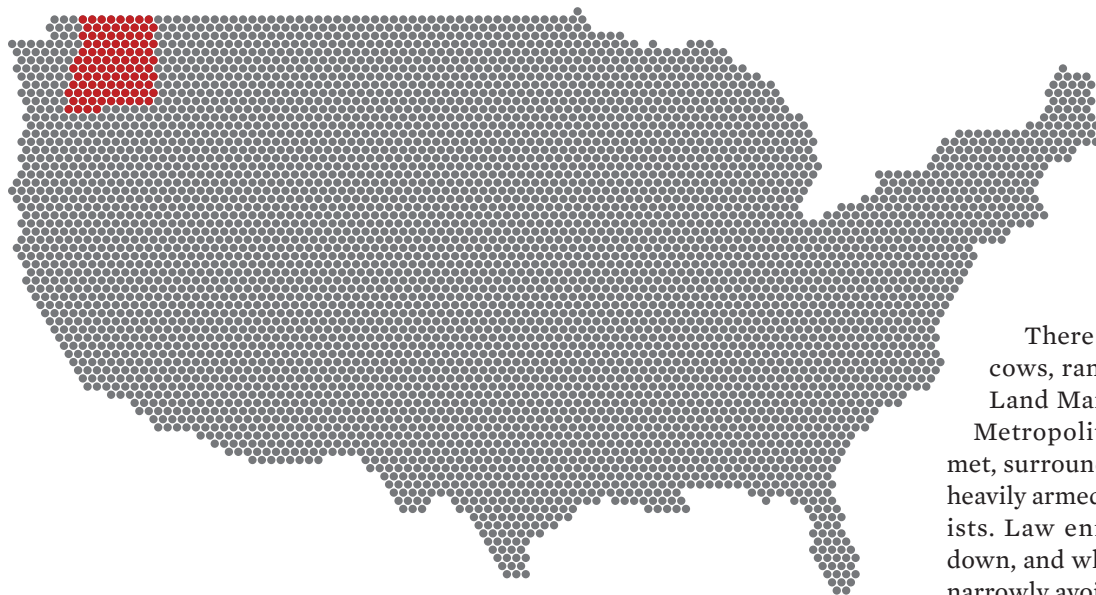
“JOIN US IN THE FIGHT TO STOP RADICAL ISLAM,” reads a June 2016 Facebook post from Shea, a devout Christian who in that same month organized a chapter of ACT For America — an anti-Muslim hate group listed by the SPLC — in Spokane, “Liberty.”

ACT, just one of many mouthpieces within the anti-Muslim echo chamber, preys upon America’s post 9/11 fear of terrorism and works to advance anti-Muslim legislation at local and federal levels while flooding the American public with hate speech under the guise of national security. Shea frequently echoes this kind of anti-Muslim propaganda as fact.

“THE BETRAYAL PAPERS,” Shea posted to Facebook in February 2017.

Washington State Representative Matt Shea, an outspoken supporter of antigovernment extremists and a leading figure in the American Redoubt, recently helped establish a Spokane chapter of the anti-Muslim hate group ACT For America.





“THE CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE SHOWING THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD’S INFLUENCE OVER THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.” Shea accompanied this post with a link to a six-part series by the anti-Muslim website, *The American Report*, which he believes confirms his suspicions.

Again that month, Shea posted an article by anti-Muslim propagandist John Guandolo and warned his followers of the **“COMBINED INTERTWINED THREAT OF COMMUNISTS AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.”** This rhetoric mirrors a driving conspiracy theory being pushed by the Oath Keepers and “Patriot” novelist, Matthew Bracken, who claim that international socialism and Islam are teaming up to destroy Western nationalism.

Shea’s affinity for the so-called Patriot movement doesn’t stop with anti-Muslim fear mongering. The state legislator is an outright supporter of the anti-government Sagebrush Rebellion — an uprising that began in the 1970s against the federal government’s stewardship of land in western states and has seen a dramatic resurgence in recent years.

In 2014, federal and local law enforcement were dispatched to the Bunkerville, Nevada cattle ranch of Cliven Bundy, who had refused to pay over \$1 million in grazing fees and fines, accumulated since 1993, to a federal government he does not recognize.

There to seize Bundy’s herd of cows, rangers from the Bureau of Land Management and Las Vegas Metropolitan Police officers were met, surrounded and outnumbered by heavily armed antigovernment extremists. Law enforcement wisely stood down, and what turned into a standoff narrowly avoided bloodshed.

“Make no mistake,” Shea declared after having traveled to Bunkerville, echoing the call of the extremists in the wake of the standoff. “This is a war on rural America.”

The standoff was a victory for the antigovernment movement. Its activists felt emboldened by their ability to stare down the barrel of a gun at the federal government, and win, with the support of media pundits like Sean Hannity and the sanction of some lawmakers from the antigovernment Coalition of Western States network, like Shea, who lent legitimacy to seditionists.

Two years later Cliven’s sons, Ammon and Ryan, led the gang of militants that seized and occupied the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Harney County, Oregon. Reportedly against the request of law enforcement, fearing that the Bundy clan would feel legitimized and emboldened, Shea and other lawmakers again extended a helping hand to the rebels by traveling to the occupation site and meeting with its leaders.

Shea also dispatched Anthony Bosworth, an army veteran turned leader of the Liberty For All Three Percent group out of Yakima, Washington, as a “security specialist” at the occupation, and would later give Bosworth a “2016 Patriot of the Year” award.

It would be easy to dismiss Shea and his plans for Liberty if not for his platform as a state representative, simpler still to isolate him as a lone radical in an

otherwise moderate push for better representation in the Evergreen State; but Shea's rebellion is no outlier in Liberty.

Liberty's private Facebook group, which has over 2,000 members and of which Shea is one of two administrators, is littered with antigovernment iconography, like that of the Three Percenters, Oath Keepers and Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association — an organization that's adopted the Posse Comitatus belief that county sheriffs are the highest law enforcement officers in the land.

Tributes to Robert "LaVoy" Finicum — a key leader in the Malheur occupation turned martyr for the movement after he was killed by police attempting to escape a road block while allegedly traveling to speak to a sympathetic sheriff in nearby Grant County, Oregon — are commonplace.

Other antigovernment concepts, like jury nullification — which asserts that juries can legislate from the bench by refusing the criminality of the charges filed — also make an appearance.

One Liberty activist even questions the legality of driver's licenses because they aren't expressly mentioned in the U.S. Constitution.

Not all Liberty supporters demonstrate the entire gamut of these radical beliefs. But the few-and-far-between moderation in Liberty's ranks garners replies that highlight its contradictions.

"Something I think we should include in our Liberty Government, is Tribal Representation," posts one Facebook group member. "Be it a Special Council Representation or that each of the

Reservations be considered a District for a Senate and Representative Seat."

After a series of responses, Sarah Lisa, who co-administers the group with Shea, and identifies as "LadyforFreedom a Deplorable" on Facebook, slams a lid on the idea and offers further insight into whose liberty Liberty really ensures.

"[T]here should be NO changes as it relates to the Native American tribes within states....we already have set treaties....if you go there...hate to say this BUT YOU will regret it."

"WE WILL REGRET attempting to make changes....could very well screw it all up for us," Lisa reiterates soon after.

The irony of a group that honors Sagebrush rebels in their effort to "return the land to its rightful owners" while censoring any mention of native tribal representation appears to be lost on Liberty's leaders.

In May 2017, according to Wilson Criscione of The Inlander, an inland northwest news source, Shea gave

a presentation titled "The Future of Liberty: Protecting Our Christian Culture" to nearly 100 people packed inside a barn at a regional prepper expo.

Shea allegedly singled out foreign governments, communists and the Muslim Brotherhood as the enemies of Christian culture in America. Another speaker at the expo, a Washington State based lawyer and "Patriot" novelist who writes under the *nome de plume* Glen Tate, weighed in on some of the benefits of the 51st state, in particular the advantageous terrain between it and Olympia.

"We need to be separate from them [liberals]," Tate tells the eager crowd of preppers, survivalists and militants, as heard on the May 8, 2017 episode of the Radio Free Redoubt podcast for "Patriots." "And we need to have a line like the State of Liberty or something. It's like, 'Oh really, you want to enforce that court order? Why don't you come through this mountain pass right here. Things may get noisy.'"



Cliven Bundy, patriarch of the Bundy clan and father of famed Malheur National Wildlife Refuge occupiers Ammon and Ryan Bundy, is at the heart of the most recent flare-up of the decades-long resistance to federally owned land in the American West.

The New State of Jefferson?

Jim Mark, the Jefferson State Militia's leader, posts a photo of himself clad in digital camouflage with Jefferson's green and gold flag secured to his shoulder. To his front stands a lit tiki torch. In his left hand, a pitchfork.

"TORCH AND PITCHFORKS' ... Slowly Edge into the Darkness Created by the NWO Hijackers of America / Earth," Jefferson State Militia's webpage warns. "Do Expect to See 'BLACK RIFLES AND GUN FLASHES' ... When FOLK Finally Understand ... IT's Time For War against the Hives of Darkness."

Welcome to the State of Jefferson — a partitionist movement with roots predating World War II and whose supporters hope can add a 51st star to the union canon. The decades-old idea from parts of southern Oregon and northern California grew out of a popular grievance against too little government. Today, antigovernment extremists are some of those leading the charge for the State of Jefferson.

Not all self-identifying Jeffersonians adhere to violent antigovernment ideology. Some, like Sam Toll, have views that run contrary to the beliefs of some of the movement's more outspoken leaders.

"As a libertarian," Toll tells *New York Daily News*' Sarah Goodyear, "my ideal neighbor in the State of Jefferson is a lesbian and her transgender spouse — they're married — guarding their marijuana field and their hemp field with their .50-caliber machine gun. And unlimited ammunition."

Mark Baird, a rancher and voluntary deputy sheriff acting as the State of Jefferson's primary speaker and juris coordinator, doesn't share all of Toll's beliefs, which Baird sees as a distraction.

"This isn't about dope," Baird tells Goodyear, "it isn't about gay marriage, it isn't about forest, it isn't about water. It's about liberty through adequate representation."

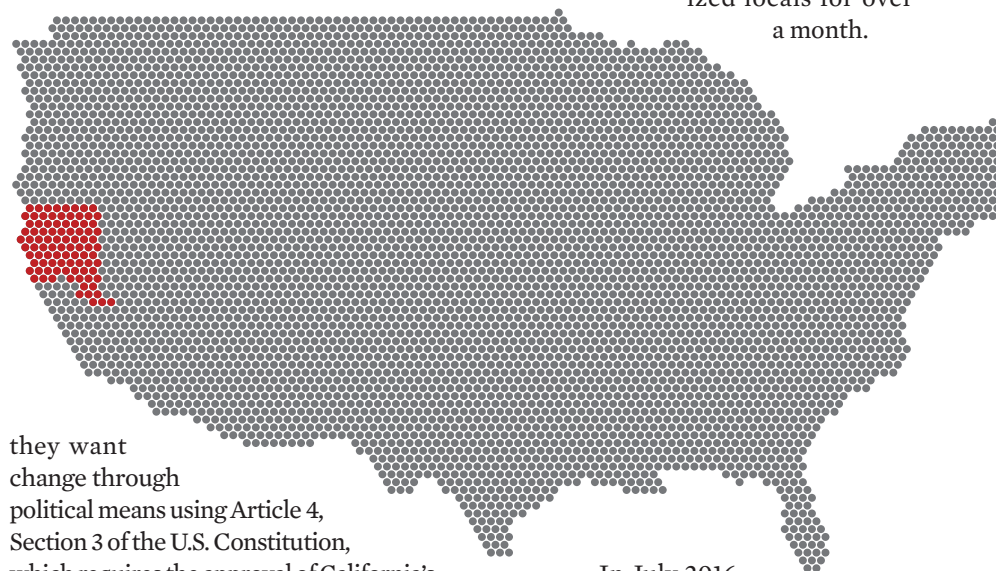
Baird's focus on representation highlights the grievance of many of his neighbors. They sit on the natural resources that

urban centers and rural farming areas in Oregon and California depend on, but their population isn't large enough to impact state government in Salem or Sacramento.

With the sprawling, resource-rich lands around them, Jeffersonians are inspired to start over. They want a new state with lower taxes — although the region receives more in services that it pays in taxes — and a reduction in state agencies and bureaucracies that provide social welfare and limit the extraction of natural resources in order to protect the environment and vulnerable species.

They'd also like to revisit and "correct" *Reynolds v. Sims* — the landmark 1964 Supreme Court ruling that the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment requires legislative districts to be equal in population.

According to the group's webpage



they want change through political means using Article 4, Section 3 of the U.S. Constitution, which requires the approval of California's state legislature and the U.S. Congress.

Baird claims to not know of the Jefferson State Militia, led by the pitchfork-wielding doomsayer, Jim Mark. But Baird's own organization, which boasts "state militia" as one of its formation groups, is no stranger to violent antigovernment ideology.

Robert "Red" Smith, researcher and

archivist for the group according to the leadership section on its webpage, made clear in a 2016 video posted to YouTube his belief in a central conspiracy theory that drives the antigovernment movement.

"We fully well believe that there is a plan in place to destroy America as it stands and remove the constitution of the law of the land and place us under a one world order," Smith said to a room full of listeners in Redding, California, while giving updates on the ongoing occupation in Malheur. "I mean it's time to quit talking about it and really open your eyes and understand that's the fight we're in."

In March 2017, Smith penned an article titled "Why We Went; Reflections of a Malheur Occupier," venerating the armed, antigovernment out-of-towners who seized and occupied the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge and terrorized locals for over a month.

In July 2016, five months after key occupiers were arrested and one of their members was shot and killed by police while allegedly reaching for a handgun, Smith posted an article coauthored by the vice president of the Oregon Three Percent and Kit Perez, a former Three Percenter and self-styled Patriot.

We Own These Hills

“Our own government,” the article reads, “has been selling our nation’s sovereignty and our constitutional rights down the road at a reckless pace for years now, and as the effects of those acts pile up, patriots are becoming restless.”

The article stressed the need to foster public support for a “decentralized partisan/guerrilla movement” if it’s to successfully confront the Bureau of Land Management, “so-called refugees,” ISIS, inner city gangs and whatever else the conspiracy theorists can fathom.

For Smith and the increasingly apocalyptic Three Percent and closely related Oath Keepers — an antigovernment group comprised primarily of military veterans, law enforcement and emergency first responders which has endorsed the State of Jefferson — tumultuous times aren’t just near; they’re here and now.

A 2015 article penned by Smith and published on the Shasta Lantern, an online news source run by another member of the State of Jefferson’s leadership, gives particular insight into a movement itching for vigilante justice in these perceived times of war.

“What do you do with a soldier found asleep at his post,” asks Smith in an article titled *I Do Solemnly Swear*. “Under the Uniform Code of Military Justice Article 113 the punishment [for this offense] is fine and incarceration [in peace time] and in time of war, death ... what this soldier is guilty of, is violation of his Oath of Duty and the price will be paid. The treatment of similar Oath Breakers should not be any less deliberate and determined. We as citizens should not accept any amnesty to those guilty of the same crime simply because they are civilians. The standard should not only apply to those in uniform charged with our safety and protection. Our elected representatives, are not any less charged with our protections then [sic] our best in uniform ... If they fail that Oath are they not to be held to the same standards?”

“Fire for the hills, pick up your feet and let’s go,” opens “Young Men Dead,” a hard-hitting anti-war tune released in 2006 by The Black Angels. “Head for the hills pick up steel on your way. And when you find a piece of them in your sight, fire at will don’t you waste no time.”

This sharp critique of America’s embrace of militarism by the psych rock band out of Austin, Texas may well serve as a cautionary hymn about the American Redoubt — a movement of far-right, “God-fearing Patriots” in the Inland Northwest — whose warrior-class-leaders are running for the hills. But these veterans of America’s elite paratrooper, Special Forces and intelligence units are not retreating. In America’s mountain states, they’ve found terrain favorable for a fight.

“[T]he American Redoubt’s Rocky Mountains offer some significant advantages to a resistance movement in proverbial Shit-Hits-The-Fan (SHTF) scenarios,” Special Forces veteran John Mosby, using his *nom de plume*, wrote in a 2014 article titled *Alpine Advantage: Unconventional Warfare in Mountainous Terrain*. “[N]o successful insurgency has ever been sustained in the long-term, in a built-up, inhabited area ... Small-unit operations in alpine regions present some very unique, specific, and constantly shifting challenges and opportunities for the partisan.”

Whether it’s an economic collapse, mass gun confiscation followed by a Communist and Islamist takeover of the United States or — if you’re James Wesley, Rawles — a “grid-down” power outage that transforms the United States of America into the United States of Dystopia, sparsely populated high ground offers prized turf for an embattled resistance movement.

Rawles, a former army intelligence officer now prolific writer for the “Patriot” movement, coined the term

American Redoubt in 2011, and assigned all of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming and the eastern parts of Washington and Oregon to within its borders.

Rawles’ vision is to demographically strengthen an already traditional, prayerful base as a bastion of conservatism able to withstand a perceived onslaught from liberals and an overreaching government.

“I’d like to see the American Redoubt have some sort of autonomy from what we popularly know as the United States,” Rawles said in a 2014 episode of the “God and Guns” podcast. “I’d like to see the American Redoubt basically be a stronghold of conservative, traditional values while we see the rest of the United States sink into oblivion.”

A self-described religious separatist who claims to be no bigot, Rawles says Christians of all races are welcome in the Redoubt, as well as Orthodox and Messianic Jews because they share the same “moral framework.” In the imminent and long-overdue SHTF scenario, Rawles believes “it will only be the God-fearing that will continue to be law abiding.”

God-fearing Muslims, who according to Rawles subscribe to a religion of “evil and death,” are the exception to this rule.

Stewart Rhodes, a former paratrooper who founded and presides over the antigovernment Oath Keepers has relocated to within the American Redoubt, shares Rawles’ view of Muslims.

Rhodes and Oath Keepers endorsed a 22-page essay by former Navy SEAL turned “Patriot” novelist, Matt Bracken, called “Tet, Take Two: Islam’s 2016 European Offensive,” while pushing the belief on prominent conspiracy theorist Alex Jones’ radio show that Islam and international socialism have teamed up to destroy the West.

But long before Oath Keepers took up the anti-Muslim cause, it was arming to

“I’d like to see the American Redoubt basically be a stronghold of conservative, traditional values while we see the rest of the United States sink into oblivion.”



— JAMES WESLEY, RAWLES

fight the government. And it’s this incendiary antigovernment ideology that emanates from the American Redoubt’s thought leaders, even as some may feel a reprieve under the Trump Administration.

Oath Keepers focuses its recruitment on veteran and current military, law enforcement and emergency first responders who possess the skill sets needed to establish a network of capable militias nationwide.

“We have the credible, well-trained veterans as the leadership and as the trainers,” Rhodes said on a 2015 episode of the “God and Guns” podcast. “And then their job is to replicate themselves, to go and train their neighbors . . . Kind of like when a Special Forces team goes into a village, they’re not there to turn the villagers into Special Forces soldiers. They’re there to train the villages as they are.”

A series of blogs from October 2014 to May 2015 on Oath Keepers’ website give insight into the seriousness of the training taking place in the American Redoubt.

“Multiple steel and cardboard targets were camouflaged and placed along a wooded deer trail,” Brandon Smith, Associate editor of the Oath Keepers’ blog, recalls of one exercise in mountainous Eureka, Montana. “Members had to carefully traverse the area while seeking and destroying the targets, finding proper cover, etc. Missed targets resulted in a casualty.”

The simulated casualty provided trainees with the ability to implement combat lifesaver skills that were recently taught to them by the budding militia’s medical experts, who not long before, lectured the group on the growing threat of Ebola. For Oath Keepers, the threat ultimately became part of an insidious government plot.

In a 2014 article titled “Why I Will Not Submit to Medical Martial Law,” Smith discovers the holy grail of government maleficence. “If it is not pure incompetence on their [the government’s]

part that has exacerbated the threat [of Ebola], then even worse, it is a deliberate program of genocide.”

It’s this fusion of razor-sharp, martial skill and an ideology based in paranoid conspiracy theories that almost resulted in tragedy three years ago, when in April 2014, Oath Keepers and other antigovernment extremists flocked to the Nevada ranch of Cliven Bundy for a showdown with the government.

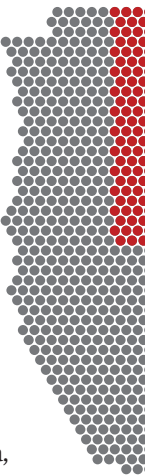
The standoff only narrowly avoided bloodshed as Bureau of Land Management rangers and Las Vegas Metropolitan Police officers, outmanned and outgunned, wisely stood down to a crowd of militants ready to fight to defend their radical understanding of American law and history.

“And here’s the message I have for the federal law enforcement that were there,” Rhodes warned soon after the standoff while boasting of the militia’s capacity to inflict lethal violence on law enforcement officers. “You need to understand how close you were. It was not gonna be a Waco, where it’s gonna be you well trained professionals against untrained men, women and children in a church. It was going to be you against other well trained American fighters . . . [I]t was gonna be sheepdog on sheepdog, bloodbath that day.”

The American Redoubt isn’t the only region where antigovernment extremists recognize the advantage of the high ground.

In 2014, one militia member posted to Facebook a map of a network of militias in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. Atop the image in bold print read, “the Appalachian Redoubt.”

“We own these Hills,” the post reads. “We know where and how to hunt. Our forefathers made life VERY unpleasant for those who chose to trespass here.



History may not repeat itself exactly, but it does Rhyme. Got a lot of good Patriots in close proximity, make those connections now folks. ps: To our Collectivist Would Be Overlords...Montani Semper Liberi, Motherfuckers.”

When Rawles announced the concept of the American Redoubt, he credited Chuck Baldwin, an antigovernment extremist and Baptist pastor who runs the Liberty Fellowship in Kalispell, Montana, for strategically relocating his 18-member extended family from Florida to Montana.

In leaving his established congregation and “voting with his feet,” Baldwin displayed the dedication and conviction the Redoubt seeks from thought leaders like Rawles. He also exemplifies the extreme, militant language of some of those who are attracted to its cause.

“We are going [to Montana] to fight!” Baldwin wrote in a 2010 letter explaining his move. “The Mountain States just might become The Alamo of the twenty-first century, with, hopefully, much



better results. But if not, I would rather die fighting for Freedom with liberty-loving patriots by my side than be shuttled off to some FEMA camp.”

The antigovernment movement seeks to operate in a world of binary opposition where none really exists. And in this false reality of black and white, good versus evil, liberty or death, the high ground may be the last, best hope for freedom.

And with words like this echoing from the Redoubts’ thought leaders and activists, it’s

In 2009, Yale Law School graduate Stewart Rhodes founded the far-right Oath Keepers, a fiercely antigovernment, militaristic organization that claims more than 30,000 current and former military, law enforcement and emergency first responders as members.

no wonder how some in the movement can’t understand how folks can get them so wrong.

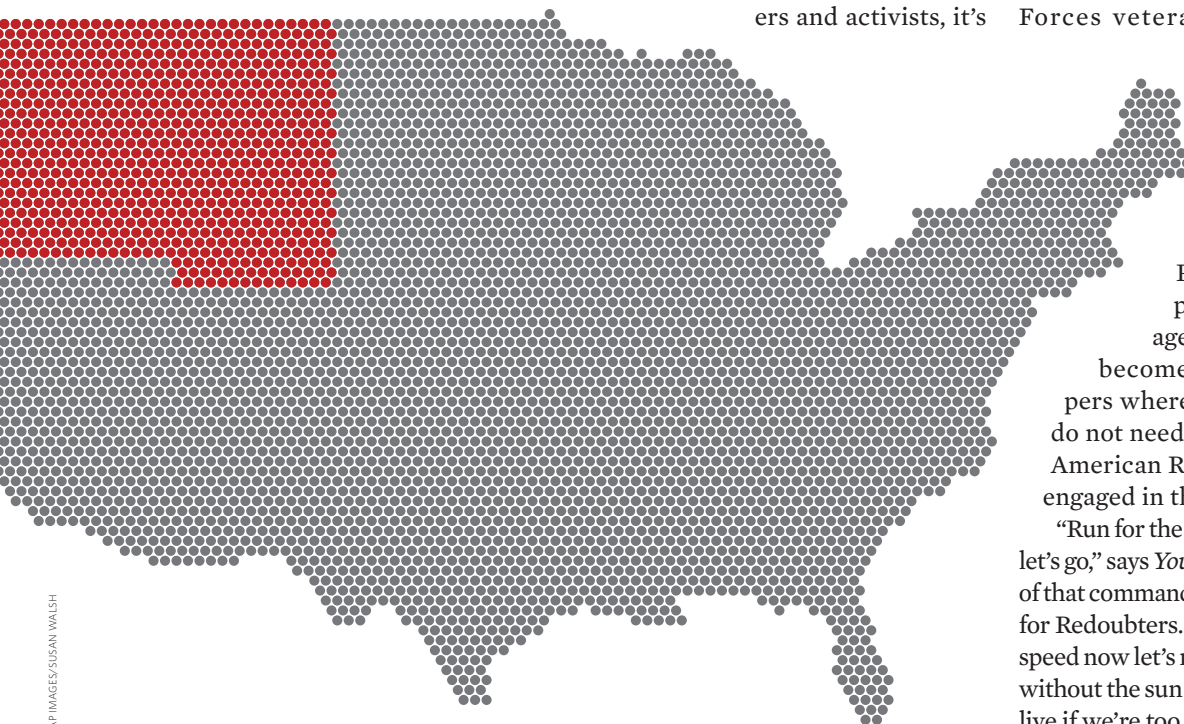
“[P]reppers and the American Redoubt are not the same thing,” John Jacob Schmidt, an Army Special Forces veteran and leading figure

in the American Redoubt said, using his *nom de plume*, on a 2016 episode of his “Radio Free Redoubt” podcast aimed at self-styled

Patriots. “... [W]e strongly promote and encourage God-fearing patriots to

become self-reliant, not preppers where you just check out. We do not need preppers moving to the American Redoubt who will not get engaged in the fight for liberty.”

“Run for the hills, pick up your feet and let’s go,” says *Young Men Dead* near the end of that commanding tune seemingly meant for Redoubters. “We did our jobs, pick up speed now let’s move. The trees can’t grow without the sun in their eyes. And we can’t live if we’re too afraid to die.” ▲





RUDE & CRUDE

Portland, Oregon police strive to contain the rising threat of Brood, a white street gang with a hunger for violence, racist elements, and no regard for the law

BY DAVID HOLTHOUSE

brood (brōōd) *noun* 1 a family of young animals 2 a group having a common nature or origin 3 the children of a family

At 6'9", 290 pounds, it's no mystery how Portland, Oregon, gang leader Shawn Cutler came by the street name Sky. ¶ "I could have been a monster on the NBA circuit," Cutler said. "I had the size and skills for it. But I took a different path." ¶ Cutler, 47, is one of the founders of Brood, a vicious gang with strong white supremacist undercurrents that's a growing threat in Portland. ¶ Thirty years after Brood came to life, Cutler speaks of it as if he's a gangland Dr. Frankenstein. ¶ "Brood was never supposed to be what it's become," said Cutler. "I don't condone all the crime being done in Brood's name today, or any of the white supremacist stuff. The whole thing's gone crazy. It's out of my control. Hell, it's out of anyone's control. It's a little upsetting."

Brood members in recent years have transformed Portland apartment complexes into armed compounds within residential neighborhoods; committed dozens of armed robberies, including many home invasions; stolen hundreds of cars; trafficked untold amounts of narcotics and illegal firearms; provided muscle-for-hire to outlaw motorcycle gangs; and operated a torture chamber in an auto body shop on a major thoroughfare, among other felonies.

“We’re dealing with a large, violent, dangerous gang operating openly in the city of Portland,” said Multnomah County Sheriff’s Office Detective Josh Zwick, who led a major investigation of Brood.

Subtlety is not a strong point for Brood. Its members openly display Brood tattoos, including swastika designs, and wear T-shirts and hats bearing the gang’s name, logo and slogans: “Love is Law,” and “We Never Sleep,” a reference to their taste for crystal methamphetamine. Brood graffiti is easy to find in the Southeast Portland neighborhoods where the gang is concentrated. Stolen vehicles found in Portland, stripped of valuable parts, have business cards tucked beneath windshield wipers, reading, in Old English lettering, “Brood, where’s my car?”

The gang is heightening tensions in a city with a long history of white supremacist gang violence that’s already on edge following the May 26 murders of two men aboard a public light rail train. The men were stabbed to death by a white supremacist after they challenged him for verbally harassing two young women, one of whom is African American and the other of whom is Muslim and was wearing a hijab. A third good Samaritan was also stabbed but survived.

One Brood member was arrested May 1 for allegedly committing 34 felonies in a 37-day crime spree, ranging from grand theft auto to weapons charges. “I went into beast mode,” he explained to investigators. “And beast mode is not good.”

Paranoia Park

“It all started as four street kids looking out for each other in downtown Portland,” said Cutler. (His account of the gang’s beginnings was confirmed by three Portland law enforcement gang experts.)

It was 1986. Cutler, then 16, was a recently emancipated minor who wound up homeless in Portland. He slept in a camp and spent his days in “Paranoia Park,” a grassy square with a fountain. (Still a magnet for homeless youth, its official name is O’Bryant Square.)

“This was back when the black gangs were getting bigger with the crack trade, and there were a lot of Crips and Bloods and black pimps coming downtown, victimizing us street kids,” Cutler said. “Three other guys and I made a pact that, no matter what, we’d always have each other’s backs. It was just four skinny white kids trying to survive.”

The foursome came up with a name for themselves: Brothers Running Over Ordinary Dogs, or Brood, for short.

One night in early 1987, according to Cutler, the four “original gangsters” of Brood fought 22 black



Brood cofounder Anthony Kronus Swift (top left) was released from prison last summer. Brood “shot caller” David Bartol (middle) poses in a prison yard with Kyle Brewster (bottom left) and Kenneth Mieske, former leaders of the neo-Nazi skinhead group East Side White Pride, who were convicted of beating to death Ethiopian immigrant Mulugeta Seraw in 1988.



gang members in Pioneer Square, another park in downtown Portland. “We took some lumps, believe that, but none of us ran,” he said. “We stayed in it, all of us, and from that day on we were united, a family.”

Brood was never intended to be a white supremacist organization, Cutler said. “There was a certain racial element to it, because we were white and a lot of the guys we were fighting were black. But it [Brood] was based more on shared identity and mutual protection. It wasn’t about hating anyone else just for the color of their skin. We only hated people who were trying to do us wrong, plain and simple.”

Heavy use of crystal meth also defined Brood from day one. “Living on the streets, you learn to stay up all night, because if you sleep at night you get robbed or harassed,” Cutler said.

The four began stealing from houses and cars to get money for meth, then graduated to strong-arm robberies and drug dealing. One by one they were caught and sent to prison in the late 1980s through early 1990s. “We all four of us went to different state correctional facilities, and we all started recruiting new members in the prisons. That’s when Brood started to blow up into this huge thing it is now,” Cutler said. “The guys we put on in prison, they’d bring in new guys on the streets once they were out, and it just got a little carried away.”

According to multiple Portland law enforcement sources, Brood now has 30 to 50 hardcore members on the streets in Portland at any one time, with another 300 to 350 members in the state prison system. “Brood is currently the biggest white supremacist prison gang in Oregon,

no question,” said Bryan Smith, Supervisor of the Multnomah County Parole and Probation Gang Unit.

Well into the 1990s, Brood was primarily a street gang with members in prison. But in the last 20 years, as more of its members were sentenced to long prison terms, recruiting in prison outpaced recruiting on the streets, and Brood evolved from a street gang with a growing presence in the prison system to a prison gang with brazen street factions.

Inside prisons, Brood runs extortion and gambling rackets, distributes narcotics, and battles with black and Hispanic gangs for control.

“Brood is a prison gang, and prison is a segregated, racial world, so there’s inevitably a lot of racial violence between Brood guys and black guys and Hispanic guys, and that fuels the racial identity component,” Smith said.

“At the same time, it’s not like Brood is a group with a fully developed racist belief system of its own. For the most part these guys are too dope-addled to be political. They’re not going to white power rallies. They’re not World War II history experts. They haven’t read a lot of Hitler. They’re criminals. A lot of them are *racist* criminals. But first and foremost, they’re criminals. And they’re reckless. What defines Brood, more than anything, is total recklessness.”

Brood marking their turf in Portland, Oregon.

“Brood is a prison gang, and prison is a segregated, racial world.”

— BRYAN SMITH, SUPERVISOR OF THE MULTNOMAH COUNTY PAROLE AND PROBATION GANG UNIT



Last year, more than a dozen Brood members took over this Southeast Portland residential complex and turned it into a hive of criminal activity.

Hornets' Nests

The tan, sprawling, residential complex on SE 122nd Street in Portland is vacant now, boarded up, with bright green Portland Police Bureau notices duct-taped to grimy windows, informing passersby the buildings have been “a source of public safety concerns.”

Before it was raided last summer by a SWAT team, the run-down house, triplex and weedy yards just north of SE Harold Street was occupied by more than a dozen Brood members running around-the-clock criminal activity.

“The compound on 122nd was pretty typical for Brood,” said Multnomah County Sheriff’s Office Deputy Ryan Burkeen, a veteran member of the multi-agency East Metro Gang Enforcement Team. “Their M.O. is to take over a threeplex or a fourplex and transform them into a center of a lot of trouble in a hurry. They’re like hornet nests. One day we hear that two or three have moved into a certain location, the next you’re looking through binoculars at 15 to 20 Brood guys hanging out in the yard, and it’s like, ‘Yep, there’s a problem here.’”

On a recent afternoon, a seven-year resident of the neighborhood was tinkering with an old pick-up truck in his yard next to the former Brood compound.

He said the first sign of trouble last spring was his pit bull, Riley, growling all night at the blackberry bushes that separated his property from the Brood compound. “It was constant noise, constant foot and car traffic, people coming and going, yelling in the middle of the night, ‘Watch out, he’s got a gun!’ I mean, it was just insane,” he said.



Riley’s owner, who asked *Intelligence Report* not to use his name due to safety concerns, said that he’d never heard of Brood until the gang moved in next door, but when he asked old friends in the neighborhood who’d been to prison about Brood, “they told me Brood is the gang that recruits all the white guys in prison. My friends said they [Brood] have these rings where they look for the right kind of properties around here [SE Portland] and just take them over.”

The man said he bought a gun for the first time in his life after Brood moved next door. “It used to be you just needed a pit bull in this neighborhood. Now you need a pit bull and a firearm.”

"We couldn't believe what we were seeing once we put the place under surveillance. There were guys holding guns just walking around the property."

— MULTNOMAH COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE DETECTIVE JOSH ZWICK

Detective Josh Zwick described the similar menace caused by another Brood compound in Portland, this one a triplex at SE 111 Avenue and Burnside Street. "We couldn't believe what we were seeing once we put the place under surveillance," he said. "There were guys holding guns just walking around the property."

The triplex was occupied by about a dozen Brood members, including several women (known in the gang as the Killer Bs), as well as a few members of European Kindred, a longtime Portland-based white supremacist gang that is allied with Brood, though "EK" is more overtly racist.

The Brood and EK members were dealing drugs and guns, buying stolen goods, and running a busy "chop shop" for stolen cars in the back yard. "All of it right out in the open," said Zwick. "They were going at it until four or five in the morning every night. It was off the hook."

Rule Number One

Driving the tree-lined streets of Southeast Portland in an unmarked car, Deputy Burkeen of the East Metro gang unit pointed out Brood graffiti spray-painted on a fence: a crown with the word "Brood," next to the letters "KRB." It stands for Krude Rude Brood, a newer extension of the gang's original name.

Burkeen paused for a few seconds in front of a two-story house at the corner of SE 72nd and Sherrett Street that Cutler frequents. Burkeen noted a hand-lettered cardboard sign in an upstairs window, facing outward, above a mounted air conditioning unit.

It read, "Love is Law, Bitch!"

"A public service message brought to you by Brood," said Burkeen.

Asked to explain the meaning of "Love is Law," Cutler said in a recent interview, "It's rule number one for us. Right or wrong, you stick with your brothers in Brood. When in doubt, refer to rule number one. 'Love is Law' means if one of your brothers comes to you for something, you're there for them. No questions asked. No judgment rendered."

Despite the creed, Brood leaders, or shot callers, enforce harsh internal discipline on members who violate gang rules. For at least a year, Brood operated a torture chamber inside Tom's Auto Painting and Body Shop, located at the intersection of SE Powell Boulevard and SE 85th Avenue, in the heart of Brood territory. The auto shop was co-owned by Brood enforcer David Corbit. He and other Brood officers tortured victims inside the shop's auto painting booth, which allowed for easy clean-up of blood and other body matter. Brood gunsmiths used the shop equipment to manufacture illegal silencers, which gang members test-fired inside.



In December 2012, Corbit and other Brood enforcers, including David Bartol, kidnapped gang member Nicholas Remington at gunpoint from his home and drove him to Tom's in the middle of the night. Remington was suspected of being a police informant. The Brood enforcers stripped him, beat him with baseball bats, used a belt sander to remove a Brood tattoo on his left shoulder, then placed a motorcycle helmet on his head and shot it with a rifle four or five times. Next, they injected Remington in the neck with an overdose of methamphetamine and heroin, then dumped

A Multnomah County gang task force officer inspects a former Brood compound that was raided in summer 2016.



Brood enforcers tortured victims in the paint spraying booth of Tom's Auto Painting and Body Shop (above). The torturers included former Brood shot caller David Bartol (far right), shown posing with fellow Brood members in Portland.

him, unconscious, naked except for boxer shorts, and barely alive, on a street about a mile away. Remington survived.

Remington's account led to a multi-year, multi-agency investigation of Brood, led by Detective Zwick. Dubbed Operation White Christmas, it resulted in more than 100 felony indictments of members of Brood, European Kindred, and three other, smaller Oregon white supremacist gangs. (Corbit was sentenced to 15 years in prison for torturing the two men at Tom's and shooting a third in a home invasion robbery; Bartol was sentenced to death for a separate murder.)

Operation White Christmas investigators seized more than 100 firearms, several kilos of meth, around \$80,000 in cash, a container load of expensive string instruments stolen from a music store in Vancouver, Washington, and several caches of neo-Nazi paraphernalia.

"Operation White Christmas hit Brood hard, but what's happening now is Brood shot callers, including some of the original founders, are getting released from prison, and that's re-energizing the gang," said Deputy Burkeen. "There's sort of a trend in Brood right now of the younger guys paying respect to their elders. It's a way of strengthening their gang identity and giving them new momentum."

One grisly example of this paying of homage: earlier this year, longtime Brood member Billy DuBois



died of cancer. His body was cremated, and Brood members across Portland have been getting new gang tattoos using special ink mixed with his ashes.

Kissing the Ring

Last summer, a group of 10 white men ranging in age from their late 20s to late 40s held a reunion of sorts in a Portland parking lot. The guest of honor was a 47-year-old convicted felon with long brown hair pulled into a ponytail and a goatee, who stripped off his shirt to reveal a huge "BROOD" tattoo inked across his chest.

The group posed for photographs and celebrated the release from prison of the ponytailed Brood "original gangster," Anthony Kronus Swift,

LEAH NELSON (TOM'S AUTO BODY), MULTNOMAH COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE (BROOD MEMBERS)

one of the four original founders of Brood, who'd just been released from a Texas federal prison after serving 15 years on gang-related felony charges.

Known on the streets by his middle name, "Kronus" being freed was a shot in the arm for Brood. "The young guys have all heard a lot of stories about Kronus, but they've not seen him or met him," said Detective Zwick. "Now that he's out, they're all going to see him, introducing themselves, paying their respects. Like kissing the king's ring."

Bryan Smith, the parole and probation gang unit supervisor, said that Kronus directed Brood activities in Portland even while he was serving time at the federal penitentiary in Texas. "He runs the show, wherever he is," Smith said. "We've heard a lot of Brood guys talking about over the years: 'Kronus said this,' or 'Kronus sent this message from prison.'"

Cutler, the other Brood co-founder, refused to answer questions about Kronus. "All I'll say is that he's half crazy. He's already flown the coop [left Oregon], as far as I know."

To the contrary, multiple law enforcement sources told *Intelligence Report* that Kronus has been spotted on several occasions at known Brood houses, and that Kronus has presided over mandatory "roll call" meetings for all Brood members outside prison, in which he stressed the need for renewed gang unity.

"From a law enforcement perspective, Kronus being out and active is not a positive development," said Deputy Burkeen of the Portland gang unit.

Another red flag raised by the sighting of a well-known criminal at a known Brood hangout was the recent presence on the porch of a flophouse popular with Brood members of notorious neo-Nazi skinhead Kyle Brewster, who served 20 years in prison for beating to death Ethiopian immigrant Mulugeta Seraw in 1988. Two other members of the Portland skinhead crew East Side White Pride were also

"I don't condone all the crime being done in Brood's name today, or any of the white supremacist stuff. The whole thing's gone crazy."

— BROOD CO-FOUNDER SHAWN CUTLER



convicted of murder in what became one of the Southern Poverty Law Center's most famous legal actions against a hate group. Acting on behalf of Seraw's family, the SPLC obtained a \$12.5 million verdict against the neo-Nazi group White Aryan Resistance (WAR), and its notorious leader, Tom Metzger, who recruited the Portland skinheads who murdered Seraw. The verdict decimated WAR and undercut the skinhead movement in the Pacific Northwest.

Cutler said that he and other Brood leaders condemn violent hate crimes like those called for by WAR and carried out by East Side White Pride skinheads. "We do not condone white supremacist violence, period," he said. Cutler noted that a few splinter factions of Brood have even allowed a handful of African American, Hispanic and Native American convicts to run with the gang

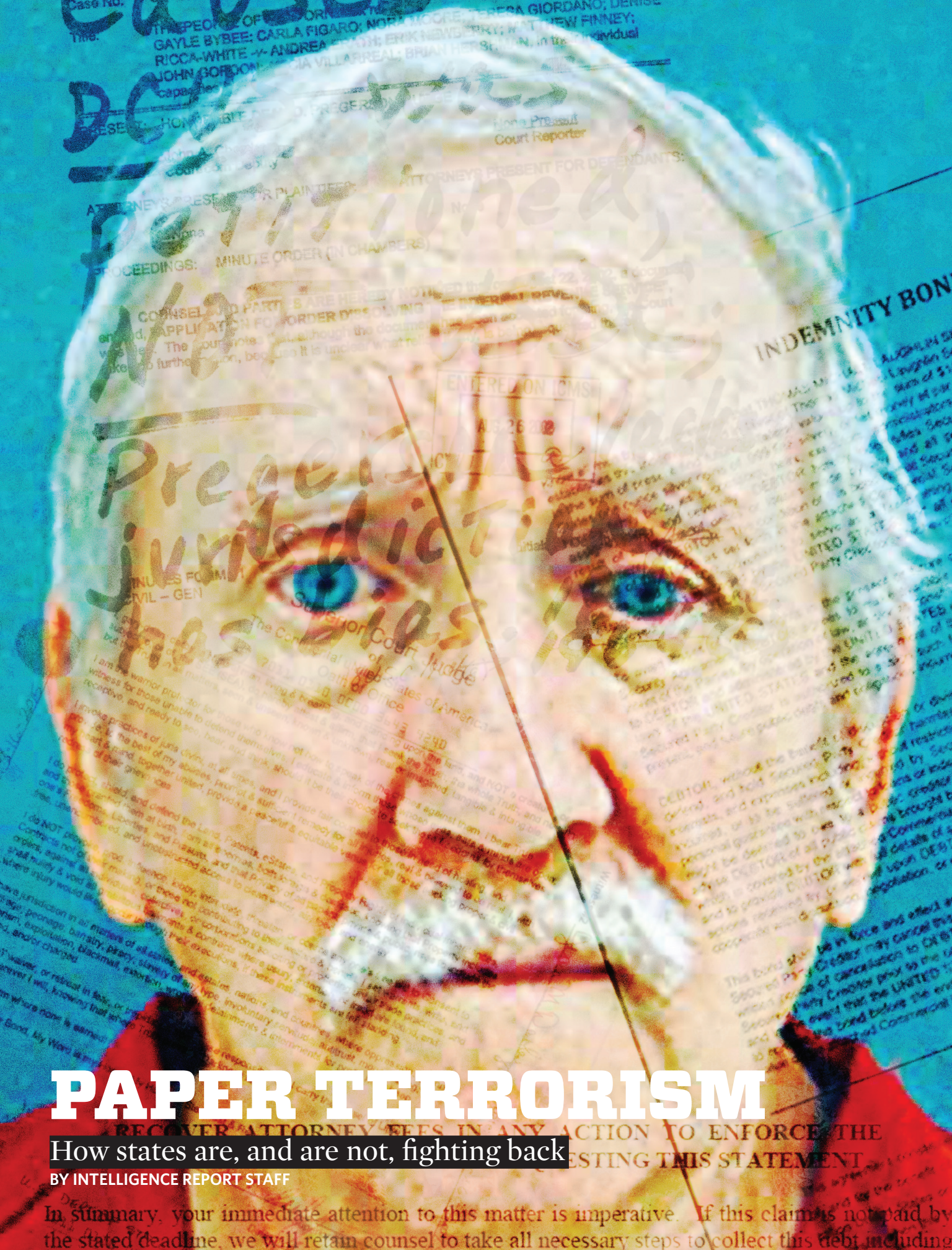
in Portland after being released from prison. "The whole idea that Brood is a white supremacist organization is a complete fallacy."

With his next breath, though, "Sky" contradicted himself, at least in part.

"The whole racial thing has just gotten blown out of proportion. Without a doubt, there are members of Brood who consider themselves white supremacists," he said. "Without a doubt, there are members of Brood who have swastika tattoos they place some meaning behind. My point is that some of them had those beliefs and tattoos before they were inducted into Brood, some of them developed those beliefs and got those tattoos after. But there's no *requirement* they have those beliefs, just like there's no rule against it. We're not here to sit in judgment of anyone's beliefs or what tattoos he chooses to put on his body or why. That's not the purpose of Brood"

What is the purpose?

"Brotherhood. Honor. Loyalty. Respect. Family. And, you know, robbing people who there's a reason to rob." ▲



PAPER TERRORISM

How states are, and are not, fighting back

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF

In summary your immediate attention to this matter is imperative. If this claim is not paid by the stated deadline, we will retain counsel to take all necessary steps to collect this debt including

Independence Day 2015 in Oakridge, Tennessee, ended in grief and chaos after 65-year-old sovereign citizen Lee Harold Cromwell rammed his truck into a crowd of people at a Fourth of July fireworks show. According to witnesses, Cromwell accelerated backward hitting eight vehicles and injuring 12 individuals, including James Robinson who died from his injuries. Three adults and six children with non-life-threatening conditions were taken to the hospital.

Cromwell remained in his vehicle after the accident, talking on his cell phone until a police officer came to question him. When asked for his driver's license, Cromwell told the officer he had returned it to the state because he didn't need it, and the reason why should have been a warning to the officers, and the court system of what was to come.

Cromwell's license was suspended in 2014 after he challenged a speeding ticket by sending the court a dollar bill and a letter titled "Affidavit" and "Denial of Corporate Existence" In the letter, he referred to himself as "Lee-Harold: of the family Cromwell" and "Living Man with a Conscience" and said he "denied the ... corporate existence" of the country, state and various government agencies.

Police arrested Cromwell the next day. He was eventually charged with one count of vehicular homicide and eight counts of aggravated assault, but not before creating a commotion among Anderson County's legal and law enforcement communities.

During Cromwell's trial, he filed an \$8 million lien against Donald Elledge, the criminal court judge assigned to his case. Elledge recused himself. Then Dave Clark, District Attorney for Anderson County, was forcefully recused by Elledge's replacement, Judge Paul Summers, after Cromwell filed a frivolous lien against him.

Cromwell also filed liens against his arresting officer, Oak Ridge's chief of police, another prosecutor in the district attorney's office and the circuit court clerk for Anderson County.

Although this was a new experience for Anderson County, public servants are regularly targeted by sovereign citizens

Many sovereign citizens file liens in the billions and trillions of dollars, and Louisiana has given the court the power to fine them for exactly that amount.

with an axe to grind. This is because sovereign citizens believe they reside outside the jurisdiction of the government and are therefore above the law. And once they are fined, arrested or incarcerated by a government they consider illegitimate, sovereigns are often adversarial toward the agents of that government, namely its public servants.

This sort of vengeance — where sovereign citizens use legal loopholes in order to circumvent the law — is known as paper terrorism.

The primary weapon in their arsenals, as illustrated by Cromwell, is the lien. Typically filed by individuals or businesses that are unable to collect on a genuine debt, liens can force the sale of a property in order to satisfy the debt or alternately, prevent an owner from selling their property until the issue is resolved. The removal of a lien is a complicated process that often takes the work of attorneys, and a year or more before it is successfully discharged, and can ruin someone's credit in the interim. Some victims have gone bankrupt as a result of these actions.

In addition to liens, sovereign citizens also file bogus lawsuits against people they perceive as enemies, falsely report their foes to the IRS for failing to disclose all of their income and file fabricated criminal charges against them.

Sovereign citizens are also utilizing get-out-of-debt and get-rich-quick schemes, filing fictitious financial documents, such as false bills of credit, bonds, and bills of exchange, which are essentially fake checks. These actions hurt the government, wasting their time and resources, and costing the taxpayers money.

Sovereigns are aware of the leviathan power they yield against public servants, other individuals and the government when they file these fraudulent documents. In a number of jurisdictions they can enact revenge without consequence, free to harass and intimidate their arresting or corrections officers, the judge presiding over their case or a bureaucrat who has upset them in some way.

- In 2013, a department of corrections commissioner in Minnesota was forced into personal bankruptcy court by a sovereign citizen with an ax to grind.

- In 2016 an Idaho department of transportation worker was taken to court and sued for over \$6 million for refusing to reinstate the license of a sovereign citizen with no auto insurance. The same sovereign sued a prosecutor and county clerk for \$1.4 million.

- In 2017, a group of anti-government individuals in Colorado, calling themselves a people's grand jury, sought to influence specific cases by threatening to file liens and criminal complaints against public servants unless they dismissed the cases or resigned.

- The Quall family of Nolensville, Tennessee, was terrorized by sovereign citizen Leighton Ward after they bought a property belonging to his mother. Ward claimed the family was trespassing. He filed a judgment against the property, claiming the sale was improper. Despite his preposterous allegation, his claim is legally attached to their property title and can negatively affect them if the family decides to sell.

These are four examples among thousands and states are finally starting to recognize paper terrorism and enact legislation to prevent it. Astoundingly, the federal government has just one law on the books which only protects federal judges and law enforcement, and approximately one-quarter of U.S. states still have no laws

on the subject at all. The remaining states have enacted laws or have laws pending in their legislatures.

Most of the laws which have been passed are reactionary, drafted only after public employees in the state were personally affected by a false filing. This is also true of amendments to existing laws, which are made after sovereign citizens commit a form of paper terrorism the initial state law did not cover.

Some states possess laws which consider it illegal to hinder or harass any of its residents by filing false financial documents against them. These include California, Florida, Maryland, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Virginia. If the Qualls had been residents of one of these states, the judgment Ward filed against their home would have been considered a crime. In Tennessee, where they reside, no law covers fraudulent filings against residents who are not employed by its state or local government. In short, they are not considered victims of paper terrorism by Tennessee standards, so they are out of luck.

In most states, the filing of false documents is only a crime when they are filed against a public servant with retaliatory intent. Michigan covers current and former federal, state and local officials and employees, and West Virginia covers all of those categories while they are still in the employ of the government. New Jersey covers current and former public servants, federal employees, their families or estates. Nevada covers people involved in official proceedings, their families, public officers, employees and candidates for public office. Arkansas includes judges from all 50 states and U.S. territories, as well as Arkansas court personnel. Florida, where sovereign activity is extremely prevalent, includes claims against subcontractors and sub-subcontractors. Other states' legislation contains a variation of the many subgroups, often including judges, public officials and law enforcement officers.

A small number of states, including Colorado, Ohio, Utah, Mississippi and West Virginia possess legislation that works proactively, seeking to prevent paper terrorism, rather than purely punishing it after the fact. These states allow recording clerks or secretaries of State to

deny filings that look fraudulent. In addition, West Virginia makes it mandatory for county clerks to hang a sign with large letters in an area where the public will see it, stating that filing a fraudulent court record or instrument is a crime. Under Virginia law, its filing office can reject a filing if it looks materially false. South Carolina recorders can discard a filing, providing they alert the filer of their suspicions, and give them 30 days to appeal the denial in state court.

Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota and Idaho can reject a filing by any person who names themselves as both the debtee and the debtor on their forms. Some sovereigns do this because they ascribe to a conspiracy theory known as "redemption" where they believe this will allow them to dip into a secret government account meant just for them.

In Indiana, all liens which do not progress into a lawsuit within 30 days become null and void. Illinois protects their public officials from sovereign harassment by withholding their addresses from the public record and redacts them on government forms.

Some laws only cover the filing of fraudulent liens, while others cover false recordings of any and all financial documents. Florida, New Jersey, New York and South Carolina are among the most expansive, covering a variety of offenses including false liens, affidavits, invoices, valueless checks, mortgages, contracts and more.

Punishments for these crimes vary a great deal. Some states have no punitive element to their laws. Others only allow for civil damages where victims can sue for court costs and other expenses. A few consider the filing of false encumbrances or financial documents a misdemeanor. In states such as Florida, Indiana, and Tennessee, paper terrorism carries a felony charge, and a few states use a graduated system where the first offense is a lesser charge, but penalties increase if a sovereign commits additional transgressions.

Financial penalties also differ greatly from state to state. In West Virginia, a first offense is fined at no less than \$100 and no more than \$1,000. Tennessee fines up to \$3,000. Georgia levies a maximum fine of \$10,000, and West Virginia's fine

is up to \$10,000 for anyone charged with a subsequent offense.

Louisiana has enacted what could be considered the most imaginative penalty. Their law states that "Whoever commits the crime of filing a false lien against a law enforcement or court officer shall be fined not less than five hundred dollars nor more than the amount of the value of the false lien or encumbrance." Many sovereign citizens, like Cromwell, file liens in the billions and trillions of dollars, and Louisiana has given the court the power to fine them for exactly that amount.

Florida has the only state law which allows for the prosecution of individuals who direct others to file false liens and financial recordings.

What many laws lack is assistance for the victims of paper terrorism. Alabama, Idaho, Illinois, and Maine are among states who expedite lien removal for the victims. Florida provides legal representation to public servants and possesses the legal right to freeze or seal false records. And a number of states allow the victims to pursue civil damages, but it can be a long process which is not always fruitful.

No one should be harassed in the course of their work or have to defend themselves against paper terrorism. Yet many people, especially public officials and employees have been forced to.

The increasing number of laws prohibiting sovereign citizens and others from conducting these kinds of campaigns is a start. But every state needs to enact legislation to fight back against paper terrorism because the sovereign citizen's movement is not disappearing any time soon. The Federal Bureau of Investigation stated in 2011 that "the sovereign-citizen threat likely will grow as the nationwide movement is fueled by the Internet, the economic downturn, and seminars held across the country that spread their ideology and show people how they can tap into funds and eliminate debt through fraudulent methods." And without good, enforceable laws against paper terrorism — drafted with an eye on preventing it and holding the perpetrators accountable — there will be additional victims in the future. ▲



TRUMP ELECTION ENERGIZES ANTI-LGBT RIGHT

MAJOR ROLLBACKS FOR LGBT EQUALITY RESULT

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF

Though presidential candidate Donald Trump made a few statements on the campaign trail indicating he might be in support of LGBT equality, other statements and actions have belied that. His pick for vice president is a longtime opponent of LGBT equality who has opposed putting same-sex relationships on equal legal footing as heterosexual marriages. Trump also made statements that he would consider appointing Supreme Court justices who could help dismantle marriage equality.

Upon Trump's election, LGBT activists expressed deep concerns. "This is a devastating loss for our community," Jay Brown of the LGBT rights organization the Human Rights Campaign stated in *The New York Times* the day after the election. Also in the *Times*, Mara Kiesling,



Tony Perkins of the anti-LGBT hate group Family Research Council proclaimed his support for Trump in 2016, explaining that, from a pragmatic standpoint, there might be "opportunities" with Trump to end what he perceives as anti-Christian persecution.

executive director of the National Center for Transgender Equality, concurred. "All across America right now there are millions of people who are terrified."

Trump's presidency has proven many LGBT rights groups correct in their concerns about rollbacks in terms of LGBT equality. The Trump Administration has created new opportunities for anti-LGBT groups, many of whom view him and Vice President Mike Pence as vehicles for either dismantling equality for LGBT people or enabling anti-LGBT policies.

Many on the anti-LGBT right expressed support (some of it lukewarm) during then-candidate Trump's campaign, and have found a receptive audience for their views in the current administration. In 2016, Tony Perkins of the anti-LGBT hate group Family Research Council (FRC) told Sandy Rios of fellow anti-LGBT hate group the American Family Association (AFA) on his *Washington Watch* radio program

that he was voting for Trump, and though he didn't relish it, he claimed from a pragmatic standpoint there might be opportunities.

Tim Wildmon, president of AFA, said that after the election, America "avoided catastrophe" by electing Trump because Hillary Clinton would have "criminalized" Christianity.

The selection of Pence as vice presidential running mate was also a major boost for anti-LGBT groups. When Pence was running for Congress, he supported banning LGBT people from serving in the military and opposed efforts to put same-sex relationships on an equal par with heterosexual marriage and also opposed efforts to recognize LGBT discrimination.

Pence gained recent notoriety in 2015 when, as Indiana governor, he signed a hastily passed, so-called "religious freedom" law in the state that opened the door for making discrimination against LGBT people legal. In the backlash that ensued — including companies pulling businesses from the state — Pence signed a revised version of the bill that barred businesses from explicitly discriminating against LGBT people.

With the election of Trump, however, Perkins' statement about opportunity within the administration was all too true. Within hours of the election, references to LGBT people and policy were removed from the White House website and a search on the site for "LGBT" turns up little. The Obama-era White House website, which included references to LGBT rights and policies, was transferred to an online archive.

The Trump Administration also removed questions about LGBT people from an annual survey administered by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to help determine available services for elderly Americans. The questions had finally been added in 2014. In June 2017, HHS decided to retain the questions on sexual orientation but not on gender identity. The Housing and Urban Development department also withdrew a survey that would have measured the effectiveness of a homelessness project for LGBT youth. Both incidents have alarmed watchdog groups, who are concerned



about a concerted effort to erase LGBT people from policy discussions and manipulate government data to serve a particular ideology.

Michael Adams, CEO of Services and Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Elders (SAGE), told *U.S. News and World Report* that halting this data collection has the potential to affect federal funding and programming, but also funding at local and state levels. "It's a big deal to make this change," he said. "What this is about is stripping out an entire population."

In a move in February hailed by anti-LGBT groups nationwide, the Trump Departments of Justice and Education rescinded Obama-era instructions to schools to respect the rights of trans students and allow access to bathrooms and other facilities that align with their gender identities. And in late March, President Trump also reneged on a January statement in which he indicated he would be keeping an Obama-era order protecting LGBT people employed with federal contractors from discrimination on the job and requiring contractors to provide documentation indicating their compliance

(clockwise from top right) Vice President Michael Pence has a long track record of anti-LGBT policies and actions. Education Secretary Betsy DeVos and her family have given millions to Focus on the Family. Ken Blackwell, of the anti-LGBT hate group Family Research Council was named to Trump's Presidential Commission on Election Integrity (FRC), was named to the Trump transition team. For Tim Wildmon, president of the hate group American Family Association, a Clinton White House would have "criminalized Christianity."

with federal anti-discrimination policies. Trump revoked the latter aspect of Obama's order, which thus releases federal contractors from scrutiny with regard to discrimination.

Meanwhile, the administration has also appointed anti-LGBT individuals to various positions. Ken Blackwell, a senior fellow at the anti-LGBT hate group Family Research Council, was named to the Trump transition team to handle domestic issues. Blackwell, former Ohio secretary of state, gained notoriety when he allegedly implemented a series of voter suppression measures in that state in 2004 that may have swung it for George W. Bush. Blackwell, who also sits on the board of the NRA, has

claimed that homosexuality is a “compulsion” and a “lifestyle choice” that can be changed.

More recently, Blackwell was named to the Presidential Commission on Election Integrity, along with longtime anti-immigrant activist and attorney, Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach.

Other transition team members with ties to the FRC include former senior vice president Kay Coles James and former director of FRC’s center for religious liberty, Ken Kuklowski. James, who served as assistant secretary for Health and Human Services during the George W. Bush administration, also has ties to the Heritage Foundation and Focus on the Family. Kuklowski is also an editor at Breitbart.com, which has been touted as a platform for the white nationalist so-called “alt-right” movement.

The Trump cabinet now includes anti-LGBT figures like Betsy DeVos as secretary of education and former Georgia representative Tom Price as secretary of health and human services. DeVos is part of the Price/DeVos mega-funding nexus of right-wing donors, providing millions of dollars to organizations like FRC and the National Organization for Marriage.

Price has a long history of anti-LGBT sentiment as a congressman; he voted in 2006 to ban marriage equality nationwide and in 2013 referred to “homosexual activity” as “seen outside the norm.” He also opposed repealing the military’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy, which prevented the military from discriminating against closeted LGBT people who were simultaneously forbidden to serve openly. Price has also voted against hate crimes legislation and against employment rights for LGBT people.

Other Trump picks include former Alabama Senator Jeff Sessions, who voted against the 2009 hate crimes law that included LGBT people. Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson has argued that going to prison can cause people to become gay. He has suggested that Congress can fire any federal judge that disagrees with a law and that Congress could pass a law to circumvent the 2015 Supreme Court ruling that legalized same-sex marriage in the U.S.

Anti-LGBT hate group the Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam) also received a boost in March when Lisa Correnti, its executive vice president, was named by the U.S. State Department to the U.S. delegation to the UN for the Commission on the Status of Women annual meetings. The other nominee was Grace Melton of the Heritage Foundation.

Both groups have long histories of opposing LGBT equality, but also opposing reproductive rights for women. Austin Ruse, president of C-Fam, has supported the criminalization of speech about homosexuality and LGBT people, voicing such support when Russia passed its draconian anti-speech laws that criminalize “homosexual propaganda.” He has also linked homosexuality to pederasty, claimed that LGBT people are a danger to children and, in 2014, while guest-hosting on AFA radio, called for left-wing professors to be “taken out and shot” (AFA posted a statement in the wake of the outcry over Ruse’s comments that he would not be appearing on AFA radio in the future).

The Trump Administration’s naming of individuals from these two groups to a gathering to discuss international policy regarding women sent another signal to anti-LGBT groups that they had an ally in the White House.

The anti-LGBT right also universally hailed Trump’s selection for Supreme Court justice, Neil Gorsuch, as a way to potentially roll back marriage equality and reproductive rights in the United States. Gorsuch’s history suggests that may be the case; he contended in his 2004 dissertation in philosophy at Oxford University that the U.S. Constitution does not guarantee a right to same-sex marriage. In 2005, he went after liberals in a *National Review* op-ed after marriage equality passed in Massachusetts, claiming that they “have become addicted to the courtroom, relying on judges and lawyers rather than elected leaders and the ballot box, as the primary means of effecting their social agenda,” including gay marriage. They can only win a victory on issues like gay marriage, he claimed, “when preaching to a choir before like-minded judges in Massachusetts.”

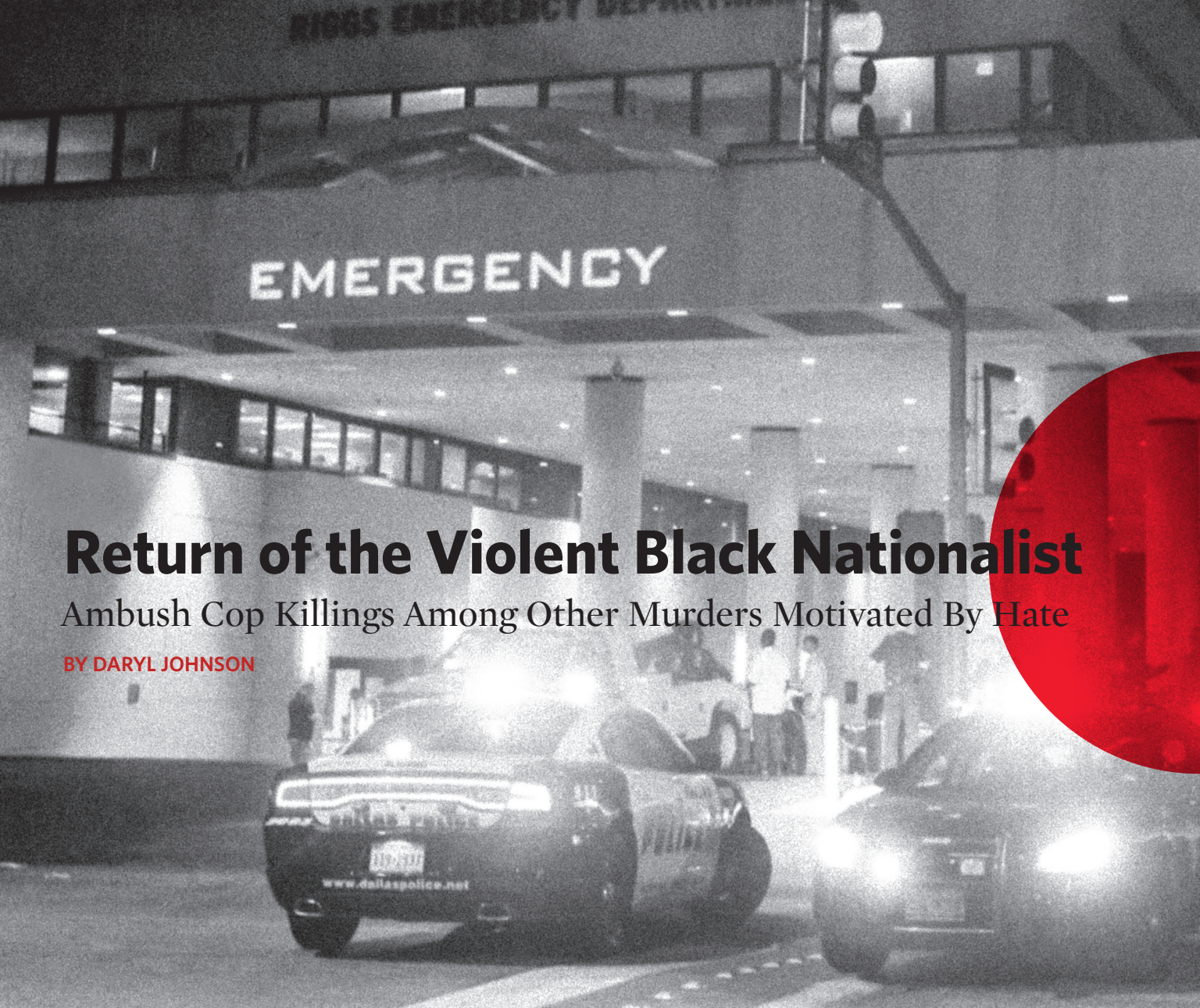
As a justice on the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, he has ruled against trans people in discrimination lawsuits and — in the pivotal Hobby Lobby case in 2013 — he joined in the opinion of the full court of appeals holding that federal law prohibited the Department of Health and Human Services from requiring some secular organizations to provide contraceptive coverage as part of their employee health plans on the basis of religious objection. The ruling was hailed as a victory for so-called “religious liberty” by the Christian right.

Anti-LGBT groups have also been awaiting the passage of a wide-ranging federal “religious liberty” executive order. They got it, when President Trump signed it in early May. The order allows broad exemptions for organizations with regard to political speech — another issue the Christian Right has been working on for years — in hopes of undoing the Johnson Amendment, which is a provision in the U.S. tax code that prevents certain tax-exempt organizations from endorsing or opposing political candidates.

“We are giving our churches their voices back,” Trump proclaimed upon signing the order, though the Johnson Amendment is rarely enforced. The order also provides “regulatory relief” to organizations that oppose an Obamacare mandate to provide contraception through healthcare plans.

An earlier version of the order would have allowed federal contractors to discriminate against LGBT people based on religious belief, but the version that was actually signed did not include that provision, which disappointed some anti-LGBT groups, who claimed the order “did not go far enough.” Nevertheless, the order directs the Department of Justice to issue guidance protecting “religious liberty,” which could have anti-LGBT repercussions, given the current make-up of the DOJ.

If the first few months are any indication, this administration will continue to demonstrate a reinvigorated assault on not only LGBT rights, but reproductive rights and the rights of other marginalized communities, much to the delight of anti-LGBT and anti-choice groups, as well as groups that have long opposed civil rights in general. ▲

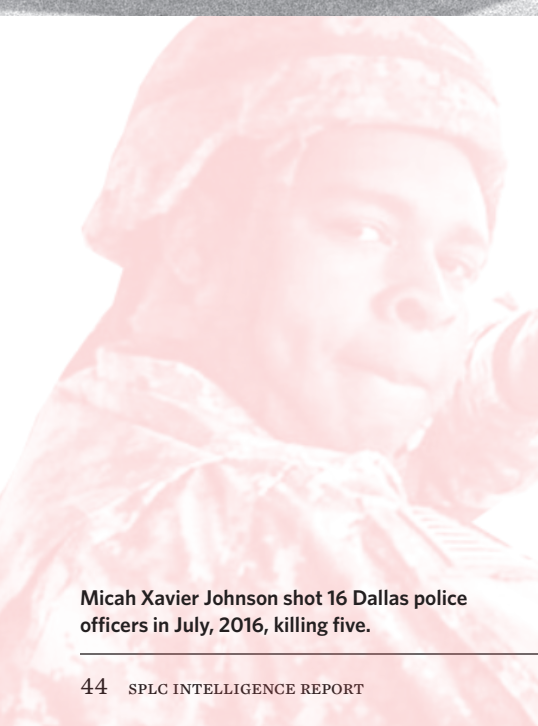


EMERGENCY

Return of the Violent Black Nationalist

Ambush Cop Killings Among Other Murders Motivated By Hate

BY DARYL JOHNSON



During a single month last year, America witnessed two of the most horrific shooting attacks against law enforcement in recent memory. On July 7, 2016, Micah Xavier Johnson ambushed Dallas police officers during a peaceful protest against police brutality, killing five officers and wounding nine others. Ten days later, Gavin Eugene Long shot six officers, killing three, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Both Johnson and Long were reportedly motivated by their strong dislike of law enforcement, grievances against perceived white dominance, and the recent fatal police shootings of unarmed black men under questionable circumstances, specifically the shooting deaths of Alton

Sterling of Baton Rouge and Philando Castile in Falcon Heights, Minnesota. Although many Americans were understandably upset and angry over the deaths of Sterling and Castile, killing others as retribution is certainly not justified. Authorities would later learn that Johnson and Long had ties to black hate groups.

That same month, six Christian churches in St. Louis, Missouri, were either burned or vandalized. Graffiti left at the crime scenes made reference to “Negroes Are the Israelites,” “Wake Up!,” “The Real Israelites Are Rising.” These statements are indicative of Black Hebrew Israelite ideology, which portrays Christianity as “evil” and may point

Micah Xavier Johnson shot 16 Dallas police officers in July, 2016, killing five.

AP IMAGES/TONY GUTIERREZ (HOSPITAL)



to motivation for the property destruction. As details developed about the Dallas, Baton Rouge and St. Louis attacks, it was apparent that a domestic terrorist threat had re-emerged — a threat not seen since the 1970s. This cluster of attacks would later signify the return of the violent Black Nationalist.

According to counter-terrorism experts and scholars, Black Nationalism rose in reaction to white racism during America's civil rights era. It encompasses hatred toward whites, homosexuals, and Jews. Black Nationalists have also advocated for a separate territory for African Americans within the country (similar to white nationalists who argue for a white homeland in the Pacific Northwest).

According to their propaganda, Black Nationalists would like a portion of the Southeast United States reserved for a black nation. Further, they are known for their antigovernment and anti-police sentiments due to their long-held views on government corruption and police brutality.

Like most extremist movements in the United States, Black Nationalism's worldview is shaped by conspiracy theories. In their case, these conspiracies relate to perceived white oppression. They believe that whites — oftentimes conspiring with Jews — control the financial system, government and the media. They believe they are mistreated as a result of their race and ethnicity. For these reasons, they refer to incarcerated Black Nationalist inmates as "political prisoners." Similar to other hate groups, some Black Nationalist groups conduct prison outreach programs to recruit other inmates into their extremist cause. Some have also been known to recruit street gang members.

Micah Johnson and Gavin Long were not simply motivated by hate, they subscribed to a radical belief system seeking social and political change. For example, Johnson was motivated to shoot 14 police officers not only to avenge perceived unjustified killings of unarmed black men, but also to bring increased attention to these killings and, perhaps, change government policy. Johnson was later linked to Black Nationalism through his racist rhetoric and photos posted to social media. He also reportedly attempted to join a Black Nationalist group, the New Black Panther Nation (NBPN), but was ousted by NBPN leader Quannel X because of his radical views and perceived mental instability. Similarly, Gavin Long espoused antigovernment beliefs and affiliated with the Washitaw Nation, a Moorish sovereign citizen group comprised mostly of African Americans. Moorish sovereign citizens, like Long, do not recognize the authority of law enforcement or other government officials. Long regularly spoke of perceived police brutality on his social media accounts and chose to retaliate against the police, a symbolic target, as a result of his extremist views.

The recent rise of violent Black Nationalism may well have begun months before the Dallas and Baton

Rouge attacks with the 2014 ambush shooting deaths of two New York Police Department officers in Brooklyn, New York. The NYPD officers were sitting in their marked patrol car when the shooter, Ismaaiyl Abdullah Brinsley, came up to the passenger side window and opened fire with a semi-automatic pistol. Both officers died instantly after being shot multiple times in their heads and upper bodies. At the time, politicians and the media characterized the NYPD officers' deaths as "assassinations." And they were. Brinsley boasted on social media hours earlier that he wanted to murder cops in revenge for the 2014 deaths of Michael Brown (in Ferguson, Missouri) and Eric Garner who died during a struggle with police in New York City. In fact, Brinsley's violent action came just weeks after a jury acquitted the NYPD officer charged in Garner's death. "I'm putting wings on pigs today," Brinsley wrote on Instagram. "They take 1 of ours ... let's take 2 of theirs," he said. Brinsley later killed himself. Despite having no known ties to Black Nationalist groups, Brinsley's violent actions appear to have been influenced by the killings of unarmed black men and anti-police sentiment which are indicative of today's Black Nationalist narrative.

Not long after Brinsley's attack, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan made violent statements against the government. On July 30, 2015, in response to the suspicious deaths of Walter Scott, Freddie Gray and Sandra Bland, Farrakhan issued what amounts to a call to violence during a speech at Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Miami, Florida. During his speech, Farrakhan said, "Retaliation is a prescription from God to calm the breasts of those whose children have been slain." He hatefully proclaimed, "So if the federal government will not intercede in our affairs, then we must rise up and kill those who kill us; stalk them and kill them and let them feel the pain of death that we are feeling!" Farrakhan's remarks that day likely inspired increased radicalization and mobilization towards violence among other Black Nationalists.

More recently, another violent Black Nationalist lashed out at innocent civilians a week after killing a security guard

at a motel. Kori Ali Muhammad mortally wounded three white males during a targeted shooting spree in Fresno, California, on April 18, 2017. According to his social media posts, Muhammad expressed a strong dislike toward “white people” as well as government officials. He made reference to “a race war against whites,” the evils of “white devils” and being a “black soldier.” Such racially charged terms, themes and phrases originated with the Nation of Islam. Since many Black Nationalist groups have splintered from the NOI, they too use these terms in their extremist propaganda and rhetoric.

Although not necessarily violent as organizations, groups such as the Nation of Islam, New Black Panthers, New Black Liberation Militia, the New Black Panther Nation and the Five Percenters are incubators of radical fanaticism. They attract violent individuals whom they indoctrinate, like Johnson, Long, Brinsley and Muhammad, encouraging criminal activity and violence.

Many Black Nationalists self-identify as “Muslim” and incorporate what they claim as “Islamic” teachings into their life to promote a sense of higher purpose. According to Chris Zambelis, a scholar on

radical trends in African-American Islam at the Jamestown Foundation, “many African Americans see in Islam an opportunity to formally break with the injustices of the past [e.g. slavery, forced conversion to Christianity, severe discrimination, etc.]” Further, “others believe that they are reverting to the faith of their enslaved ancestors and hence are adopting a proud native tradition that they can call their own,” says Zambelis. In a sense, African Americans’ conversion to Islam traditionally represents an ethnic and racial identity in a society they view as replete with discrimination, injustice and alienation. These aspects of Islam are appealing to Black Nationalists seeking racial separatism and sovereignty.

Mainstream followers of Islam, however, reject Black Nationalist assertions that they are “Muslim.” This is primarily attributed to various unorthodox teachings found in Black Nationalism such as the notion of blacks being God’s elect as well as declarations of black sovereignty. Of particular concern to law enforcement, some Black Nationalists have expressed support for al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. For example, on May 4, 2017, the FBI arrested Clark Calloway

— who sympathized with ISIS and wanted to start a “race war” — for unlawful possession of a machine gun. Calloway had also expressed hatred toward white people and wanted to attack law enforcement. Also, in July 2006, the FBI arrested seven members of a Black Nationalist religious cult in Liberty City, Florida, called the “Universal Divine Saviors” and charged them with providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization and attempting to wage war against the U.S. government. Some group members reportedly had ties to Moorish-affiliated groups. In this respect, Black Nationalism may serve as a gateway to foreign-based extremism and international terrorism.

The surge of Black Nationalism can be attributed to current social, economic and political factors over the past decade or more. Since 2000, the number of Black Nationalist groups in the United States has jumped dramatically from 48 groups to 193 in 2016. In 2007, Black Nationalism increased in response to the recent rise in White Nationalism. In 2014, another trend upward coincides with the increased media attention covering fatal police shootings of unarmed black men throughout the country. Johnson, Long,

Black Nationalist Groups of Concern

Although not necessarily violent themselves, groups such as the Nation of Islam (NOI), New Black Panther Party (NBPP), New Black Panther Nation (NBPN), and the Five-Percent Nation attract violent individuals whom they indoctrinate and push toward extremism. The following list of groups represents the more prominent organizations within the Black Nationalist movement in the United States today.

NATION OF ISLAM

Led by Louis Farrakhan, and headquartered in Chicago, the NOI has a nationwide presence. Founded in 1930 by Elijah Muhammad (deceased), the group is the ideological precursor to many Black Nationalist movements. It claims to be an Islamic movement but embraces a radical viewpoint of Islam that does not adhere to core Islamic tenets. Although its members believe in the “truth of the Bible,” the NOI considers the Bible “tampered with” to the point where it must be “reinterpreted” to remove “falsehoods” added to it. The group is virulently anti-Semitic, and in 1991 published *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, a book that asserts that Jews created and funded

the African-American slave trade, which it calls the “Black African Holocaust.” The book is frequently referenced in Black Nationalist speeches and writings.

NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The New Black Panther Party (NBPP) was formed as a community activist group in 1989 in Dallas, Texas. Its ideology draws heavily upon the beliefs of the NOI movement, which advocates political, economic, social and cultural separation from whites. Headquartered in Arlington, Virginia, the NBPP has approximately 32 chapters in large metropolitan areas throughout the United States. The group is highly bigoted and publicly outspoken regarding its racist and anti-Semitic views.

NEW BLACK PANTHER NATION

Headquartered in Detroit, Michigan, and with a few chapters scattered throughout the United States, the New Black Panther Nation (NBPN) is an offshoot of the NBPP and influenced by former members of the NOI. Quannel X is the leader of NBPN’s Houston chapter. Dallas shooter Micah Johnson was supposedly ousted by Quannel X because of his radical views and perceived mental instability. NBPN is known for organizing rallies and protests.

NEW BLACK LIBERATION MILITIA

The New Black Liberation Militia (NBLM) was formed in 2009 and is based in Atlanta, Georgia. The group is currently led by Dawah

"So if the federal government will not intercede in our affairs, then we must rise up and kill those who kill us; stalk them and kill them and let them feel the pain of death that we are feeling!"

Brinsley, and Muhammad made mention of such events before carrying out their deadly shooting attacks.

Of further concern, some Black Nationalists have shown interest in bomb-making and manufacturing explosives. In November 2014, two Black Nationalists were arrested for plotting to detonate explosives during protests in Ferguson, Missouri, in response to the fatal police shooting of Michael Brown earlier that year. According to the FBI, the suspects, Olajuwon Davis and Brandon Orlando Baldwin, were reportedly affiliated with the New Black Panther Party (NBPP). Another recent example includes a Moorish sovereign citizen who was injured while building a bomb to be used in an armored car robbery in Columbus, Ohio, during April 2016.

Black Nationalist groups, such as the NBPP and New Black Liberation Militia (NBLM), have also recently mobilized rallies and protests of black activists in response to perceived acts of police

brutality. Some Black Nationalists have even carried semi-automatic shotguns, bolt-action sniper rifles, and modified AR-15 assault rifles under the guise of self-defense at these protests, which points to an escalation in Black Nationalist tactics.

Other contributing factors to the increase of Black Nationalism in the U.S. include the rise of white supremacy since 2000 and the current Presidential administration's perceived animosity toward Muslims. (For example, the attempts to institute a travel ban for six Muslim countries, calls to increase the fight against Islamic extremists abroad, changes to the U.S. countering violent extremism program, etc.).

The U.S. has not experienced this level of violent Black Nationalism in nearly 40 years. According to the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database (GTD), there were 73 terrorist attacks on police officers in 1970, killing 11. This was the first year that GTD tracked U.S.

terrorist attacks. It was also the deadliest year for domestic terrorist attacks (prior to the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing) against U.S. law enforcement. Violent Black Nationalists carried out 28 of the 31 fatal attacks against police officers in the U.S. between 1970 and 1974. In 2015, Black Nationalists killed eight officers, wounding 12 others, in only two shooting attacks.

The Black Nationalist Movement represents a swath of antigovernment, anti-police, racist, and radical religious ideologies. While organized groups have refrained from violence, they attract adherents (e.g. "lone wolves") who are motivated to commit violence, criminal behavior, or other subversive acts as a result of Black Nationalism's radical ideology. As a result, lone individuals prone to violence who are affiliated with Black Nationalism, pose a potential threat to law enforcement, government officials and others. Like other domestic extremists, the merging of antigovernment, racist and religious extremist ideologies is cause for concern. Historically, this convergence of extremist beliefs serves as a catalyst for radicalization and mobilization towards violent action for some members and affiliates. ▲

Yisrael. According to its website, the NPLM's has chapters in Ohio, Indiana, Georgia, South Carolina and Texas. NBLM members are known to participate in rallies and protests (often arming themselves with long guns), but have yet to engage in violence. NBLM claims to operate a National Training Center for paramilitary training activity and a Black Theology Institute for preserving their ideology and history.

FIVE-PERCENT NATION

The Five Percent Nation is an offshoot of the NOI and headquartered in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City. It embraces a black supremacist, rather than a separatist, ideology, and adheres to a radical brand of Islam that claims that black men represent God. Five Percenters claim they are not accountable to anyone. They refer to African Americans collectively as "Allah," but believe that only five percent of the black race has reached supreme divinity.

BLACK HEBREW ISRAELITES

Black Hebrew Israelites (BHI), also known as the Nation of Yahweh, Church of God and Saints of Christ, advocate the superiority of the black race and that African Americans represent God's true "chosen people." As God's "true" Jews, BHI adherents believe that Jews who self-identify with Israel are "scam artists" and imposters. BHI adherents believe they are divinely empowered by God with superiority. Some BHI adherents have been prone to violence, which they feel is justified by God, as long as it helps rid the world of evil. BHI members have targeted whites, "fraudulent" Jews, Asians, abortion providers, and homosexuals. The BHI movement is well-known for its street preachers, often called "camps," who can be found at busy intersections, parks, bus terminals and subway stations in major cities in the U.S. BHI street preachers are often aggressive and very intimidating to onlookers, because they use racial epithets and shout at people.

MOORISH NATION

The Moorish Nation, primarily comprised of African Americans, is a loose-knit network of independent groups that arose in the early 1990s as an offshoot of the antigovernment Sovereign Citizens Movement. They borrowed concepts from the Sovereign Citizens Movement and applied them to their African heritage. Moorish adherents have come into conflict with U.S. law enforcement over their refusal to obey laws and government regulations. Until recently, they have shown little inclination toward armed violence, preferring to retaliate against government authorities through financial means, a process often referred to as "paper terrorism." Moorish sovereigns believe African Americans are endowed with special rights and privileges due to their Moorish heritage, placing them beyond all federal and state law. Examples of Moorish sovereign groups include the Free Moorish Nation, the United Mawshakh Nation of Nuurs, the Nuwabian Nation of Moors, Washitaw Nation and the Al Moroccan Empire.



FIRST QUARTER OF 2017

For the Record

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES listed here are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the almost 260,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2012 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2017.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles • February 10, 2017

When employees and volunteers of the Los Angeles LGBT Center arrived for work they found anti-LGBT slurs spray-painted across the entire side of one wall of the facility in Hollywood.

COLORADO

Grand Junction • February 14, 2017

A national campaign to recruit members to the Ku Klux Klan reached Grand Junction, with fliers distributed in at least three neighborhoods during the week of Valentine's Day. The fliers advised people to "love your own RACE," and to "stop homosexuality & race mixing."

FLORIDA

Key West • February 23, 2017

Calling them gay slurs and taunting, "You live in Trump country now," a drunken scooter rider attacked two Key West men who were on bicycles riding home, police said. Kevin Seymour, 38, and Kevin Paul Taylor, 49, said it was a drunken tourist who followed them as they rode south on Duval Street "calling us faggots and a slew of other anti-gay remarks," according to a police report.

Miami Beach • February 26, 2017

Miami Beach detectives investigated after several people discovered their cars had swastikas etched on them.

Miami Beach • May 5, 2017

Kenneth Wilcox, 45, was reportedly walking his dog around 5 p.m. when he was harassed by two men, one of whom said "you're a fucking faggot." After the first slur, Wilcox told police that one of his attackers seized him from behind and began punching him in the face and on his body. Wilcox said he also heard one of his attackers say that "all faggots need to die and we're going to make sure they do."

Miami Shores • April 21, 2017

A trans woman of color, Chay Reed, 28, was fatally shot in West Little River as she ran from her attacker. Reed was the ninth transgender woman to be murdered in the United States in 2017.

Thonotosassa • February 24, 2017

An intentionally set fire damaged a prayer hall at the Islamic Society of New Tampa mosque, investigators said. No one was at the mosque when the fire started.

HAWAII

Honolulu • February 27, 2017

Police investigated a terroristic phone threat that prompted an evacuation at Temple Emanuel's preschool.

IDAHO

Boise • May 31, 2017

Kelly Schneider, 23, was sentenced in federal court to 28 years in prison, in connection with last year's death of a gay man, Steven Nelson. Schneider admitted he lured Nelson to a remote area and kicked him to death with steel-toed boots.

KANSAS

Garden City • March 16, 2017

A revised indictment in Wichita accused Patrick Stein, Gavin Wright and Curtis Allen of plotting for months last year to "injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate" Somalis who lived at a Garden City apartment complex.

LOUISIANA

Bossier City • February 15, 2017

Louisiana police investigated an anti-Muslim flier pasted onto a sign in front of a mosque. The letter-sized flier read "Imagine a Muslim-free America." A second flier reading "What made America great: Blood and Soil" had also been stuck onto the brick sign.

New Orleans • March 12, 2017

A stained-glass window at the First Unitarian Universalist

Church of New Orleans was partially shattered by a brick after First Unitarian hosted a well attended and well-publicized town hall meeting on violence against transgender people in the New Orleans area.

MASSACHUSETTS

Amherst • February 26, 2017

The University of Massachusetts reported recruitment fliers for Identity Evropa disparaging immigrants and minorities were posted across its Boston campus.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor • February 9, 2017

Two University of Michigan students claim they saw three men urinate on Muslim prayer rugs in a "reflection room" at the Shapiro Undergraduate Library on the Ann Arbor campus.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis • March 30, 2017

Kelvin Porter was charged with second-degree assault after authorities say he lunged at another man, slashed him multiple times with a knife and bit his face, later telling police he "hates Muslims." Porter told officers on his way to jail that he "tried to stab the Somalian in the neck" and that he was trying to kill him.

MISSOURI

Belgrade • February 11, 2017

Frank Ancona, self-professed leader of the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was found dead on the banks of the Big River near Belgrade, Missouri, in Washington County. Ancona died from a gunshot wound to the head. His wife and stepson were later charged with his murder.

NEW JERSEY

New Brunswick • February 14, 2017

Increased security was requested for Muslim students at Rutgers University after a poster calling for a "Muslim-Free America" was found on a campus building used by Muslim students for prayers and programs.

NEW MEXICO

Santa Fe • April 2, 2017

Santa Fe Public Library workers told police a man and woman who had been causing trouble at the south-side branch may have urinated on three copies of the Koran and damaged former President Bill Clinton's 2004 autobiography, *My Life*.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia • February 25, 2017

Philadelphia police estimate 75 to 100 headstones were toppled at Mount Carmel Cemetery, though people who visited the cemetery said the number is much higher.

Mill Run • April 13, 2017

Franklin Davis Roadman was arrested on charges of ethnic intimidation for threatening a black man who was delivering a set of bunk beds to his trailer. Roadman, who has a lengthy criminal history and was in possession of a cache of weapons, threatened to shoot and stab the man.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence • February 18, 2017

A swastika drawn in human feces was found in a gender-neutral bathroom in a Rhode Island School of Design dormitory, "RISD public safety is investigating this isolated incident as both an act of vandalism and potentially a crime of hate," wrote Jaime Marland, director of public relations at RISD, in an email to multiple news outlets at the time.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee • April 13, 2017

A Muslim woman was attacked by a stranger who tried to tear off her hijab, stabbed her and beat her when she resisted. The anonymous victim was treated at the hospital after the assault, which took place as she walked home from morning prayers. ▲

Stranger Politics

In Trump's America, There's an Upside Down of The Way It Was

BY RYAN LENZ



The Oath Keepers say left-wing activists are the real domestic terrorists, and their members are now the self-proclaimed protectors of free speech. Infowars has started selling T-shirts claiming, “Conservatism is the New Counterculture.” And WorldNet Daily, a publication that once claimed eating soy made you gay, has a correspondent in the White House.

Even Stormfront, once the web's preeminent cauldron of racist sentiment, has been overtaken by The Daily Stormer, a scrappier, far more anti-Semitic website that month-after-month attracts more racists than Don Black's antiquated corner of the web.

It doesn't take a long view of history to see that the United States under President Trump — from blue California to red Kentucky — is radically different than it was just months ago. Left is right. Top is bottom. The news is fake. And Trump tweeting “covfefe” in the middle of the night makes perfect sense.

There couldn't be stranger politics. In fact, the country now exists in the “upside down.”

The term, popularized by the hit Netflix series *Stranger Things*, refers to an alternate reality where the world is an opposite version of itself, a dark mirrored take on things that for the kid sleuths who discover it, is haunted by monsters.

It's a “Freaky Friday” kind of politics — a reversal of the way things were that has seen ideas born on the radical right elevated into the mainstream along with a cast of characters who bring in tow ideologies that for decades had been relegated to the political margin.

There's Stephen K. Bannon, Trump's senior adviser, who once described Breitbart News, which he led, as the media arm of the racist Alt-Right, and Sebastian Gorka, a Hungarian and American analyst who continues to serve as Trump's chief strategist and adviser despite his fondness for the Nazi-linked Vitézi Rend. And don't forget Stephen Miller, Trump's senior advisor for policy who cut his teeth at the feet of anti-Muslim figurehead David Horowitz and drafted the first version of Trump's so-called “Muslim ban.”

But this had been coming for some time. Even before Trump's rise and the ascendancy of the Alt-Right, conspiracy theories and wild-eyed worries of “white genocide” that formed the backbone to an angry and violent radical right had been working their way into the mainstream.

In recent decades, anti-immigrant worries have become the coin of the realm for many politicians — the same elected officials who fretted over United Nation's Agenda 21, a non-binding resolution for sustainable, environmentally conscious growth, and are now falling in line with President Trump's plans to build a wall on the country's southern border with Mexico to keep out “rapists.” In fact, 16 years after the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001, the so-called “War on Terror” has become a worried rallying cry for those who see in Muslim immigration an invasion intent on destroying the West.

Yes, in the upside down, those fears are now facts. White nationalists — who now call themselves proud members of the Alt-Right — remind us daily in newspapers, and across the web, this is Trump's America now. Or, as Richard Spencer, the white nationalist who claims credit for coining the phrase ‘Alt-Right’ screamed into an iPhone on Election Night: “The Alt-Right won!”

Even though Spencer is no stranger to drunken pronouncements, his boast shouldn't be dismissed. The movement of extremist ideas from the margins to the mainstream is at once a story told in real-time and one foretold by history. It is the story of an elevated and angry politics in the halls of power, and the strange reality that the ideologies of hate and extremism are the new normal. ▲