

# Intelligence Report

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## THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

AFTER HALF A CENTURY, THE RADICAL  
RIGHT ENTERS THE MAINSTREAM

**PLUS** HATE GROUP MAP & LISTING INSIDE

# Donald Trump, 'Fake News' and the Rise of White Nationalism

BY MARK POTOK

Last December, an armed, 28-year-old North Carolina man stormed into a Washington, D.C., pizza parlor called Comet Ping-Pong, bent on investigating the stories he'd heard about it being part of a child sex-slavery ring closely tied to the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton. Before it was over, Edgar Welch had fired a shot that harmed no one, but terrified restaurant customers and staff alike.

"The intel on this wasn't 100%," Welch sheepishly conceded later.

That may have been the understatement of the year. The "intel" on what came to be called "Pizzagate" was utterly and completely false. It soon transpired that Welch had been taken in by a "documentary" he watched on the Infowars site of Alex Jones, America's most unhinged conspiracist and a man who sees the federal government as being the author of almost every terrorist attack since 1995.

But the most remarkable thing about the whole bizarre episode wasn't that significant numbers of Americans are so taken in by Jones' "fake news" that a man like Welch actually begins shooting. What's genuinely stunning is that then-presidential candidate Donald Trump had in late 2015 gone on Jones' radio show, where the future U.S. president pronounced his interviewer's reputation "amazing."

That statement, along with Jones' claim that Trump called him personally right after the election to thank him for his support and to promise to go on his show once again, was a reflection of just how far the radical right in America has come in recent years. And it wasn't the only such sign. During the campaign, Trump retweeted a white supremacist's completely false claim

that 80% of white murder victims in America are killed by black people. He described Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers, said Muslims should be banned from the country, and seemed to encourage violence by his supporters against black protesters.

During the campaign, Trump only weakly disavowed the white supremacists who were electrified by his candidacy. And once elected, he selected appointees known for their hardline anti-LGBT, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant ideas. Chief among them was Breitbart News executive Stephen Bannon, a partisan of right-wing populism who many observers see as having promoted white nationalism.

After half a century of being pushed to the very margins of American society, the radical right has entered the political mainstream in a way not even imagined since the 1968 run for the presidency by segregationist George Wallace.

In this issue, we take a look at the state of the radical right in America in the aftermath of one of the most remarkable presidential races in history. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's latest count, the number of hate groups in the U.S. remained at near-historic levels, increasing from 892 in 2015 to 917 last year. That approaches the all-time high in some 30 years of counting groups, 1,018 in 2011, when hatred of President Obama on the political right was white hot.

These numbers don't tell the whole story. Increasing numbers of extremists — like Dylann Roof, who was convicted late last year of the 2015 murder of nine black churchgoers in a bid to start a race war — are lurking on the Internet, absorbing radical ideas without actually ever joining a hate group. Some small proportion of these people, anonymous and invisible until the very last moment like Roof, go on to kill.

America is at a crossroads. On one hand, the country has come a remarkable distance from a past marred by slavery, Jim Crow and discrimination against minorities of all kinds. On the other, like most European countries, we are facing a resurgence of racial nationalism that imperils the progress we've made.

Alex Jones may try scrub the evidence of his role in promoting extremism, as he did immediately after Welch's attack in the nation's capital. But it is imperative that we remember the Joneses of the world, and that we work to identify, isolate and neutralize those who would make America less than the country it could be. ▲



**RETRACTION** In the Summer 2015 issue of the *Intelligence Report*, we reported that Cathy Brennan was removed in 2012 as liaison to the American Bar Association's Committee on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity. This report was not accurate; Ms. Brennan was not a member of this American Bar Association Committee in 2012, having served a one-year term from 2008-2009. We deeply regret this error.

In the same story, we reported that Ms. Brennan "outed [a transgender] student to school officials by revealing his female birth name." Ms. Brennan disputes this and claims that the student published his "female birth name" on his Facebook and Tumblr pages, which Ms. Brennan only became aware of after this person repeatedly contacted Ms. Brennan.

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In recent months, The Daily Stormer, a neo-Nazi website run by Andrew Anglin, has surpassed Stormfront as the leading white supremacist forum on the Internet. This remarkable development was propelled by the Trump campaign, a “Stormer Troll Army” set up by Anglin to harass his enemies, and Anglin’s “click bait” prowess.

COVER ART BY SEAN MCCABE

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After a half century on the margins of American society, the radical right last year entered the political mainstream. Recurring strains of racism and other forms of bigotry, stoked by the effects of globalization and free trade, helped elect a right-wing populist to the presidency of the United States. Donald Trump’s subsequent appointment of a raft of hardliners also heartened extremists across the nation.



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# Intelligence Report

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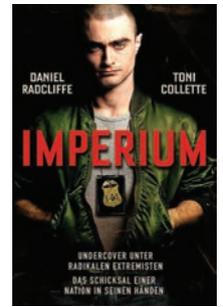


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Kyle Bristow has a long history with youth-oriented hate groups. Now the lawyer has created a foundation that is poised to become the legal arm of the radical right.

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## LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

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





[FAKE NEWS]

## Tall Tales Spread by Alex Jones Breed Dangerous Plots

On Dec. 4, a 28-year-old North Carolina man bearing a handgun and a military-style rifle stormed a Washington, D.C., pizza joint called Comet Ping-Pong, determined to “self-investigate” rumors that the restaurant was the center of a child sex-slave ring with connections to the Clinton campaign. Edgar M. Welch, of Salisbury, N.C., who fired his weapon inside the restaurant but injured no one, later admitted “the intel on this wasn’t 100%.”

Earlier, in late October, two Georgia men were arrested in connection with an alleged domestic terror plot to travel nearly 3,500 miles to a former military research facility in Alaska that they believed manipulates

the weather, controls minds and traps souls. Michael Mancil, 30, and James Dryden Jr., 22, both of Douglas, Ga., had amassed an arsenal — including AR-15 military-style assault rifles, four Glock handguns, a rifle and more than 2,000 rounds of ammunition, radios and flak jackets — that authorities say they planned to use to attack Alaska’s High-Frequency Active Auroral Research Program (HAARP), a large radio transmitter cited in numerous antigovernment conspiracy theories.

These two incidents, either of which could easily have ended in bloodshed, have one man in common: Internet personality Alex Jones, an influential and prolific conspiracy theorist who

says the U.S. government was behind everything from the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing to the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, including the massacres of schoolchildren at Columbine and Sandy Hook and the Boston Marathon bombing, and who claims that “Hillary Clinton has personally murdered and chopped up and raped” children.

Jones, who has been spreading fake news and ginning up antigovernment hysteria for well over a decade, has recently gained new prominence through his connection to the Trump campaign. As a candidate, Donald Trump appeared on Jones’ show in December 2015, where he told Jones, “Your reputation is

**Seeds of violence:** The unhinged claims spread by arch-conspiracy theorist Alex Jones might be amusing if they were not so dangerous. But that didn’t stop then-presidential candidate Donald Trump from going on Jones’ radio show, where he praised the “amazing” reputation of his interviewer.

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

**Bullets not ballots: Among those who faced charges in the armed Malheur National Wildlife Refuge takeover were (clockwise from top left) Ryan Bundy, Ammon Bundy, Brian Cavalier, Pete Santilli, Shawna Cox, Ryan Payne and Joseph O'Shaughnessy.**

amazing. I will not let you down.” Jones claims to have personally advised Trump in the run-up to the election, and also asserted that a grateful Trump called him after his victory and promised to appear on the show again.

That was before the fake news item known as “Pizzagate,” which was born on the Reddit and 4chan Internet forums and gained a dubious kind of credibility when Jones’ Infowars website began posting videos and articles pushing it, nearly ended in tragedy with Welch’s armed “investigation.” After an FBI complaint showed that Welch had been watching an Infowars “documentary” promoting the conspiracy theory, Jones scrubbed his site of most of its Pizzagate content in an apparent effort to distance himself from the fallout of this particularly toxic lie.

His contrition, if that’s what it is, apparently ends with Pizzagate: Infowars still teems with grotesquely misleading headlines and conspiracy theories about vaccinations, a supposed Obama “scorched earth” policy, and a coup allegedly being plotted by Democrats.

Jones is not alone. The market for fake news is crowded, and likely to get more so under the leadership of a president who said in December, “The whole age of [the] computer has made it where nobody knows exactly what’s going on,” and whose surrogate, “journalist” Scottie Nell Hughes, claimed, astonishingly, that “there are no such things, unfortunately, anymore, as facts.”

Facts do, in fact, exist. But with social media platforms and search engines making only the feeblest of efforts to identify and marginalize false content, a president who is all too happy to exploit the fear uncertainty engenders, and conspiracists like Alex Jones continuing to propagate lies, reality seems likely to lose out.



**[ANTIGOVERNMENT VIOLENCE]**

## Acquittal of Bundy Militants Further Emboldens Radicals

A federal jury stunned court watchers on Oct. 27 by delivering a not guilty verdict for Ryan and Ammon Bundy and five other defendants charged in connection with the armed, 41-day-long takeover of Oregon’s Malheur National Wildlife Refuge.

Despite guilty pleas from a number of other individuals arrested in connection with the occupation — including Bundy “bodyguard” Wesley Kjar’s June 23 admission that “I agreed to occupy the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge as part of an armed political protest against federal power” — the jurors felt the government failed to prove that the militants had conspired to impede federal workers from doing their jobs.

Instead, they apparently were persuaded by the defense argument that the armed occupation — which disrupted life in the rural corner of Oregon for over a month, inconvenienced locals, menaced federal employees, and led to the death of LaVoy Finicum, a spokesman for the group who was shot while reaching for a gun during a confrontation with the

FBI — was merely an act of civil disobedience, akin to a sit-in, by civic-minded individuals opposed to government “overreach.”

Experts say the Bundys’ interpretation of the Constitution flies in the face of nearly 200 years of legal precedent, including the Property Clause, which delegates to Congress the power to make “needful Rules and Regulations respecting Territory or other Property belonging to the United States.”

“We have 175 years of consistent interpretation of the Property Clause and then we have the Bundys,” Michael Blumm, a law professor at Oregon’s Lewis & Clark College who specializes in public lands, told *High Country News*. “Which is more persuasive?”

The Bundy brothers know the answer to that question. Emboldened by their acquittals, they have already threatened further action. “The government should be scared,” Ryan Bundy told *The Washington Post* in early November. Discussing his opposition to an Obama administration plan to create a national monument on federal land abutting the Bundy ranch, he said: “Read the Declaration of Independence. It says right there that if the government becomes abusive, it’s our right and our duty to abolish that government. If the government won’t restrain itself, whatever happens is their own fault.”

MALHEUR COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE/HANDOUT VIA REUTERS/FILE PHOTO

The government will have a second crack at the Bundys in February, when, together with their father Cliven, the brothers will face a Nevada federal jury in connection with the armed 2014 standoff over government efforts to stop the elder Bundy from illegally grazing cattle on federal land. The brothers have already staked out a defiant position, refusing to leave their holding cells to attend a pre-trial hearing in December.

No matter what happens, the Bundy family has made its mark. Washington State Rep. Matt Shea (R), a longtime antigovernment activist who claimed credit for averting a massacre at Malheur by sending a confrontational gun-rights activist to the refuge to meet with the occupiers, in December pre-filed a bill that would drastically restrict the ability of state natural resource agencies to acquire and manage public land in Washington.

And the GOP's 2016 platform, widely criticized for lurching right on nearly every major issue, includes language demanding that Congress "immediately pass universal legislation providing a timely and orderly mechanism requiring the federal government to convey certain federally controlled public lands to the states."

#### [MISOGYNY]

## Woman Hatred, Fueled by Presidential Campaign, on the Rise

Much has been made of the rise in racist and xenophobic rhetoric, anti-Muslim attacks, and anti-Semitic trolling in the wake of Donald Trump's ascent, and rightly so. But just as Trump's promises to build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border, block Muslim immigration, and restore "law and order" have emboldened nativists and racists, so has his history of

casual misogyny and alleged sexual assault ("grab them by the pussy") energized an explicitly sexist element within the noxious "Alt-Right" movement.

Though he is best known for his white nationalism, Alt-Right personality Richard Spencer has made it clear that women, too, would be marginalized in his fantasy world. During the first presidential debate of 2016, he tweeted that "[w]omen should never be allowed to make foreign policy. It's not that they're 'weak.' To the contrary, their vindictiveness knows no bounds." Female citizens of his ideal white "ethno-state," he told *The Washington Post*, would stay at home and produce offspring.

And, according to *Mother Jones*, Spencer dismisses the idea that Trump's alleged history of forcing himself on women, kissing and groping them without their consent, constitutes sexual assault. Indeed, he seems to endorse rape, writing, "At some part of every woman's soul, they want to be taken by a strong man."

Then there's Stephen K. Bannon, chief White House strategist, who presided over far-right Breitbart News — which he called a "platform for the alt-right" — when it featured headlines like, "Birth Control Makes Women Unattractive and Crazy" and "Would You Rather Your Child Have Feminism or Cancer?" It also carried endless anti-feminist pieces by Alt-Right arch-troll Milo Yiannopoulos, who wrote in August, "In terms of female happiness, women's liberation was probably a mistake."

Misogyny, in other words, is making a comeback.

Celebrating Trump's victory, self-declared "neo-masculinist" Daryush Valizadeh (alias "Roosh V") wrote: "I'm in a state of exuberance that we now have a President who rates women on a 1-10 scale the same way we do. ... The president of the United States does not

see the value in fat women who don't take care of themselves, and neither should you."

Matt Forney, a racist blogger who claims women secretly want to be "raped" and "beat[en]," endorsed Trump because, as he wrote on Oct. 26, "Trump is showing the world that not only is the emperor naked, his dick is the size of a clit." He was apparently referring to mainstream conservatives who he sees "cuckolds" who have sold white people out.

With misogynist Alt-Right personalities on the rise, day-to-day acts of anti-woman violence took on new significance. At the University of Arizona on Sept. 20, Dean Saxon, a street preacher best known for "slut-shaming" women and hollering "You deserve rape,"



**Stephen Bannon, now a top advisor to Donald Trump, is one of those who led the resurgence in verbal attacks on women and feminists that has afflicted the nation in recent years.**

was arrested and banned from campus for a year for allegedly kicking a woman in the chest.

On Oct. 13, Fox Business host Lou Dobbs "doxxed" Jessica Leeds, retweeting a post that included the address and phone numbers of the 74-year-old, who alleges that Trump sexually assaulted her on a plane in the early 1980s.

And on Dec. 9, a California judge sentenced to eight years in prison — the maximum — Alex Smith, a professional "pickup artist" who, together with a fellow pickup "instructor" and a "student," gang-raped a woman who found out how she was attacked from Smith's online profile.

[OBITUARIES ON THE FAR RIGHT]

## Sunrise, Sunset: Five Leading Extremists Dead in 2016

The story of 2016 was one of right-wing extremists ascendant. But even as young racist radicals gained attention and influence, important members of the generation that preceded them passed away. Among them:

**Victor Thorn**, an antigovernment conspiracy theorist and “Clinton researcher,” died on Aug. 1. He



was 54. Thorn was a Holocaust denier and anti-Semitic whose books included *The Holocaust Hoax Exposed*,

*9-11 EVIL: Israel’s Central Role in the September 11, 2001 Terrorist Attacks*, and a trilogy “exposing” Bill and Hillary Clinton, as well as numerous articles for the anti-Semitic, conspiracist *American Free Press* (AFP). Though AFP reported that Thorn’s family and friends described his death as a suicide, his death was immediately seized upon by AFP eulogists and others as further “proof” that the Clintons make a habit of “murdering” their enemies.

**Michael Brian Vanderboegh**, anti-government militia activist and co-founder of the extremist Three



Percent movement who once mailed the editor of this magazine a realistic-looking plastic human skull, died

Aug. 10 at the age of 64. Vanderboegh, who bragged that he had been on the “enemies lists of the last THREE White Houses,” appeared on the national anti-government scene during the 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. He associated with the right-wing militia movement, and by

the mid-2000s, was patrolling the border with the Alabama Minuteman Support Team. The “III Percent” term, which he helped coin and popularize, supposedly refers to “at least 3% of American gun owners” — those who “will not disarm, will not compromise and will no longer back up at the passage of the next gun control act.” “When democracy turns to tyranny, the armed citizen still gets to vote — with his rifle,” wrote Vanderboegh, who participated in and applauded the 2014 armed standoff between Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy and government officials. “Any grasping would-be tyrant who ignores that truth does so at his own peril.”

**Phyllis Schlafly**, ultraconservative anti-feminist, antigovernment conspiracy theorist and anti-

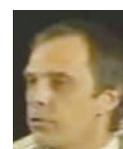


gay agitator, died on Sept. 5 at the age of 92. Schlafly entered the public sphere in the 1950s by denouncing

communism, opposing limits on nuclear testing, and gunning for a constitutional amendment to prevent the president from negotiating international treaties. A devout Catholic, she mobilized conservative women in favor of public school prayer after the Supreme Court banned it in the 1960s and became a household name in the 1970s, when her “Stop ERA” movement successfully derailed the Equal Rights Amendment for women. Her grass-roots movement, opposing feminism, modern liberalism, and cultural changes in American society, eventually morphed into the Illinois-based Eagle Forum, a far-right group espousing various conspiracy theories including the claim that there is a secret plan to merge Canada, Mexico and the United States. In 2016, despite her age and failing health, Schlafly endorsed Donald Trump for president. The last of the 20 books she

wrote or co-authored is called *The Conservative Case for Trump*.

**Charles Weisman**, a Christian Identity publisher and promoter of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, died on Oct. 8.



He was in his early 60s. Weisman, a self-proclaimed scholar who trafficked in the sort

of conspiracy theories that feature clandestine rabbinical councils plotting a Jewish takeover of the planet, subscribed to a version of the anti-Semitic theology called Christian Identity, which holds that Jews are a cursed people intent on destroying the white race. He ran Weisman Publications out of a suburb of Minneapolis, Minn., selling over 90 titles, including his own works and anti-Semitic classics such as the forged *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which purports to reveal a secret plan by Jewish “elders” plotting world domination. “My beliefs are grounded in the truths I’ve found out in my study, my research,” he told *City Pages* of Minneapolis in 2015. “The biggest farce in the world [is that Jews are] God’s chosen people.”

**Jack Chick** — prolific cartoonist and founder of the anti-atheist, anti-gay, anti-Muslim, anti-Mor-



mon and anti-Catholic Chick Publications — died on Oct. 23 at the age of 92. Chick, whose

cartoons warning against various evils including homosexuality, Satanism, Halloween, freemasonry, evolution, infant baptism, Harry Potter, and the children’s fantasy game Dungeons and Dragons have been described as “a form of religious pornography,” was a World War II veteran and one-time theater student who claimed to have been converted during his 1948 honeymoon. Famously disinclined to be photographed, he used images

FACEBOOK (THORN); AP IMAGES/ELAINE THOMPSON (VANDERBOEGH); REUTERS/HUNGWON KANG (SCHLAFLY); YOUTUBE (WEISMAN); CHICK.COM (CHICK)

to great effect, spreading his fire-and-brimstone interpretation of Christian Scripture through accessible black-and-white comics known as Chick Tracts. His best-selling tract, “This Was Your Life,” shows the angel of death reviewing a man’s sinful path, then shows the man being cast into hell.

### ONLINE EXTREMISM

## Social Media Platforms’ Anti-Hate Efforts Inch Ahead

Google aspires “to organize the world’s information and make it universally accessible and useful.” Facebook’s mission is to “make the world more open and connected.” Twitter, while occasionally billing itself as “the free speech wing of the free speech party,” prohibits “hateful conduct,” telling users: “You may not promote violence against or directly attack or threaten other people on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, religious affiliation, age, disability, or disease.”

In December, all three companies, together with Microsoft, announced an ambitious plan to curb the online spread of extremism through the creation of a joint industry database of “content that promotes terrorism” — a move that has been widely interpreted to mean that the companies will focus on propaganda created by jihadist terrorist groups like the Islamic State.

Yet when it comes to tackling right-wing extremist content and hate speech, the companies seem mysteriously helpless.

Twitter is probably the worst offender: Despite explicitly banning “accounts whose primary purpose is inciting harm towards others on the basis of these categories,” it has done remarkably little in the way of



“It is a melting pot of 3rd world miscreants and ghetto thugs.”

—Florida assistant state attorney **KENNETH LEWIS**, in a **June 12** Facebook post that resulted in his being fired, describing downtown Orlando hours after an Islamist radical murdered 49 people at an LGBT nightclub there



“This is now war. Watch out Obama. Watch out black lives matter punks. Real America is coming after you.”

—Former U.S. Rep. **JOE WALSH** (R-Ill.), who later deleted the **July 7** tweet he sent hours after five Dallas police officers were murdered by a black sniper



“[T]he shooter was a martyr.”

—Former Miss Alabama **KALYNN JAMES**, who in 1993 became the first African American to win that title, in a **July 10** Facebook video praising Micah Xavier Johnson, who was killed by a police robot after murdering five Dallas police officers



“Where did any other subgroup of people contribute more to civilization?”

—U.S. Rep. **STEVE KING** (R-Iowa), who in a **July 18** interview with MSNBC also suggested that “white people” have contributed more than other “categories of people”



“My culture is a very dominant culture. And it’s imposing, and it’s causing problems. If you don’t do something about it, you’re gonna have taco trucks on every corner.”

—Latinos for Trump founder **MARCO GUTIERREZ**, warning of the dangers of Mexican immigrants in a much-mocked **Sept. 1** appearance on MSNBC



“The majority of those people in these situations that are shot are on the way to jail.”

—Henrico County, Va., Sheriff **MIKE WADE**, a GOP congressional nominee who later lost, in an **Oct. 20** comment shrugging off concerns about police shootings of black men



“Think of them like termites. They get into the wood of the house and they eat away at the very moral fabric of the foundation of our country.”

—Conservative Republicans of Texas president **STEVEN HOTZE**, claiming to a crowd on **Oct. 29** that homosexuality was introduced to America by Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev as part of a plot to “create moral anarchy in our country”



“Holding up that faggot flag, it’s unforgivable to me, it’s unforgivable — and in an ideal society, people like Mr. Trump would also be put to death.”

—Anti-LGBT activist **THEODORE SHOEBAT**, reacting on **Oct. 30** to Donald Trump’s holding up an “LGBTs for Trump” rainbow flag



“I’m tired of seeing a Ape in heels.”

—Clay County, W. Va., Development Corporation Director **PAMELA TAYLOR**, in an early **November** Facebook post about Michelle Obama that cost her her job and also led to the resignation of Clay Mayor **BEVERLY WHALING**, who wrote approvingly on the post

enforcement. In late November, it won applause from progressives when it strengthened reporting tools and banned numerous “alternative right” accounts that pumped out racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim and misogynistic content, most notably that of prominent white nationalist leader Richard Spencer.

But in December, Spencer’s account was back up, and it emerged that Twitter had only banned him for violating a policy that prohibits individuals from running multiple accounts with overlapping uses. (The social media platform has not restored the account of Milo Yiannopoulos, an Alt-Right “troll” whose vicious online attacks even Spencer acknowledged as “harassment.”)

Facebook and Google, meanwhile, have done little to counter the use of their platforms to spread hateful, false “information,” from conspiracy theories accusing various minority groups of plotting against America to websites promoting Holocaust denial and false “facts” about Islam, LGBT people, women, Mexicans and others. Facebook’s hate speech policy, as leaked to the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, prohibits attacks on individuals based on their race, national origin, religion, or sexual orientation, but seemingly permits attacks on religions and nationalities more generally. And a recent report by *The Guardian* found that Google’s autocomplete function, which predicts what people mean to ask when they start typing, filled in “evil” after a user typed “Are Jews” and “Are women.”

The platform altered these particular autocomplete answers following *The Guardian’s* article, and appeared to take steps to assure that the top results no longer included hate sites. But if

past is precedent, these Whac-A-Mole efforts are unlikely to significantly reduce the spread of hate online.

As Elon University communications professor Jonathan Albright, who studies the spread of online hate, told *The Guardian*, promoters of hateful false information “have created a web that is bleeding through on to our web. This isn’t a conspiracy. There isn’t one person who’s created this. It’s a vast system of hundreds of different sites that are using all the same tricks that all websites use. They’re sending out thousands of links to other sites and together this has created a vast satellite system of rightwing news and propaganda that has completely surrounded the mainstream media system ... like an organism that is growing and getting stronger all the time.”

Indeed. Even as Reddit, a major platform for online hate, announced that it would ban some of its most vicious users, Andrew Anglin, neo-Nazi editor of the viciously racist online *Daily Stormer*, was rallying his followers for their next attack. Urging them to create “fake black person accounts,” he wrote: “We wish to create a state of chaos on twitter, among the black twitter population, by sowing distrust and suspicion. ... Chaos is the name of the game.”

[ISLAMIST TERROR]

## 49 Murdered at Orlando Club, and Extremists Celebrate

Orlando, Fla., became the site of the deadliest mass shooting by a single gunman in U.S. history, and the deadliest terrorist attack on U.S. soil since 9/11, when a man who proclaimed allegiance to the Islamic State killed 49 people and wounded 53 at Pulse, a popular gay nightclub, before dawn on June 12.

The gunman, New York-born Omar Mateen, was shot and killed by police. The son of Afghan immigrants, Mateen was a former security guard who had twice been investigated by the FBI for professing interest in radical Islam. The 29-year-old, who had a wife and young son, dreamed of working in law enforcement, but was expelled from a training program run by the Florida Department of Corrections, in part for making off-color comments about bringing a weapon to class. He lost another job as a security guard after claiming connections to both Al Qaeda, a Sunni group, and Hezbollah, a Shiite organization and avowed enemy of Al Qaeda. His first known pledge of loyalty to the Islamic State came during a 911 call the night of the attack, less than three hours before he was killed.

Though Mateen’s terrorist bona fides bordered on fantasy, the carnage he inflicted was all too real. Survivors of the massacre at Pulse, which was particularly popular among Latino members of the Orlando LGBT community, suffered inside the club for upwards of three hours as Mateen murdered their friends and held them hostage. He was killed during a SWAT raid around 5 a.m.

Racists, anti-LGBT activists and other extremists wasted no time in celebrating the slaughter. Michael Hill, president of the neo-Confederate League of the South, a theocratic, anti-black group with fantasies of becoming a paramilitary organization, proclaimed: “In a free & independent South, Islam would be banned, Muslims deported, and all mosques closed down. The ownership of firearms, including military grade, would be encouraged for all Southern citizens.”

Andrew Anglin, editor and publisher of the neo-Nazi website



Mateen

DAILY STORMER (ANGLIN); DPA/MATEEN

Neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin has led his “Troll Army” in some of the more vicious online attacks seen in recent years. But he is far from alone among haters who are increasingly using social media to intimidate and harass their enemies.



Daily Stormer, hoped the attack signaled “the start of the terrorist/faggot civil war.”

Timothy Buchanan of BarbWire, an anti-gay website, blamed LGBT people for provoking the attack: “Flaunting gross immorality and defiant wickedness that is hideous, odious and wretched to an overwhelming majority of people is a foolish and dangerous course of action.” In a bizarre showing of moral empathy with Mateen, he continued: “Those who come to the United States from other cultures — some of which are infinitely more moral than our own — are going to be offended and repulsed by the rampant depravity that has become a defining characteristic of our culture.”

Steven Anderson of the Faithful Word Baptist Church in Tempe, Ariz., put it like this: “The good news is that there’s 50 less pedophiles in this world, because, you know, these homosexuals are a bunch of disgusting perverts and pedophiles.” Another pastor, Kenneth Adkins, who runs three churches in Georgia and who was arrested in August on charges of molesting a boy under the age of 16, tweeted that the victims got “what they deserved.” And in a widely circulated video, Pastor Roger Jimenez of Sacramento’s Verity Baptist Church told his congregation, “The tragedy is that more of them didn’t die. The tragedy is—I’m kind of upset that he didn’t finish the job.”

#### [ANTI-POLICE VIOLENCE]

## Officers Murdered Across U.S. in Wave of Extremist Violence

A nation roiled by a vicious and protracted presidential campaign and shocked and saddened by graphic evidence of the deaths of multiple unarmed black men at the hands of police officers, woke

on July 8 to the nightmarish news that a sniper had assassinated five Dallas police officers who were providing security at an otherwise peaceful Black Lives Matter protest.

Six other individuals were wounded in the shooting, and the shooter, 25-year-old Micah Johnson of Mesquite, Texas, was killed by a police robot in the early hours of that summer day.

Johnson was an Army veteran and black nationalist sympathizer who reportedly told police that “he was upset about the recent police shootings” and “wanted to kill white people, especially white officers.” After being discharged while under investigation for sexual harassment, he gravitated toward black nationalist hate groups including the racist, anti-Semitic New Black Panther Party, the Nation of Islam, and the Black Riders Liberation Party.

Extremists wasted no time in co-opting Johnson’s act of domestic terrorism for their own purposes. A handful of black nationalists endorsed Johnson’s actions. Black Riders Liberation Party leader Lakesia Washington posted an “R.I.P.” message for Johnson on the group’s Facebook page, where another member called him the “Nat Turner of Our Time.”

On the other side of the racial extremist spectrum, Matt Parrott, co-founder of the Traditionalist Youth Network and Traditionalist Worker Party — racist white groups that were involved in a bloody fight during a protest in Sacramento, Calif., that left several stabbed and wounded — predicted “race war.” And so did numerous posters on racist online bulletin boards like Stormfront.



Right-wing conspiracy theorist Alex Jones claimed that

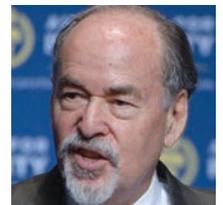
progressive philanthropist George Soros had engineered the shootings to provoke a race war. Arch-Islamophobe David Horowitz claimed that Johnson was “in effect” acting as the “military wing” of the Black Lives Matter movement, and demanded that the latter be declared a domestic terrorist organization. Stewart Rhodes of the radical antigovernment Oath Keepers called on his group to “unite and coordinate in mutual defense against this orchestrated campaign of Marxist terrorism.”

While extremists bloviated, real and threatened attacks on police across the country continued. In Tennessee on July 8, one woman was killed and three others, including a police officer, were wounded by a black Army veteran who reportedly explained his indiscriminate shooting attack by saying he was angry about police violence against black Americans. Officers in Missouri and Georgia were wounded by gunfire the next day, though the shooters’ motives were unclear.

A few days later in Detroit, four black men, including one who called Johnson a “hero” and another who wrote, “It’s time to wage war and shoot the police first,” were arrested for allegedly threatening on Facebook to kill police.

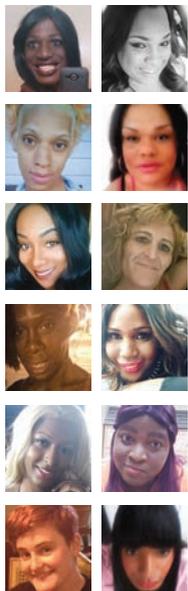
And on July 17, 29-year-old Gavin Eugene Long, a black man from Kansas City who in 2015 filed documents declaring himself an antigovernment “sovereign citizen,” shot and killed three Baton Rouge police officers and wounded three others.

As the anti-police attacks and threats continued sporadically throughout the fall, with incidents in Massachusetts, Colorado, Maryland, Alabama and elsewhere, police and pundits struggled to make sense of the violence and chart a path forward. Some



**Exploiting a tragedy: Extremists (from top) Matt Parrott, Alex Jones, David Horowitz and Stewart Rhodes all tried to use a black sniper’s July murder of five Dallas police officers to make wildly dubious claims about race war, Black Lives Matter, and “Marxist terrorism.”**

The price of hate: The wave of apparent murders of transgender or gender-nonconforming women continued in the second half of 2016 (pictured from top left in same order as the story at right).



departments spoke of falling back on military training, while others planned to have officers work in pairs at all times. Dallas police chief David Brown, a black man who rose to national prominence in the wake of Johnson’s attack, retired in October but urged aspiring police officers, especially people of color, not to “quit on me” and to “[f]inish what you’ve started.”

[TRANSGENDER VICTIMIZATION]

## Transgender Hate Murders Hit New All-Time High

The horrific list just keeps growing. Deeniquia Dodds, 22, died on July 13, nine days after she was shot in the early morning hours of July 4 near her Washington, D.C., home. Dee Whigham, 25, was robbed and stabbed to death near Biloxi, Miss., on July 23, while in town for the Gulf Coast Black Rodeo. Skye Mockabee, 26, was found dead of an apparent head wound

on July 31 in Cleveland, Ohio. Erykah Tijerina, 36, was found dead in her El Paso home on Aug. 8; police suspected foul play. Rae’Lynn Thomas, 28, was shot and beaten to death, allegedly by her mother’s ex-boyfriend, in Columbus, Ohio, on Aug. 10.

Lexxi T. Sironen, 43, was found dead Sept. 6, in Waterville, Maine. T.T. Saffore, 27, was found dead, her throat slit, in Chicago’s West Garfield Park neighborhood on Sept. 11. Crystal Edmonds, 32, was shot to death in Baltimore on Sept. 16. Jazz Alford, 30, of North Carolina, was also shot to death, at a Birmingham, Ala., motel on Sept. 23.

Brandi Bledsoe, 32, was found dead with a bag around her head on Oct. 8, in what Cleveland police suspect was a homicide. The body of Sierra/Simon Bush, 18, was found in a creek near Idaho City, Idaho, on Oct. 22, under what police termed “suspicious circumstances.” Noony Norwood, 30, died Nov. 6 in a Richmond, Va., hospital, the day after she was

shot. And Indiana Monroe, 29, was shot to death in Newport News, Va., on Dec. 21. Before she was buried, her long hair was shorn and she was dressed in a suit.

Each of these apparent homicide victims was either transgender or gender-nonconforming. Most were trans women, and most of those, black trans women, who, according to Mic.com, constituted 72% of transgender homicide victims since 2010. Together with 14 others murdered in the first half of this year, these 13 are victims of trend that made 2016 the deadliest year on record for transgender people.

These deaths, which due to inaccurate and incomplete reporting almost certainly constitute only a fraction of the actual toll of transgender people murdered last year, took place against the backdrop of a prominent public conversation about transgender rights. Progressive activists had been demanding that transgender people be allowed to use facilities aligned with their gender

# BLOTTER

UPDATES ON EXTREMISM AND THE LAW

### JULY 7

A federal indictment was unsealed that charged seven members of the Latino gang **Big Hazard** with firebombing four apartments in **Los Angeles’** Boyle Heights neighborhood in an effort to chase black people out. The May 12, 2014, attacks were only the latest attempt by Latino street gangs over some two decades to drive blacks out of certain **southern California** neighborhoods. Carlos Hernandez, 31, the suspected leader of the recent conspiracy, allegedly told fellow Big Hazard gang members that the bombings would “get the niggers out of the neighborhood.”

### JULY 11

An **Arizona** judge sentenced former border vigilante Chris Simcox to 19½ years in prison on two counts of child molestation and one of furnishing pornography to a minor. A former schoolteacher, Simcox, 55, rose to national prominence in the early 2000s as co-founder of the **Minuteman Project**, a nativist extremist group that patrolled the U.S.-Mexico border. He had been in prison since 2013, when he was arrested for molesting the 5-year-old daughter of a neighbor and his own daughters, ages 6 and 4, although charges involving the youngest were later dropped.

### JULY 20

Criminal summonses were issued for white nationalist Matthew Heimbach and two other men who were filmed shoving a black protester at a March rally for Donald Trump in **Louisville, Ky.** The three were charged with harassment with physical contact for their attacks on Shiya Nwanguma, a University of Louisville student. Heimbach, a 25-year-old who heads the racist and anti-Semitic **Traditionalist Youth Network** and **Traditionalist Worker Party**, had bragged online about the assault, but complained after his arrest of facing a “political prosecution.”

### SEPT. 14

A **Gresham, Ore.**, man and the girlfriend who allegedly egged him on, shouting “Get him, baby!” as he plowed across several lanes of oncoming traffic and struck and killed a black teenager, pleaded not guilty to first degree intimidation charges, a hate crime, in a **Multnomah County** courthouse. Russell Courtier, 38, and Colleen Hunt, 35, had already pleaded not guilty to murder in the death of Larnell Bruce, 19. Courtier is alleged to be a member of the racist prison gang **European Kindred.**

### OCT. 18

A 32-year-old **Joplin, Mo.,**

identity, which social conservatives responded to by ginning up fears of malevolent perverts lurking in toilet stalls.

A study by Mic.com, a progressive news site, revealed that law enforcement and victims' families are often hesitant to identify victims as transgender people, often referring to trans women as gay men or using gendered pronouns to describe non-binary individuals. Despite strong evidence in many cases, no homicide of a transgender person has led to a hate crime conviction since 2009, a problem Mic.com attributed at least in part to judicial bias and prosecutors' failure to fully accept victims' gender identities.

Many police departments were working to do better. Washington, D.C., and Detroit now have dedicated LGBT police units, and other cities are working to train police to be more sensitive to transgender issues. But as long as transgender people remain economically and socially marginalized, semi-acceptable targets of

public venom, the Mic.com report concluded, they will remain easy targets for violence and murder.

#### [CAMPUS EXTREMISM]

## White Nationalists Work to Make Inroads at U.S. Colleges

Emboldened by a presidential candidate who embraced their ideas with a nudge and a wink, and electrified by his victory, white nationalists in 2016 fanned out and spread their message of fear and loathing among the nation's young people.

Richard Spencer, 38, of the National Policy Institute, capitalized on his newfound status as the man who coined the term "Alt-Right" to take his hateful message to campus. In addition to numerous high-profile media appearances which he used to shill his suit-and-tie brand of racial hatred, on Dec. 6 he addressed a crowd of 400 (including protesters) at

Texas A&M, telling them that "America, at the end of the day, belongs to white men. ... Our bones are in the ground. We own it. At the end of the day, America can't exist without us. We defined it."

Identity Evropa, founded in March 2016 by 30-year-old Cal State Stanislaus student Nathan Damigo, hit the ground running over the July 4 weekend, when supporters posted fliers promoting "European identity and solidarity" in 17 cities. Damigo is a former Marine corporal who discovered his inner white nationalist by reading the work of Holocaust-denying ex-Klansman David Duke while serving five years for armed robbery (while drunk, he put a gun to the head of a cab driver he thought was Iraqi and stole \$43).

Addressing a class at Cal State Stanislaus, Damigo called himself an "identitarian" — a reference to a racist European movement — and rejected terms like "racist" and "supremacist" as "anti-white hate speech." His group,

man who burned down a Joplin mosque on Aug. 6, 2012, and attempted to do the same to the town's Planned Parenthood clinic the next year, was sentenced to more than five years in federal prison and ordered to pay \$701,971 in restitution. Jedediah Stout, 32, told officials that he opposed Islam and abortion. The mosque fire he set not only destroyed the building, but also consumed donations made by mosque supporters during the holy month of Ramadan.

#### OCT. 25

Saying the 84-year-old lawyer willfully defied a judge's

order to stop targeting Latinos, federal prosecutors in **Arizona** charged **Maricopa County** Sheriff Joe Arpaio with criminal contempt of court, a misdemeanor. Arpaio, whose department in 2011 was found to systematically discriminate against Latinos, built a national reputation with his bellicose nativist rhetoric, disregard for civil rights, publicity stunts like forcing inmates under his supervision to wear pink underwear, and formation of a "Cold Case Posse" to investigate President Obama's citizenship. Arpaio, who first took office in 1993, lost his re-election bid in November.

#### OCT. 28

The FBI arrested a member of the violent, neo-Nazi **Vinlanders Social Club** at a motel in **Valdosta, Ga.**, and returned him to **West Palm Beach, Fla.**, on federal charges related to a murder-for-hire, attempted drug possession with intent to distribute, and robbery. Adrian "Skitz" Apodaca, 44, was arrested after undercover FBI agents set up their own fake white supremacist gang and befriended him, conducting a five-month sting operation during which they secretly recorded his boasts of having "killed a lot of people" and leaving "a trail of dead hookers."

#### NOV. 4

An **Arizona** judge sentenced an 18-year-old **Tucson** man to eight years in prison and a lifetime of probation after he was convicted of terrorism and conspiracy charges for plotting to bomb a Department of Motor Vehicles building. During the probe, Mahin Khan instructed an undercover FBI agent to build homemade grenades that Khan planned to use to incite an uprising on behalf of the **Islamic State**. Khan had previously expressed interest in attacking a local Jewish community center.



**Hate on tour:** Alt-Right personalities spreading venom on campus include (clockwise from top left) Richard Spencer, Nathan Damigo and Milo Yiannopoulos.

whose fliers have appeared at dozens of campuses across the country as part of its “#ProjectSiege,” is a reimagining of the now-defunct National Youth Front, the youth arm of the white nationalist American Freedom Party, which Damigo also led. Members must be of “European, non-Semitic heritage.”

Where Damigo and Spencer are smooth-talking and slick, Milo Yiannopoulos, 33, a third rising young Alt-Right personality, is flamboyant and deliberately

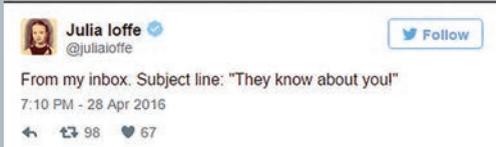
offensive. Best known for being banned from Twitter after orchestrating a storm of online hatred against a black female comedian, Yiannopoulos — who seems to view misogyny and neo-Nazism as witty affectations — makes his campus appearances as miserable as possible. During a December appearance at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, he mocked a transgender woman, showing her photo and name on screen.

Amplifying the efforts of these headline personalities are youth groups like American Vanguard and TheRightStuff, both of which have posted fliers at dozens of campuses.

American Vanguard, founded in 2016 and based in Southern California, urges white men to

“take a stand” against “globalist traitors” who are “destroying your race and heritage through open borders, affirmative action, and Marxist ‘political correctness.’”

TheRightStuff, a blog founded in 2012 that created the “parentheses meme” in which Jewish people are targeted for online harassment by trolls who identify them as Jews by putting triple parentheses around their names, hopes to spark “dialogue among a disparate and edgy right-wing.” The Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracked report distributions of white nationalist, KKK and anti-Semitic posters and fliers on campus, found that Identity Evropa, American Vanguard, and TheRightStuff were behind the majority of incidents. ▲



## April 29, 2016

In the 24 hours after her profile of Melania Trump was published in GQ magazine, **Julia Ioffe**, whose family fled anti-Semitism in Russia a quarter century ago, was bombarded by a series of incredibly vicious online

messages and images. They included a cartoon of a Jew being murdered, a photo of a concentration camp victim with Ioffe's face superimposed, and another of a lampshade with her face on it — an obvious reference to the myth that the Nazis used the skin of Jewish victims to make lampshades. The torrent of abuse — which included an anonymous caller who played a Hitler speech over the phone and a series of threats — followed Melania Trump's sharp criticism of Ioffe's relatively mild story as “yet another example of the dishonest media and their disingenuous reporting.” But it mainly stemmed from a post by neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin on his site The Daily Stormer that ran under the headline, “Empress Melania Attacked by Filthy Russian Kike Julia Ioffe in GQ!” In it, he urged followers to “go ahead and send her a tweet and let her know what you think of her dirty kike trickery. Make sure to identify her as a Jew working against White interests, or send her a picture with the Jude star from the top of this article.” Anglin has made a vile sport of sending his “Stormer Troll Army” after his enemies — a professor at the University of Missouri, a Nintendo employee, an anti-racist in Montana and others. Ioffe filed a police report on the day after Anglin's post, but it was not known if a criminal case is being pursued against anyone involved.

LINDA DAVIDSON/THE WASHINGTON POST; VIA GETTY IMAGES (SPENCER); TWITTER (DAMIGO); DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES (YIANNPOULOS); YOUTUBE (IOFFE)

THE WORLD'S MOST VISITED ALT-RIGHT WEB SITE

# THE DAILY STORMER

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## EYE OF THE STORMER

PROPELLED BY THE TRUMP CAMPAIGN AND A NEW FOCUS ON THE 'ALT-RIGHT,' THE DAILY STORMER IS NOW THE TOP HATE SITE IN AMERICA BY KEEGAN HANKES

**T**he celebrations at The Daily Stormer began early on Nov. 9, just hours after the presidential election was called for Donald Trump. And Andrew Anglin, the neo-Nazi who started the website in 2013, was in full-on arsonist mode.

“Female Hajis Fear to Wear the Headtowel in Public After Trump Win – You Should Yell at Them,” read one of the first post-election headlines written by Anglin that day. “Fear,” he wrote below. “*Now is the time for it.* We want these people to feel unwanted. We want them to feel that everything around them is against them. And we want them to be afraid.”

“This was not a presidential Election,” Anglin added. “It was a referendum on the international Jewish agenda. And the biggest part of that

agenda is multiculturalism.”

Anglin and his confederates had plenty of reasons to celebrate. The man Anglin had endorsed 17 months earlier, in the wake of Trump’s out-of-the-gate description of Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers, had won, shocking the entire American political establishment.

The campaign that preceded that victory, with its dog whistles to the racist right, had helped propel Anglin and his movement into public consciousness.

Just three months earlier, The Daily Stormer had moved into the real world from cyberspace, setting up a “Troll Army” of activists who follow Anglin’s lead in the vicious online harassment of enemies of his movement.

And in July, four months before Trump’s win, The Daily Stormer had become the most popular English-language website of the radical right, eclipsing the Stormfront site that had held that position since the early days of the Internet.

“We won, brothers,” Anglin wrote a few hours after Hillary Clinton conceded. “Our Glorious Leader has ascended to God Emperor. Make no mistake about it: we did this. If it were not for us, it wouldn’t have been possible.”

The very next day, a new banner went up atop the site: “Andrew Anglin’s The Daily Stormer, ‘America’s #1 Most-Trusted Republican News Source,’ First in Facts — First in Integrity!” Bracketing the site’s new “Republican” masthead were photos of former President Ronald Reagan and President-elect Donald J. Trump.

### In the Beginning

The early days of the radical right on the Internet were dominated by Stormfront, a huge web forum set up and run by a former Alabama Klan leader and ex-felon named Don Black. Black had learned his programming skills while serving time in prison for an ill-starred effort to invade a black-run Caribbean island.

Black inaugurated Stormfront in March 1995, just a month before the Oklahoma City bombing left 168 men, women and children dead. Over the years that followed, he built up the site to the point where it had hundreds of discussion threads going simultaneously, many of them in sections for languages other than English. The site also benefitted from enormous attention from the mainstream media, mainly because it was the first of its kind and a relative rarity.

The site grew slowly at first but then much more rapidly as the white nationalist movement in Europe and the United States expanded. In early 2002, Stormfront had a mere 5,000 registered users, but that grew to 11,000 in 2003, 23,000 in 2004, and so on. By 2015, Stormfront had surpassed 300,000 registered users, although only a small fraction of that number was actively posting.

Black tried hard to maintain a relatively non-sectarian environment on Stormfront, and he brought in his son Derek as a contributor and, in 2010, as co-host of the racist radio show that eventually became Stormfront Radio. At around the same time, he began hosting real-world conferences of leading radicals.

But clouds were gathering around Stormfront.

In 2008, Black’s wife, thought to be a movement stalwart, told a newspaper, almost certainly disingenuously, that she did not agree with her husband’s views. Five years later, Derek Black famously renounced the movement, initially in a letter to the Southern Poverty Law Center. Don Black also angered many followers by trying to ban talk of violence and the use of racial slurs and Nazi symbolism. He took sides in certain movement squabbles, alienating some of his followers. In 2014, the site was further damaged by a Southern Poverty Law Center report documenting that registered Stormfront users had committed nearly 100 murders.

At the same time, Black’s endless pitches for money were growing tiresome



to many of those who had backed him, some of them with major cash contributions. And, most recently, his health increasingly became an important issue.

Beginning in 2013 — the same year The Daily Stormer began — Stormfront’s Alexa ranking began to plummet. From a ranking of around the 14,000th most trafficked site on the Internet, it fell to around 40,000th by mid-2015.

Another factor, too, seemed critical. Stormfront’s stodgy presentation and clunky features were increasingly behind the times. Meanwhile, The Daily Stormer was featuring flamboyant and



**Celebrating fascism: neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin gives the Nazi salute as he stands in front of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's palace.**

including an examination of both Islam and Buddhism. But it seems the real gateway to Anglin's future beliefs came when he started looking at materials produced by Texas radio host Alex Jones, a wild-eyed conspiracy monger who interviewed Trump during his campaign.

"I started out with normal Alex Jones type conspiracy material, and moved on to weirder conspiracy material," Anglin wrote in an autobiographical piece. He said that he "then eventually decided Ted Kaczynski [the anti-technology terrorist known as the Unabomber] was right with regards to a coming apocalypse."

Anglin says he spent time living and working in Southeast Asia, a fact that has led to accusations from his detractors in the movement of "race mixing." "To this day," he wrote in words that enraged some white supremacists, "I have very little negative to say about Asians, save that I don't think they should be immigrating into Western countries (in any kind of numbers) and I don't think White people should be producing children with them." But he tempered these statements — tolerant words for a neo-Nazi — with the opinion that "Chinese people have no souls."

Eventually, he came to full-blown Hitler worship, starting a short-lived website called Total Fascism, where he posted his own long-form essays on fascism, race and the alleged role of Jewish people in America. "I had always been into 4chan [an image board website inhabited by many racist radicals], as I am at heart a troll," or Internet provocateur and harasser, Anglin wrote. "This is about the time /new/ [a particular 4chan board] was going full Nazi, and so I got into Hitler, and realized that through this type of nationalist system, alienation could be replaced by community in a real sense, while authoritarianism

would allow for technology to develop in a direction that was beneficial rather than destructive to the people."

On July 4, 2013, Anglin started what would become his main project, The Daily Stormer. The site took its name from *Der Stürmer*, an astoundingly vile and pornographic Nazi newspaper started by Julius Streicher and specializing in attacking Jews. Streicher was later hanged for war crimes at Nuremberg.

The new site, created from the ashes of Total Fascism, specialized in punchy, image-heavy stories that often rely heavily on quoted material. It used hyperbolic headlines — "All Intelligent People in History Disliked the Jews," for instance, or "SS Auschwitz Guard Dies Days Before Scheduled Lynching by Kikes" — to grab readers' attention, build up participation and shift people's thinking.

Anglin relied heavily on the daily news, although it was news poisoned by his particular views, to drive his message home. "You make a very simple message, where you hit the same points over and over and over again and you repeat them," he explained in a podcast on his site last year. "That's been my style. That's why I do the news. Because it can be new information all the time while still repeating the same points over and over again. ... It's about creating a gigantic spectacle — a media spectacle, which desensitizes people to these ideas."

One of those who seems to have been "desensitized" to ideas like genocide and race war was Dylann Storm Roof, the young man who murdered nine black churchgoers in South Carolina in 2015 in a bid to start a race war. Posting under the moniker of AryanBlood1488 (the numbers are references to white supremacist slogans), Roof wrote about black-on-white crime — a central topic on The Daily Stormer and Roof's self-described motive for mass murder.

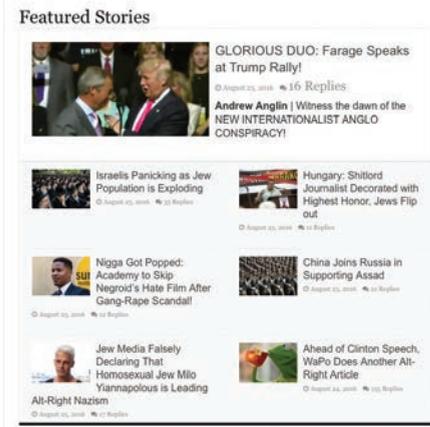
### **Getting Real**

The Daily Stormer is not merely a propaganda shop. Increasingly, it has become

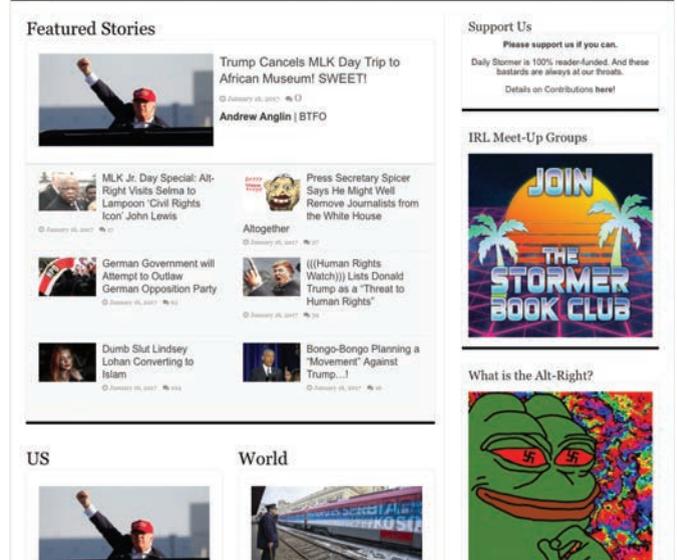
eye-catching — if grotesquely racist and guttural — headlines that functioned as "click bait." In effect, Stormfront looked like an ancient online version of *The New York Times*, even as The Daily Stormer increasingly took on the appearance and jazzy language of modern news sites like BuzzFeed.

### **Gathering Storm**

Andrew Anglin grew up in Worthington, Ohio, in a family that did not share his later affinity for Nazism. He describes his ideological journey as beginning with an exploration of "all that Communist Jewish stuff" and



**Stormer makeover: One day after Donald Trump won the presidential election, neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin redesigned his website's masthead to describe it as "America's #1 Most Trusted Republican News Source."**



a malignant presence in the real world. From the beginning, Anglin encouraged his readers to engage in trolling campaigns against his enemies. An early example came in November 2015, when he launched "Operation: Kikebart," an attack on the right-wing news outlet Breitbart News after it decided to open a news bureau in Jerusalem.

Anglin's "Stormers," later rechristened the "Stormer Troll Army," flooded the Breitbart site with vicious comments, demanding that it close its Israel bureau and accusing it of being part of a Jewish conspiracy. The aim, Anglin said, was to fill the comment sections with neo-Nazi propaganda to the point "where they just give up on trying to ban people, and then we guide their readership toward Jew-hatred by informing them of the truths we possess."

It got so bad that Disqus, a comment platform used by both Anglin and Breitbart, cut service to The Daily Stormer.

Other early examples include "Operation: Jew Wife," in which Stormers were directed to flood the website of

conspiracist Alex Jones, who was seen as insufficiently anti-Semitic and who allegedly has a Jewish wife. Another campaign targeted Julia Ioffe, a Jewish journalist subjected to a barrage of incredibly vicious electronic attacks after Trump criticized her for her profile of Melania Trump.

Such tactics ramped up in March 2016, when neo-Nazi Andrew Auernheimer, a sophisticated computer user now working with Anglin, wrote code that caused thousands of printers around the country, most of them at universities, to spontaneously begin printing. What emerged, to the shock of recipients, was a pamphlet reading: "White man are you sick and tired of the Jews destroying your country through mass immigration and degeneracy? Join us in the struggle for global white supremacy at the Daily Stormer."

The stunt generated headlines across the country.

Auernheimer, who goes by the Internet handle of "Weev," has been increasingly active at The Daily Stormer as Anglin struggles to meet technical hurdles posed by the site's rising profile.

In 2015, Auernheimer bought ad blocks on Twitter and then used Twitter's metrics report on the success of those ads to gauge how best to popularize certain white supremacist themes.

"I made a promoted campaign for the 14 words [a famous white supremacist slogan] and also for something about whites' need to defend themselves from violence and discrimination," he said last year. "Then I targeted it against feminist women and minorities and watched them all flip out. I think the biggest converter to our cause is shit lib reactions. Triggering [outrage] is the national sport. People want to see the blue haired establishment break down and cry."

On Aug. 23, 2016, Anglin formalized his attempts to affect the real world, publishing a call for supporters to "Register Now for the IRL [In Real Life] Troll Army AKA The Stormer Book Club." Anglin described the club as "groups to prepare for the coming race war," a place to "form cells, build bonds, develop brotherhood. You will become stronger, better men. It's a bit like Fight Club."

Remarkably, the call produced results. The Southern Poverty Law Center has confirmed that by late 2016 Anglin had managed to produce 31 distinct chapters of his Troll Army that were actually active. A month later, Anglin urged followers to “BUY GUNS!” in case Clinton won the presidential contest. “The race war is coming,” Anglin wrote in that mis- sive, “and it is coming quickly.”

### **Stormers and the Alt-Right**

Long before it adopted the motto describing itself as “America’s #1 Most-Trusted Republican News Source,” The Daily Stormer billed itself as “The Most Visited Alt-Right Web Site.” That was a reference to the so-called “alternative right,” a sort of kinder, gentler rebranding of white supremacy for public relations purposes that has picked up a great deal of steam in the last year.

The Alt-Right is fundamentally about the idea that societies and nations should be based on race, an old mainstay of the radical right. But most of its self-described activists tend to avoid neo-Nazi imagery and Klan robes, preferring to paint themselves as real intellectuals seeking to solve real problems.

Not Andrew Anglin. He specializes in a kind of sophomoric and repulsive humor about topics like the Holocaust. He styles himself a “general,” ordering his Stormer Troll Army into dirty campaigns meant to frighten enemies with threats and insults, often accompanied by publication of their personal information.

But he also sees himself as a guardian of the Alt-Right name. In March 2016, Breitbart published “An Establishment Conservative’s Guide to the Alt-Right,” by Breitbart tech editors Allum Bokhari and Milo Yiannopoulos. The story white-washed the racism at the core of the movement, enraging Anglin.

“Basically, they claim that everything the alt-right says it believes they don’t actually believe, but simply say they believe as part of a joke to piss off

feminists and Black Lives activists,” he wrote in response. “This is not the exact opposite of what’s actually happening, but it is close enough.”

Regardless of these internecine squabbles, the Alt-Right received enormous publicity last year, especially after an August speech by Clinton that lambasted Trump for failing to disavow his support in that movement. One result of Trump’s apparent sympathy for the Alt-Right and Anglin’s adoption of the label was that The Daily Stormer got even more mainstream attention.

Three days before the election, Anglin tried to repay the debt. Announcing “Operation No Survivors,” he implored readers to vote for Trump. The goal was for each of his alleged 100,000 readers from the United States to convince five other people to vote for the man Anglin calls “Glorious Leader.” The comment section of Anglin’s Election Day story detailing followers’ efforts to get out the vote reached a total of some 3,000 posts, thick with racist and anti-Semitic memes.

### **Whither The Daily Stormer?**

On July 18, 2016, The Daily Stormer officially surpassed Stormfront’s traffic totals, making it the most popular English-language radical right website in the world. Andrew Anglin had successfully used computer and communications savvy, rising right-wing populism, the Trump phenomenon, and his own signature vulgarity and aggressiveness to displace Don Black, for years arguably the radical right’s most long-standing and respected cyber-leader. Few had seen it coming.

“The Stormer’s impact has been underrated,” Brad Griffin, a key player at the racist Occidental Dissent website, which is sometimes syndicated at The Daily Stormer, wrote recently. “From my perspective, it sure looked like it was the aggressive trolling of journalists and conservatives on Twitter that put the ‘alt-right’ on the map. ... As I watched it

unfold, I couldn’t believe how successful the troll armies were at getting under the skin of these people.”

Whether or not those “successes” will continue for The Daily Stormer, which has certainly benefited from the country’s political situation, is not clear. One problem for Anglin is that prominence on the radical right, combined with the power of the Internet, has not always worked out well for racist leaders.

A little-noticed video mounted on YouTube by an enemy of Anglin’s is a case in point. In it, Anglin is seen talking to his own cell phone camera as he walks through a glitzy mall in the Philippines. Bouncing along beside him is a dark-skinned Filipina who appears to be of high school age. She giggles and laughs as the pair walks through the mall, with Anglin occasionally telling her to “shut up.”

The girl, Anglin says, is “my jail-bait girlfriend.”

Then he goes on to say that she is “obviously descended from Africans,” adding that she had straightened her hair and gotten a weave — admissions that could easily have the effect of ruining Anglin’s movement stature. In the world of contemporary neo-Nazis, “race-mixing” is a cardinal sin. Commenters on the video lambast Anglin as a “pedo,” a “wigger” (white nigger) and a “pussybitch.”

Apparently, Anglin isn’t worried.

“Dear Liberals,” he wrote days after the election. “You have never been humble in your victories over the White Man. You have gloated. You have insulted us, attacked us, threatened us, condemned us, even while you had the massive advantage over us. Here’s the thing: We are not going to be humble either. We beat you. We beat you badly. And now that you are on the ground, we are going to keep kicking you in the head. I have heard there are no tears in heaven. So you should probably just kill yourselves. And you should livestream it.” ▲



# Attorney for Aryans

Radical lawyer Kyle Bristow has started a new foundation that aims to become the legal arm of the racist radical right

BY **RYAN LENZ** ILLUSTRATION BY **SUNNY PAULK**

**A**t last July's Alt-Right Conference in Detroit, the first such gathering to use the racist right's new and misleadingly bland name for itself, a 30-year-old attorney took to the stage with a barrage of extremist propaganda.

"We are eager to make a last stand," Kyle Bristow, defiant and snappy in a suit and tie, said amid jibes aimed at Jews and black people. "We are not doing this to make money or to advance our careers. We are doing it because we truly believe that we are right and that what we are doing is in the interest of our people."

In fact, the event was more than a "last stand." While it might have appeared that way at the time, it actually amounted to a coming-out party for the "alternative right" — a rebranding for public relations purposes of the extreme racist right, albeit one that emphasizes youth, savvy Internet organizing, and the basic idea that "our people," white people, are the ones to whom America belongs.

By the following month, the so-called Alt-Right was on the lips of millions of Americans, particularly after Hillary Clinton pilloried it in an August speech. When Donald Trump won the presidential election in November, after a campaign in which he repeatedly avoided condemning racist activists who supported him, the Alt-Right, at least in the minds of its leaders, had come into its own.

The event at which Bristow spoke was sponsored by three organizations that are central to the Alt-Right — the National Policy Institute, a racist think tank brought back from obscurity in recent years by leader Richard Spencer;

Identity Evropa, a campus-oriented group formed by Nathan Damigo in March 2016; and the Foundation

for the Marketplace of Ideas, started the same month by Bristow.

If it wasn't obvious that the Alt-Right is pretty much the same thing as the old white supremacist right — even if it does favor suits and ties over Klan robes or faux Nazi uniforms — that was cleared up just 11 days after Trump's election, when an Alt-Right conference sponsored by the National Policy Institute concluded with several audience members sieg-heiling Spencer during his speech.

Now, Bristow's foundation appears poised to become, in effect, the legal arm of the Alt-Right. In the past year, its five attorneys and other associates led by Bristow have pushed it into the forefront of the American radical right.

What led Bristow from a quiet Roman Catholic upbringing in Clinton Township, Mich., about 25 miles outside Detroit, to the lectern that day is, in many ways, the story of the birth of the Alt-Right. But it is also very much the story of how a bookish and shy young man angry with what he saw as "leftist nonsense" became the kind of leader that wannabe Nazis admire.

No doubt, the ascent of the Alt-Right and its hero, President-elect Donald Trump, have only served to bolster Bristow's ambition and focus his drive. And Bristow has big plans for the movement, his organization and even his own career with Trump in the White House. But his rise on the radical right began as a student with racist stunts like "Catch an Illegal Immigrant Day."

And what a rise it has been.

Since earning his law degree from the University of Toledo in 2012, Bristow had become a go-to attorney for a growing cast of racists. He represented Matthew Heimbach of the racist Traditionalist Worker Party after Heimbach assaulted a black protester at a Trump rally last year

in Louisville. He advised the National Alliance Reform & Restoration Group, a radical faction trying through legal action to seize control of what remains of the once-powerful National Alliance, a neo-Nazi group. His foundation promises to defend racist activists against "social justice warriors," depicting itself as the legal "muscle behind the Alt-Right phenomenon."

But, if you take Bristow's word for it, he is only beginning.

### **Birth of a Nationalist**

Bristow is not alone in what has materialized in the United States as the Alt-Right — in part, a kind of army of racist Internet trolls who take after their enemies with incredibly vitriolic and often frightening online attacks. Like many others, he has been playing that game for years.

At Michigan State University, Bristow was quick to make a name for himself as the campus racist — or, as he puts it, "a shitlord before there was a word for it." He was president of the school's chapter of Young Americans for Freedom (MSU-YAF), a national campus youth group founded in 1960 to advocate for conservative public policies, and won an uncontested seat on the student government council.

But the student classmates remember as a coin-collecting, bookish conservative was already a little more radical than almost anyone had yet realized.

"From an early age I was subjected to leftist nonsense to varying degrees, and being a shy bookworm throughout middle school, I found myself holed up in my room reading books that dealt with philosophy, politics, and history," Bristow said in a 2011 interview. "I very vocally participated in political discourse and advocated positions that are antithetical to the leftist dogma that permeates college campuses today."

Such “political discourse” challenged most concepts of government decorum, even for a student government. As a student, Bristow issued a 13-point program to govern student life that called for capturing undocumented immigrants in the area, cutting school funding for non-heterosexual student groups, and giving more representation to men and whites on the student council than others.

As chief of MSU-YAF, he also tried to organize a “Catch an Illegal Immigrant Day,” held a “Koran Desecration” competition, joked about giving smallpox-infected blankets to Native American students, and hosted lectures by well-known racist leaders like Jared Taylor of American Renaissance and Nick Griffin of the whites-only British National Party.

But it wasn’t long before Bristow’s classmates had had enough.

In a landslide vote, MSU students recalled Bristow from office after he refused to resign or recant his 13-point agenda. “I have no regrets as to what I did, said, or planned to do while serving as chairman of MSU-YAF,” he boasted in a self-congratulatory letter of resignation. “I am very proud of my exploits.”

After he graduated from MSU with a degree in international relations, Bristow enrolled in law school at the University of Toledo. There, he found time amid his studies to turn his attention to creative writing. In 2010, he self-published a novel, *White Apocalypse*, that depicted a race war set off by the discovery of the “Solutrean Hypothesis.” First proposed in 1998, that hypothesis claims that people from Europe may have been among the earliest settlers of the Americas. Although most anthropologists reject it, it remains a favorite claim of American white nationalists.

The book also depicted in contemptuous terms two characters obviously based

on two officials of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), Heidi Beirich and Mark Potok. (The assassination of Potok’s character is depicted in gruesome detail in the text.) The novel, and a later collection of essays called *The Conscience of a Right Winger*, received enthusiastic support from many white nationalist leaders, including William D. Johnson, head of the American Freedom Party.

“Kyle Bristow’s analysis is detailed and insightful. He focuses on some of the main fallacies in law and society that have contributed to the decline and fall of Western civilization,” Johnson, who once proposed a constitutional amendment to deport every American citizen with “an ascertainable trace of Negro blood,” said of Bristow’s second volume.

“It is essays like the ones contained in this compilation that help lead Western Man from the darkness that grips him in every country where he resides.”

### Threats and Insults

Bristow may or may not be “detailed and insightful,” but he certainly has proven to be crude. He responded to a request for an interview from the *Intelligence Report* with a threat to sue if he were contacted again, along with a megalomaniacal view of what the future held for him under a Trump administration.

“I cannot imagine any reason — much less a good one — for which I would want to be subjected to an ‘interview’ by you or any other mental-moral defective associated with the vile, degenerate, repugnant and leftist Southern Poverty Law Center,” Bristow wrote. “The next time I hope to hear from you will be when I am appointed by President Donald Trump to serve as his czar of the forthcoming inquisition so as to make America great again and you contact me to beg for forgiveness for having undermined Western civilization as an agent of the SPLC.

“If you are lucky following the Trump-Bristow Inquisition, you will only end up in a locked room in which you spend your time smearing your feces in the shape of Pepe the Frog on its padded walls. [Pepe the Frog is a cartoon character that has been hijacked by the radical right as a racist symbol in the last year or so.] I suspect that Torquemada [an infamous 15th century leader of the Spanish Inquisition] will be considered a light-weight compared to me when historians compare the two of us in the future when all is said and done.”

Bristow apparently wasn’t much nicer to his wife.

In 2015, Ashley Bristow, then in the middle of a contentious legal battle over custody of the divorced couple’s daughter, posted an essay on the Internet describing her life while married to Kyle. She said that Bristow posted menacing pictures of himself posing with heavy weapons, had started stockpiling ammunition for his AR-15, and openly fantasized about a coming race war.

But she stayed with him, she said, until attending a meeting in 2014 of the Charles Martel Society, which publishes *Occidental Quarterly*, a racist, pseudo-intellectual journal. She recounted an after-party at the conference where attendees burst into song. “And by ‘sing,’ I mean it was a bone-chilling, guttural chant in a foreign language,” she wrote. “The only words I recognized were ‘Sieg Heil,’ punctuated with a raised fist.”

Her conclusion was stark: “If my precious daughter grows up with Kyle Bristow, she’ll have plenty of fear, and plenty of hate.” She left him a short time later.

Through it all, Bristow was making a career as an attorney in suburban Detroit. But he wasn’t your typical attorney, as the State Bar of Michigan found out last year in a bizarre encounter.



If it walks like a duck: Kyle Bristow (near left) and Richard Spencer like to describe themselves as part of the “alternative right.” The name sounds anodyne, but the Alt-Right’s real nature was revealed at a movement conference in November where audience members responded to Spencer’s speech with Nazi salutes.



TWITTER (SPENCER AND BRISTOW); YOUTUBE (BRISTOW SPEAKING); DANIEL LOMBROSO/THE ATLANTIC (SPENCER SPEAKING)

The bar association had long been running a biennial short-story contest, and a Bristow entry won an honorable mention. Titled “Post-Conviction Relief,” Bristow’s story was about a “soft-spoken and introverted” Michigan criminal defense attorney — not unlike Bristow — whose daughter, Caroline, is murdered by an 18-year-old “tattoo-covered, drug-abusing gangbanger named Tyrone Washington.” After the trial, the lawyer, who is white, goes to the prison to visit Washington, who is black, under the guise of being an appeals attorney. He kills Washington with a sharpened pen.

When Bristow’s past was publicized after the winners were announced, the

bar association reacted in horror and embarrassment, saying that a second look at Bristow’s story found it “to be embedded with racist cues and symbolism.” One bar official characterized the story as a “potential ideological manifesto.”

“We cannot apologize enough,” said Michigan Bar President Thomas C. Rombach, adding that the contest would be discontinued. “The short story contest has been popular with many members. ... But if this result could occur even with the high-caliber of the judges who conferred the award, the contest should be discontinued.”

Bristow reacted with unvarnished contempt. “If the State Bar officials are

now getting their panties in a bunch over a mere fictional story, then I submit that it is probably a good idea that they canceled the annual contest so that they are not triggered in the future by politically incorrect thought-crimes,” he told the *Lansing State Journal*.

### Alt-Right Rising

As his stature has grown on the radical right, Bristow has moved to consolidate his position as a racist leader. Despite its anodyne name, his new think tank, the Foundation for the Marketplace of Ideas, is preparing to go to war.

In its first eight months, the foundation has offered pro bono legal advice

to “Alt-Right guerrilla activists” on college campuses and defended their right to distribute personal information about anti-racists. He has supported students bringing racists to college campuses, including Texas A&M, where Preston Wiginton, an old-hand white nationalist, invited the National Policy Institute’s Richard Spencer to speak in December. He has counseled neo-Nazis and white nationalists in various legal matters.

The foundation is growing quickly. Joining Bristow on the foundation’s board of directors in recent months have been notable racist leaders and pundits, including Mike Enoch, who publishes the Alt-Right blog *The Right Stuff* and claims to have coined the term “cuck-servative.” (The term is a portmanteau joining the words “cuckold” and “conservative.” Often shortened to “cuck,” it is a pejorative that suggests that mainstream conservatives have sold their race out.)

Others on the foundation’s board of directors include the American Freedom Party’s William Johnson; the California Young Americans for Freedom’s Ryan Sorba, an anti-LGBT activist who wrote *The Born Gay Hoax* and secretly recorded hours of video in gay bars to prove that homosexuality is the product of a traumatic childhood; and attorney Jason Robb, the son of Thom Robb, the long-time leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Arkansas.

The foundation’s mission statement says it works to educate “the public about the freedoms guaranteed by the United States Constitution and people and organizations which strive to usurp said freedoms.” In recent months, it has begun researching U.S. Supreme Court cases in the hope of explaining how “social

justice warriors” and their allies have manipulated culture and public opinion to define the “zeitgeist” of civil rights. “Positions on certain issues — such as civil rights — that are accepted as absolute truths today, however, were hotly contested issues yesteryear,” the foundation says.

One such instance, Bristow’s foundation asserts, is the 1967 Supreme Court ruling in *Loving v. Virginia*, which struck down laws prohibiting interracial marriage. In discussing the case, Bristow cited with approval an amicus brief filed by then-North Carolina Attorney General T.W. Burton supporting such laws.

“There is no equalitarianism in the field of biology, anthropology and genetics,” Burton wrote then. “If a state feels like the life of its people is better protected by a policy of racial integrity as to both races, or for any other race for that matter, then it has the right to legislate in such field.”

But that theoretical work seems like a mere backdrop to the foundation’s real purpose — to serve and protect white nationalists and their ilk as they try to penetrate the political mainstream.

One example of that came last year, after Matthew Heimbach, head of the Traditionalist Youth Network that seeks to recruit racist college students, was caught on video shoving a young black woman protesting a Trump rally in Louisville, Ky. Wearing a “Make America Great Again” baseball cap, Heimbach shouted racist slurs and “leftist scum” as he and others manhandled the woman. The woman, a student named Shiya Nwanguma, later posted a cell phone video saying she was called a “nigger” and a “cunt” as the hostile crowd swarmed around her.

Heimbach, who later boasted publicly of his role in the attack, painted a different picture. The video, he wrote in a self-congratulatory post to the TYN website, “features yours truly helping the crowd drive out one of the women who had been pushing, shoving, barking, and screaming at the attendees for the better part of an hour. It won’t be me next time, but White Americans are getting fed up and they’re learning that they must either push back or be pushed down.”

Heimbach was criminally charged with harassment with physical contact. In addition, Nwanguma filed a lawsuit alleging that Heimbach and another man shoved and struck her after Trump urged the crowd to “get ‘em out of here.”

Bristow has taken cases other than those of racist activists, notably several representing women victimized by “revenge porn” — naked photos of them posted on the Internet by former lovers. But despite these efforts to actually help real victims, what truly defines Bristow is his furious and unapologetic racism.

It’s unclear where Bristow, now in command of a legal foundation that he uses as a political weapon, will go next. Like other Alt-Righters, he seems focused on helping to grow the next generation of activists. He obviously intends to use the Trump presidential victory to try to spread his ideas as widely as possible. He has recruited some key racist ideologues and may well bring in others, too.

While it seems unlikely that Bristow will ever be taken seriously in the American political mainstream, it is possible, especially with the election of Donald Trump, that he will make inroads. And that should worry every one of us. ▲



# ONE MORE ENEMY

'PATRIOT' GROUPS HAVE LONG SEEN THE GOVERNMENT AS THEIR PRIMARY ENEMY. BUT NOW, THE MOVEMENT IS ADOPTING ANTI-MUSLIM HATE **BY STEPHEN PIGGOTT**

As Election Day approached last fall, three members of an antigovernment "Patriot" group called the Kansas Security Force were arrested as they allegedly finalized plans to blow up an apartment complex housing more than 100 mostly Somali-born Muslim immigrants and a small mosque. Had they succeeded, the mass murder might have rivaled Timothy McVeigh's 1995 slaughter of 168 people in Oklahoma City, the deadliest act of domestic terrorism in American history.

The three Kansans— alleged ring-leader Patrick Stein, 47, of Dodge City, and Curtis Allen and Gavin Wright, both 49-year-olds from Liberal — had formed a subgroup called the Crusaders, which the FBI infiltrated with a confidential source who taped conversations and

attended secret planning meetings. The three men were charged with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction.

"The only good Muslim is a dead Muslim," Stein allegedly told his comrades. "If you're a Muslim, I'm going to enjoy shooting you in the head. When we go on operations there's no leaving anyone behind, even if it's a 1-year-old. ... I guarantee if I go on a mission those little fuckers are going bye-bye."

The case was a harrowing reminder of the dramatic uptick of anti-Muslim hatred in the United States in the last few years, including a Klan-linked plot to mass murder Muslims with an X-ray weapon. But it also highlighted how the so-called Patriot movement — composed of people who believe that the federal government is involved in a massive

conspiracy against American liberties — has increasingly adopted the hatred of Muslims as a core ideological belief.

The Patriot movement, also often called the militia movement, has always had strains of white supremacy and anti-Semitism. But they were not its dominant features. Now, fueled by a rapidly expanding world of anti-Muslim propagandists and the very real psychological impact of terrorism and the "War on Terror," violent animus toward Muslims is becoming a key part of Patriot thought.

The story of the Crusaders is a case in point.

According to government documents, the three Crusaders conducted several surveillance operations to identify and select potential targets — among them, a shopping mall frequented by Somali immigrants, vehicles belonging to people of Somali descent or other Muslims, certain local officials, landlords who

**Gavin Wright (from left), Patrick Stein and Curtis Allen were members of an antigovernment "Patriot" group. They were also alleged would-be mass murderers of Somali-born Muslims.**

rented to Muslims, and local churches that have supported Muslim refugees. They marked potential targets on Google Maps using pins that were labeled “cockroaches.”

Ultimately, the apartment complex in Garden City, Kan., was chosen as the target because it contains an apartment used as a mosque and houses nearly 120 people, most of them Somali immigrants. The area immediately surrounding the residential complex is home to another 300 to 500 Somali-born people.

According to the FBI’s criminal complaint, “[t]he group brainstormed various methods of attack, including murder, kidnapping, rape, and arson.” Stein spoke of using a silenced .22-caliber weapon to execute residents one by one. Using the wireless communications app Zello, he proposed using a bow and arrow to kill, instructing his followers that the arrows be dipped in pig’s blood first. And he discussed the Oklahoma City bombing, saying he had at his farm supplies of the ammonium nitrate and fuel oil components that McVeigh used. Officials said they seized an array of weapons, ammunition and also explosives components.

The men had decided to pack four vehicles with explosives, park them at the four corners of the West Mary Street complex, and detonate them remotely using cell phones, officials said. And this was allegedly only the beginning, with the men reportedly hoping to “wake up” other radicals and start a war against Muslims.

“The only fucking way this country’s ever going to get turned around is it will be a bloodbath and it will be a nasty, messy motherfucker,” Stein said. “Unless a lot more people in this country wake up and smell the fucking coffee and decide they want this country back ... we might be too late, if they do wake up ... I think we can get it done. But it isn’t going to be nothing nice about it.”

### The Virus Spreads

The Kansas Security Force to which the three accused plotters belonged shares part of its name with a much larger anti-government coalition called the Three

Percent Security Force, also written as the III% Security Force. The leader of that coalition is Chris Hill, a former Marine who lives in Georgia. (Hill claimed to the *Intelligence Report* that there are several groups called the Kansas Security Force, and that the one he is associated with did not include the alleged plotters.)

Hill is another example of the injection of anti-Muslim hatred into the Patriot movement, of which the “Three Percent” movement is a part. (That phrase refers to the claim, which most historians of the period dispute, that only 3% of American gun owners, the real patriots, actually fought British colonial troops.)

Last year, Hill led the Georgia chapter of his coalition in an armed demonstration against the construction of a mosque near Atlanta, with one protester wearing a T-shirt marked with “Islam is of the Devil.” In September, he said of the proposed mosque, “Right over there this is going to be a future ISIS training group. This is where you’re going to see terrorism taking hold in Newton County.” County commissioners cancelled a meeting on the mosque the same month, after viewing “uncivil threats” on a video made by Hill.

The Three Percent movement has been cited before as a prime example of the Islamophobia now seen in Patriot groups. But another important case is that of the much more organized Oath Keepers, another antigovernment Patriot group that claims to have some 30,000 members, mostly former and present members of law enforcement, the military or first responder organizations. The group and its leader, Stewart Rhodes, have endorsed a 22-page essay called “Tet, Take Two,” that says Islam and international socialism have teamed up against Western nationalism.



**David Wright (with gun), who heads a Muslim-hating group called the Bureau of American Islamic Affairs, protests a mosque in Richardson, Texas, as others counter-protest his action.**

For author Matthew Bracken, Muslim refugees in Europe represent a second Tet offensive, a reference to the 1968 infiltration of South Vietnam by Vietcong guerrilla fighters who then launched a surprise offensive. In his essay, Bracken blames “Eurocrat elites” for open European Union borders, saying they purposely have created “a wide path for the onrushing Muslim hijra immigration invasion.”

Bracken, an antigovernment novelist and former Navy SEAL, also describes Islam as a “ringworm infection [that] is dead and barren within the ring, but flares up when it parasitically feeds off the healthy, non-Islamic societies around it.”

The essay also alleges that native Europeans are being thrown out of their homes to provide shelter for Muslim refugees — a complete falsehood.

“These men are going to enter local houses, demanding to be taken in as boarders — or else,” Bracken claims. “Where it is useful, small migrant children will be held up in front as human shields for their emotional blackmail value, otherwise they will be discarded.

One way or another, Muslim migrants will be attempting to move inside of German homes and apartments seeking heat and food, and the young Muslim men will be seeking undefended infidel or kafir women to slake their lust (which is their right, under Islamic Sharia law)."

Rhodes, who has publicly claimed to be no conspiracy theorist, thinks Bracken is exactly right, as he told Texas radio host Alex Jones, arguably the most prolific and unhinged conspiracy theorist operating in America today.

"We understand they're [the government] doing a full spectrum, fourth generation warfare, assault on this country, just as they're doing on Europe," Rhodes said. "It's an assault on Western civilization. The wide open borders in Europe, the obvious 'Tet Two,' as Matt Bracken calls it, I think he's right. They're intentionally leaving the borders open in Europe, bringing in mass refugees, among them are going to be jihadists, who are setting up a future Tet offensive, Tet style offensive, in Europe and the same thing is being done in this country."

As far out as these ideas are, they dovetail in substantial ways with the conspiracist orientation of the larger Patriot movement. After all, the Patriot movement has swelled dramatically since the 2008 election of Barack Obama, who is seen as ignoring, enabling or even actively aiding a hostile Muslim invasion. The federal government, like European officials, is seen as an enemy of the people.

### 'Patriots' vs. Muslims

These cases are just the tip of the iceberg.

In Texas, for instance, Three Percenter David Wright, who leads a Muslim-bashing group called the Bureau of American Islamic Relations (BAIR), organized an armed protest outside an Islamic worship center near Dallas in February 2016. He called his rally "Veterans Before Refugees," but his real purpose was to savage Islam — a fact that becomes obvious from a glance at Wright's Facebook page.

"That's what my group does," he wrote last year, after then-presidential candidate Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Texas) proposed

that authorities "patrol and secure" Muslim neighborhoods. "We monitor them and their activity, we show up in their neighborhoods armed and let them know they're being watched and if they fuck up my guys will take em [sic] out. That's exactly what needs to happen."

In the Pacific Northwest, a local chapter of ACT for America — a hardline anti-Muslim group led by a propagandist named Brigitte Gabriel — organized a late 2015 rally against refugees (that is, Muslim refugees) at the Capitol building in Olympia, Wash. The Liberty for All III% militia out of Yakima, Wash., came in to provide security. Videos of the event show the Three Percenters patrolling the area with guns.

Also in Washington, State Rep. Matt Shea — a right-wing politician and anti-government champion who formed a local chapter of ACT in Spokane in June 2016 — honored Anthony Bosworth, the leader of the Liberty for All III% militia, with his "Patriot of the Year" award. It was just one more example of the overlap and crossover of antigovernment radicals and anti-Muslim activists. Bosworth is known for having been involved in the January 2016 standoff in Burns, Ore.

In nearby Idaho, the state's Three Percenter chapter held two anti-refugee rallies in late 2015. "Now, refugees coming from Islamic hotbeds of terrorism, don't you think that poses a threat to Idaho communities?" shouted III% of Idaho spokesman Chris McIntire into a bullhorn at one of the rallies.

In the same state, the arrest last summer of several juveniles for the alleged sexual assault of a 5-year-old girl set off an anti-Muslim firestorm that was exploited ruthlessly by the right-wing media, the local ACT for America chapter, and Liberty Defense Team, another Three Percenter group. When ACT leader Brigitte Gabriel came to Twin Falls to speak in August 2016, the III% of Idaho group provided security for her at a number of different events. The fact that the details of the assault had been grossly exaggerated seemed to have no impact.

The same kind of convergence of anti-Muslim and antigovernment

groups has been visible in Montana as well. In one March 2016 nativist rally in Missoula, Gina Satterfield of the American Security Rally of Montana — another Patriot-like group — said that she was there to "protect our constitutional republic that is under attack by our government siding with the U.N. and the OIC, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, to infiltrate the U.S. with refugees."

### A Deadly Stew

The date the Crusaders from Kansas allegedly chose for their proposed massacre was Nov. 9, one day after Election Day. That fact seemed to underline the role that the election — featuring vituperative attacks on Muslims by Cruz and Donald Trump, among others — played in feeding Islamophobia.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has seen repeatedly over the years how rhetoric from figures like presidential candidates and others in the public eye can fuel that kind of hatred and violence. Several years ago, the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding came up with similar findings in a study. It found that spikes in anti-Muslim sentiment typically occur during election cycles — not so much in the aftermath of Islamist terror attacks, as many had assumed.

There's little doubt that certain politicians and activists like Brigitte Gabriel are feeding the fires of hatred and religious violence. And President-elect Trump's appointments of anti-Muslim ideologues suggest that that will continue.

But the convergence of the Patriot movement, which has been marked by political violence since first emerging in the 1990s, and the anti-Muslim movement that has surged more recently, is creating serious dangers of its own. While Patriots may see a White House ally in Trump — and therefore lose some of their animus toward the federal government — they are finding new enemies in Islam.

And that, as the case of the Crusaders and their alleged bomb plot reflects, shows just how deadly the consequences for American Muslims could be. ▲



# the kidnapping of isabella

In 2009, a former lesbian in a custody battle fled with her 7-year-old girl. The case still haunts the anti-LGBT movement today

**BY RYAN LENZ**

In late September 2009, Philip Zodhiates, a Virginia businessman who runs a Christian direct-mail company near his home in Waynesboro, didn't show up at his office. He told his secretary he would be out for a few days, unable to accept calls and tending to business associated with Liberty Counsel, a Florida-based anti-LGBT group.

Zodhiates and Liberty Counsel already had been working together for years to raise money and build outrage around an increasingly contentious custody battle over a girl who was then 7, after her same-sex parents, Lisa Miller and Janet Jenkins, dissolved their civil union. Miller had later "renounced homosexuality," joined her cause to that of Liberty Counsel, and fought bitterly for sole custody.

Liberty's interest was no surprise. Its co-founder and chairman, Mat Staver, is one of the country's leading anti-LGBT crusaders. In his 2004 book *Same-Sex Marriage: Putting Every Household At Risk*, Staver had described homosexuality as a "destructive lifestyle" that put children at risk. Elsewhere, Staver called the newly gay-friendly Boy Scouts a "playground for pedophiles," described "the homosexual agenda" as "a direct assault on our religious freedom," worked to criminalize gay sex, and defended Alabama Chief Justice Roy Moore after Moore unsuccessfully defied a federal court order legalizing same-sex marriage.

On that September day, Bea Connor, an assistant at Zodhiates' company, Response Unlimited, wrote an email to fellow staffer Joel Baugher after hearing from Zodhiates. "Philip called and said he is working on Liberty Counsel from home and that he might be taking a trip — not sure — may be in office for



a few minutes only. He hummed around like he was searching for words to say," she wrote.

Baugher responded right away: "Maybe something about Lisa Miller?"

That email exchange was part of the evidence presented last September at a federal trial in Buffalo, N.Y., where Zodhiates was convicted on two felony counts of international kidnapping. (He was scheduled to be sentenced in January 2017.) It suggested to prosecutors and others that Liberty Counsel might have been involved in the little girl's abduction.

After calling his office, Zodhiates drove Lisa Miller — who expected to

**Kidnapper in the name of religion: Philip Zodhiates, a Christian direct-mail entrepreneur, was convicted of international kidnapping for helping spirit a 7-year-old girl out of the country because her mother did not want to share custody with a lesbian former partner.**

soon lose primary custody of her daughter in court — and the girl, Isabella Miller-Jenkins, to Buffalo. Before he left, he made sure the pair, garbed in the long dresses and scarves of Amish women, were safely in a taxi, crossing the Rainbow Bridge into Canada. As he drove back to Virginia from Buffalo, a call was made from his cell phone to another cell phone registered to Liberty Counsel.



**Janet Jenkins (far left) has not seen her daughter since 2009, when former partner Lisa Miller fled to Nicaragua to avoid sharing custody of the girl.**

Meanwhile, in Toronto, Lisa Miller and Isabella boarded a flight for Mexico, flying on to El Salvador and then to Nicaragua, where — after staying for a time in Zodhiates’ beach house, according to an FBI court affidavit — they disappeared into an underground international network of Christian Right warriors and Amish-Mennonite missionaries.

Neither Miller nor Isabella, now 14, has been seen since.

But that wasn’t the end of the case. There is still an active arrest warrant out for Miller. And a civil rights case filed by Janet Jenkins in 2012 — which alleges that co-conspirators including Zodhiates’ Response Unlimited, his daughter Victoria Hyden and her employers at Liberty University School of Law, and Liberty Counsel played a role in the kidnapping — could move closer to trial because the criminal trial of Zodhiates is over. (Liberty Counsel’s Staver was dean at the Liberty Law School until resigning just two weeks after Zodhiates’ 2014 indictment.)

Liberty Counsel has consistently denied any involvement in the kidnapping of Isabella. But it is clear that Lisa Miller did get help from Zodhiates and others.

### Creating a Cause

Lisa Miller and Janet Jenkins joined in a civil union in December 2000. In 2001, they decided to become parents and Miller conceived via artificial insemination. Isabella Miller-Jenkins was born in 2002, and the couple moved to Fair Haven, Vt., four months later. Eager to build a family, Miller had fertility treatments and tried to get pregnant again. She did, but the pregnancy ended in a miscarriage. Jenkins told the *Intelligence Report* that problems in the marriage intensified after the couple lost their second baby. She said that Miller had tremendous difficulty with the emotional fallout.

In November 2003, Miller filed to dissolve the civil union. The separation was amicable, with an informal verbal agreement that Jenkins would have regular visits with Isabella and pay child support. Miller then left Vermont for a new home in Virginia, eventually settling in Lynchburg, where she became a fervent Baptist and joined the Thomas Road Baptist Church, founded by arch-conservative Jerry Falwell.

Miller found a welcoming community, eager to help a young, troubled mother escape her “sinful” ways. Miller

renounced her sexual orientation, hired and fired a few divorce attorneys, and finally ended up with Liberty Counsel.

It is unclear if Miller sought out Liberty Counsel or vice versa. But Miller initially met with Linda Wall, a Virginia anti-gay fundamentalist leader who once published an essay detailing her fight with “GLBT demons” in the form of a snake she encountered in the cobwebbed basement of her employer’s home. Published at Barbwire.com, a website run by anti-LGBT activist Peter LaBarbera, her article elicited a wide array of responses from readers. “Unfortunately, the snakes have slithered out of the old, dirty basements and are now infesting our streets,” was one of them. “A much more radical fumigation is thus in order.”

Wall, who in 2014 would found the Virginia chapter of MassResistance, another hardline anti-LGBT group that has claimed gays are dangerous to kids, saw sincerity in Miller’s departure from the “homosexual lifestyle” and said so to Liberty Counsel. As a result, the organization took on Miller’s case.

From the start, Liberty Counsel raised money on the case. In one of

## **"Is there no legal recourse now for Lisa Miller? If not, I'd like to suggest to her some personal options, which [Liberty Counsel] probably should not or would not want to know about."**

their fundraising appeals — sent to a mailing list rented out by none other than Zodhiates' Response Unlimited — the group and Miller adopted a tone of impending calamity. "This is truly a David and Goliath showdown that will decide whether we as a nation will continue to follow our traditional values ... or bend the knee to the corrupt, unnatural, sinful homosexual agenda," Miller wrote in the appeal.

Over the following years, Miller and Jenkins — who were both legally parents of Isabella — fought an increasingly bitter battle as Miller became more and more unwilling to share custody. Visits were missed, and Miller repeatedly denied Jenkins a chance to see her daughter. Miller also made a variety of spurious claims, as the courts ultimately found, including a false allegation of child abuse.

The case eventually reached the Vermont Supreme Court, which ruled that Jenkins was, in fact, Isabella's legal parent, no different than any other marriage. (The case was also fought in courts in Virginia, which at the time did not allow same-sex civil unions. But Virginia eventually agreed that Vermont had primary jurisdiction.) The U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear Miller's appeal.

Through it all, there was a constant drumbeat of anti-LGBT propaganda.

An article in WorldNetDaily (WND), an extremist online "news" source that has championed the "birther" myth about Barack Obama, was typical. The story, by WND Managing Editor David Kupelian, began like this: "After childhood abuse led Lisa Miller into a dysfunctional life of multiple addictions and homosexuality, at long last, by the grace of God, she found the Christian faith, freedom from her former bondage and real hope. She left behind the lesbian lifestyle in which she had lived as

'spouse' to another woman in a same-sex 'civil union'."

Philip Zodhiates was among those watching the case unfold. On Jan. 21, 2009, seven months before the kidnapping, he emailed Bill Sidebottom, then director of communications for Liberty Counsel. The subject of the email was "LISA MILLER," and attached was the WND article.

"Is there no legal recourse now for Lisa Miller?" Zodhiates asked. "If not, I'd like to suggest to her some personal options, which LC [Liberty Counsel] probably should not or would not want to know about. In other words, if there is nothing else LC can do for her, I'd like her contact information."

### **Links and Ties**

Nearly three months after Zodhiates drove Miller and Isabella to upstate New York, a hearing was held to address a motion filed by Miller's attorney, Liberty Counsel official Rena Lindevaldsen, asking the court to stay a ruling granting primary custody to Jenkins. Miller had not responded to the court ruling, and her whereabouts were unknown except to a few, including Zodhiates.

Jenkins and others had asked police to check Miller's apartment, but they found no one coming and going. The lights were out, the curtains drawn. As the hearing began, Rutland, Vt., Family Court Judge William Cohen asked Lindevaldsen, "Do you know where she is?"

"I do not, your honor," Lindevaldsen responded. "You know, Lisa, in the past, has, you know, depending on what's going on in the case, sometimes, you know, has been a little more secluded with things and dealing with it."

The exchange highlighted a central continuing issue in the case, one that is

expected to be litigated in the coming civil trial: Did anyone at Liberty Counsel know about Zodhiates' plans? Were they helping in any way?

Sarah Star, Jenkins' attorney, says that evidence at Zodhiates' trial shows a flurry of communications that she argues implicates Zodhiates' daughter, Victoria Hyden, who is an employee of Liberty School of Law, where Liberty Counsel's Mat Staver worked as dean for years; Miller's Liberty Counsel attorney, Rena Lindevaldsen, who took over as Liberty School of Law's dean when Staver left in October 2014; and even Liberty Counsel as an organization.

On Oct. 23, 2009, a month after Isabella's disappearance, Zodhiates sent an email to his daughter with instructions on how to continue paying for Miller's lease, which was set to expire, and a list of items to "rescue" from her home. "There is someone that can deliver all or some of these items in the next couple of weeks," he wrote Hyden. "If it was already packed in suitcases that'd make it much easier for them to transport." He ended the email, "Sister Sarah is doing well."

Prosecutors believe Lisa Miller took the name "Sarah" after her disappearance, while Isabella adopted the name "Lydia."

That list, and others sent later, was specific, with directions on what to pack from Miller's apartment and what to send to storage. There were requests for clothing and body wash, bobby pins and Bible DVDs. The handwritten note also asked for bathroom rugs and handmade dolls, items with emotional or personal significance to "Sarah" and "Lydia."

One item, Isabella's pet hamster, was marked with two stars. Miller's landlord would later testify he had found the hamster when he came to clean out the apartment. It had died from neglect in its cage in Isabella's room.

On Nov. 11, 2009 — two months after Miller and Isabella fled — Zodhiates emailed his daughter a second list. There was no subject and it read simply, “Something else to print and give to Rena [Lindevaldsen]. I need a status report, as well.”

The bags ultimately made their way to Nicaragua, compliments of John Collmus, a friend of Zodhiates who was headed there on an unrelated missionary trip. Emails admitted during Zodhiates’ trial show that he had arranged for Timothy David Miller — a pastor of an Amish-Mennonite church in Managua, Nicaragua, and an associate of Christian Aid Ministries of Berlin, Ohio — to meet Collmus at the airport.

“The suitcases are for a lady that works with them there in Managua named Sarah. ... Thank you for taking these. Sarah will greatly appreciate it, I am sure. I trust you’ll have a wonderful time and accomplish your purpose,” Zodhiates wrote on Nov. 13, 2009.

Collmus later testified that a group of women in Mennonite attire, not including Miller or Isabella, met him and his wife at the airport in Managua. It was the last known time that anyone associated with the pair would be seen.

### **Another Look**

While more may come to light about Isabella’s kidnapping, and more people could be implicated in the coming civil case, others in addition to Zodhiates have already been found criminally guilty.

Timothy David Miller, the man who delivered items for “Sarah” in Managua, was arrested in 2011 by federal authorities, accused of arranging for Miller and Isabella’s 2009 flights from Canada to Nicaragua. Just last November, Miller, who goes by “Timo” and is no relation to Lisa Miller, pleaded guilty to aiding

the international kidnapping. He had not been sentenced at press time.

But Liberty Counsel’s Staver insists he had no involvement.

“I have never counseled Lisa Miller to disobey court orders,” he said in a sworn 2012 affidavit. “I have never counseled or encouraged Lisa Miller to flee from the state, the country or the reach of any court or law enforcement, nor have I counseled or encouraged anyone to assist her in doing so. I have always maintained and continue to maintain that I had no knowledge that Lisa Miller would flee and continue to have no knowledge of her whereabouts.”

Nevertheless, Staver has been energetic in using the case to advance his own views, sometimes using highly questionable assertions.

“I can’t recall a more emotionally charged legal case than the one involving Lisa Miller and her precious daughter Isabella,” Staver wrote in one fundraising letter. “What makes it even more intense is the fact that every American family has a huge stake in its outcome. After reading this letter, you will see ‘homosexual activism’ in a whole new light.” The pitch letter went on to accuse Jenkins of having “force[d]” Isabella to take baths with her.

Pressed to back up such allegations during custody hearings in Vermont, Miller’s attorneys failed to provide any evidence to support them. Sarah Star, Jenkins’ attorney, said the bath allegation was false and falls into a long pattern of Staver and Liberty Counsel’s vilification of the LGBT community.

It’s not clear when the civil case against Zodhiates’ Response Unlimited and Victoria Hyden will go to trial. Lawyers are still filing documents and various claims, and Star thinks it may not begin until next year. Last December,

the Southern Poverty Law Center, which publishes the *Intelligence Report*, joined the civil case as co-counsel to Sarah Star and Langrock Sperry & Wool, LLP.

In the meantime, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children continues to carry a poster showing Isabella around the time of her disappearance — a photo of a smiling face, with wispy bangs crossing her forehead and a braided pony tail hanging over her shoulder, next to an “age-progressed” version of her showing what is thought to be her appearance at around age 13.

The case remains a central battleground in the American culture wars, still used by the religious right to plug its cause. But if you ask Janet Jenkins, it is not about the viability of same-sex parenting, or some biblical conception of sin. More than anything, she says, it is about love between a parent and her daughter.

“I’m still going to do everything within my power, within the law, to stand up for my daughter, to do everything I can to give her the choice,” Jenkins told the *Intelligence Report*. “She didn’t choose this.” ▲

# THE TRUMP EFFECT

The campaign language of the man who would become president sparks hate violence, bullying, before and after the election

**BY MARK POTOK ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MCCABE**

The first warning signs came early.

In August 2015, two Boston men returning home late after a Red Sox game happened upon a homeless Mexican immigrant sleeping outside a commuter rail station. They beat him with a metal pipe, punched him repeatedly, urinated on him and called him a “wet-back.” Then they high-fived each other as they walked away, leaving Guillermo

Rodriguez with broken ribs and fingers and other injuries.

When they were arrested a short time later, one of them, 38-year-old Scott Leader, told arresting officers, “Donald Trump was right. All these illegals need to be deported.” Later, but long before they were sentenced to terms of two and three years, they whined that authorities only arrested whites, “never the minorities.”

To these men, Donald Trump was a hero — and an inspiration.

After all, Trump had kicked off his presidential bid two months earlier with a speech describing Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug smugglers. He later called the Mexican government “totally corrupt.” He promised to build a wall along the 2,000-mile Mexico-U.S. border. He told an audience in New



Hampshire that a plane overhead “could be a Mexican plane up there, they’re getting ready to attack.” And he insisted that an Indiana-born federal judge could not preside fairly over a civil racketeering case against his Trump University because “he’s a Mexican.”

And that was just Trump’s talk about “Mexicans.”

By the time he won the election, Trump had called for a “total and complete shut-down” of Muslims entering the country. He had lied about personally witnessing “thousands” of Muslims in New Jersey cheering as the World Trade Center collapsed on 9/11. He had attacked a Muslim Gold Star family, insinuating that Khizr Khan, whose son died in Iraq, was a terrorist sympathizer. He had retweeted utterly bogus claims that black people were responsible for 80% of the murders of whites. He had cozied up to some of the country’s hardest line gay-bashers. He had retweeted anti-Semitic memes and called many immigrants “not well.” He had attacked a debate moderator by insinuating that her tough questions were the result of her menstrual cycle. And his earlier boasts about grabbing women by the genitals had been revealed.

Trump also had repeatedly encouraged violence.

After a Black Lives Matter activist was beaten at a Trump rally in Birmingham, Ala., he told Fox News that “maybe he should have been roughed up.” In Cedar Rapids, Iowa, he urged supporters to “knock the crap” out of protesters, adding, “I promise you, I will pay your legal fees.” When a backer at a Fayetteville, N.C., rally sucker-punched a black protester being led away by police — an act described by the local sheriff as “a cowardly, unprovoked attack” — Trump told

two national news outlets that he was looking into paying the man’s legal fees.

Through it all, Trump was heedless, rejecting calls from left and right to tamp down the insults and the violence they were spawning. His reaction to the beating of Guillermo Rodriguez was typical. While the attack was “a shame,” Trump’s main conclusion was that “people who are following me are very passionate.”

### **Taking Stock**

In the immediate aftermath of the election, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) noticed a dramatic jump in hate violence and incidents of harassment and intimidation around the country. At the same time, a wave of incidents of bullying and other kinds of harassment washed over the nation’s K-12 schools. The SPLC decided to make an effort to document all of this in real time.

The ugly evidence of hatred unleashed had already become apparent before Election Day. An earlier SPLC study of the impact in K-12 schools of Trump’s bigoted rhetoric and encouragement of violence during his campaign had found massive anecdotal evidence of a rise in bullying and anxiety in classrooms.

There was even evidence that Trump’s attacks on Muslims during 2015 — when he called for a ban on Muslims entering the U.S., suggested a registry for Muslims already here, and proposed to surveil mosques — had had an effect that early. The FBI reported that anti-Muslim hate crimes went up by 67% in 2015, while other categories rose only slightly. It seemed obvious that Trump’s rhetoric, along with Islamic State atrocities, had driven anti-Muslim hatred to new highs, with the 2015 anti-Muslim hate crime count registering the highest number since 2001.

These trends only worsened after the election.

In its post-election first study, looking at harassment and intimidation in the first 10 days after Trump’s election, the SPLC counted 867 hate incidents, some of them amounting to hate crimes, around the country. It collected information from media reports, social media, and through a #ReportHate page set up on the SPLC website, excluding incidents found to be hoaxes.

The results were disheartening.

“I have experienced discrimination in my life, but never in such a public and unashamed manner,” an Asian-American woman reported after a man told her to “go home” as she left a train station in Oakland, Calif. A black man whose apartment was vandalized with the phrase “911 nigger” said that he had “never witnessed anything like this.” A Los Angeles woman, who encountered a man who told her he was “[g]onna beat [her] pussy,” said she had been in the neighborhood “all the time and never experienced this type of language before.” Not far away, in Sunnyvale, Calif., a transgender person reported being targeted with slurs at a bar where “I’ve been a regular customer for three years — never had any issues.”

Incidents were reported in nearly every state. The largest portion (323 incidents) occurred on university campuses or in K-12 schools. The incidents were dominated by anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim incidents (together, 329), but included ones that were anti-black (187), anti-Semitic (100), anti-LGBT (95), anti-woman (40) and white nationalist (32). A small sliver of them (23) were anti-Trump, but the vast majority appeared to be celebrating his election victory.

*“This is the first time I’ve had a student call another student the ‘n’ word. This incident occurred the day after a conference with the offender’s mother. During the conference, the mother made her support of Trump known and expressed her hope that ‘the blacks’ would soon know their place again.”*

When the SPLC first released these findings, right-wing media outlets claimed that there was no evidence that they were related to Trump or the election. But that is false. For one thing, the largest number of incidents occurred on the day after the election, and they declined fairly steadily for the nine days after that.

Later, when the SPLC updated its findings to cover the first 34 days after the election, it counted a total of 1,094 bias incidents around the nation. Importantly, it also calculated that 37% of them directly referenced either President-elect Trump, his campaign slogans, or his infamous remarks about sexual assault. Just 26 were anti-Trump, with six of those explicitly anti-white.

Particularly noteworthy in this longer period was a string of letters, describing Muslims as “Children of Satan” and a “vile and filthy people,” sent to 15 mosques and Islamic centers around the country between Nov. 23 and Dec. 2. Also during that period, there were 57 incidents of extremist posters and fliers appearing, about three-quarters of them at university campuses, where emboldened white nationalists have been hard at work since the election. Thirty-four campuses were hit.

### **Hate Goes to School**

The SPLC’s first, pre-election look at bias incidents in K-12 schools was based on responses from about 2,000 educators. In its post-election survey, however, the SPLC got responses to its online survey from more than 10,000 teachers, counselors, administrators and others who work in schools. Although the survey was not scientific, with such a large response it was hard to dismiss the findings.

Ninety percent of the respondents said that the climate of their schools had been affected negatively by the election. A full 80% described heightened anxiety on the part of students worried about the impact on them and their families. There were reports of slurs, derogatory language, and incidents involving extremist symbols.

Eight in 10 educators reported fears on the part of marginalized students including immigrants, Muslims, African Americans and LGBT people. Four in 10 heard derogatory language directed at minority students. More than 2,500 described instances of bigotry and harassment directly related to election rhetoric. Two out of 10 had heard derogatory comments about white students, although few of them were made directly to those students. Most were remarks about whites voting for Trump.

An Arizona high school counselor reported white students holding up a Confederate flag in a school assembly. A middle school teacher in Washington told of a student blurting out in class, “I hate Muslims.” A Georgia high school teacher said many students were making jokes “about Hispanic students ‘going back to Mexico.’” Another teacher in Oregon described a black girl running out of a classroom in tears after being racially harassed in two classes. A Massachusetts middle school teacher described how a white student, on the day after the election, went around asking each non-white student he passed, “Are you legal?”

“This is my 21st year of teaching,” a Georgia elementary school teacher reported. “This is the first time I’ve had a student call another student the ‘n’ word. This incident occurred the day after a conference with the offender’s mother. During the conference, the mother

made her support of Trump known and expressed her hope that ‘the blacks’ would soon know their place again.”

### **Words Have Consequences**

Four days after the election, Donald Trump was interviewed on “60 Minutes,” where he was asked about the hate. He said he was “surprised to hear” about it, and, looking into the camera, told the perpetrators to “stop it.” In another interview, he promised to “bind the wounds of division” that were afflicting our country.

His comments were a day late and a dollar short. The hatred, and the new energy of the white nationalist movement, were predictable results of the campaign Trump waged — a campaign marked by incendiary racial statements, the stoking of white racial resentment, and attacks on so-called “political correctness.”

A few weeks later, Trump acknowledged what he had not earlier. In a post-election speech in Orlando, Fla., part of his “thank you” tour, he responded to the crowd chanting “Lock her up” with this: “Four weeks ago, you people were vicious, violent, screaming, ‘Where’s the wall? We want the wall! ... ‘Prison! Prison! Lock her up!’ I mean, you were going crazy. I mean, you were nasty and mean and vicious and you wanted to win, right? Now, same crowds ... but it’s much different. You’re laid back, you’re cool, you’re mellow. You’re basking in the glory of victory.”

Donald Trump is not legally responsible for any of this, of course. The people who engaged in legally punishable hate violence, if they are caught, are the ones who will have to actually pay for their crimes. But it seems undeniable that Trump’s reckless, populist campaign has left a legacy of hatred, violence and division. ▲

# THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

The radical right was more successful in entering the political mainstream last year than in half a century. How did it happen? BY MARK POTOK

**Cheerleaders from the fringe: Alex Jones (from left), Andrew Anglin and Richard Spencer are among those on the radical right thrilled by the ascent of Donald Trump to the presidency.**



After half a century of being increasingly relegated to the margins of society, the radical right entered the political mainstream last year in a way that had seemed virtually unimaginable since George Wallace ran for president in 1968.

A surge in right-wing populism, stemming from the long-unfolding effects of globalization and the movements of capital and labor that it spawned, brought a man many considered to be a racist, misogynist and xenophobe into the most powerful political office in the world. Donald Trump's election as president mirrored similar currents in Europe, where globalization energized an array of extreme-right political movements and the United Kingdom's decision to quit the European Union.

Trump's run for office electrified the radical right, which saw in him a champion of the idea that America is fundamentally a white man's country.

He kicked off the campaign with a speech vilifying Mexican immigrants as rapists and drug dealers. He retweeted white supremacist messages, including



one that falsely claimed that black people were responsible for 80% of the murders of whites. He credentialed racist media personalities even while barring a serious outlet like *The Washington Post*, went on a radio show hosted by a rabid conspiracy theorist named Alex Jones, and said that Muslims should be banned from entering the country. He seemed to encourage violence against black protesters at his rallies, suggesting that he would pay the legal fees of anyone charged as a result.

The reaction to Trump's victory by the radical right was ecstatic. "Our Glorious Leader has ascended to God Emperor," wrote Andrew Anglin, who runs the neo-Nazi Daily Stormer website. "Make no mistake about it: we did this. If it were not for us, it wouldn't have been possible." Jared Taylor, a white nationalist

who edits a racist journal, said that "overwhelmingly white Americans" had shown they were not "obedient zombies" by choosing to vote "for America as a distinct nation with a distinct people who deserve a government devoted to that people."

Richard Spencer, who leads a racist "think tank" called the National Policy Institute, exulted that "Trump's victory was, at its root, a victory of identity politics."

Trump's election, as startling to extremists as it was to the political establishment, was followed by his selection of appointees with anti-Muslim, anti-LGBT and white nationalist sympathies. To lead his domestic transition team, he chose Kenneth Blackwell, an official of the virulently anti-LGBT Family Research Council. As national security adviser, he selected retired Gen. Mike Flynn, who has described Islam as a "malignant cancer" and tweeted that "[f]ear of Muslims is RATIONAL." His designated CIA director was U.S. Rep. Mike Pompeo (R-Kan.), who is close to some of the country's most rabid anti-Muslim extremists.

Most remarkable of all was his choice as chief strategic adviser of Stephen Bannon, the former head of Breitbart News, a far-right media outlet known for promoting the so-called “alternative right” — fundamentally, a recent rebranding of white supremacy for public relations purposes, albeit one that de-emphasizes Klan robes and Nazi symbols in favor of a more “intellectual” approach. With Bannon’s appointment, white nationalists felt they had a man inside the White House.

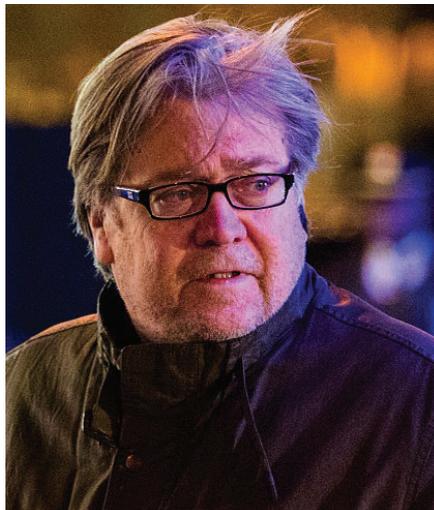
That wasn’t all. In the immediate aftermath of Election Day, a wave of hate crimes and lesser hate incidents swept the country — 1,094 bias incidents in the first 34 days, according to a count by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). The hate was clearly tied directly to Trump’s victory. The highest count came on the first day after the election, with the numbers diminishing steadily after that. And more than a third of the incidents directly referenced either Trump, his “Make America Great Again” slogan, or his infamous remarks about grabbing women by the genitals.

Several new and energetic groups appeared last year that were almost entirely focused on Trump and seemed to live off his candidacy. They included Identity Evropa, a campus-oriented group based in California; The Right Stuff, based in New York; and American Vanguard, a group with 12 chapters. And The Daily Stormer, the website whose chief came up with the term “Our Glorious Leader” for Trump, expanded into real-world activism by starting 31 “clubs.” In July, it became the most visited hate site on the Internet, surpassing longtime hate leader Stormfront.

It was, by any accounting, a banner year for hate.

### Quantifying Hate

The number of hate groups operating in the country in 2016 remained at near-historic highs, rising from 892 in 2015 to 917



**Donald Trump’s selection of Stephen Bannon as a key adviser made many on the extreme right feel that they had a foot in the White House.**

last year, according to the latest count by the SPLC. That’s only about 100 fewer organizations than the 1,018 tallied in 2011, which was the all-time high in some 30 years of SPLC counts.

And the numbers undoubtedly understate the real level of organized hatred in America. In recent years, growing numbers of right-wing extremists operate mainly in cyberspace until, in some cases, they take action in the real world. Dylann Roof, who was convicted late last year of the racist murder of nine black churchgoers, is an example of that — he had no real-world contact with hate groups before deciding, based on propaganda he read on the Internet, that it was time to start a race war.

By far the most dramatic change was the enormous leap in anti-Muslim hate groups, from 34 in 2015 to 101 last year — a 197% increase. But that explosion was not unexpected. Anti-Muslim hate has been expanding rapidly for more than two years now, driven by radical Islamist attacks including the June mass murder of 49 people at an Orlando, Fla., gay nightclub, the unrelenting propaganda of a growing circle of well-paid

ideologues, and the incendiary rhetoric of Trump — his threats to ban Muslim immigration, mandate a registry of Muslims in America, and more.

The Muslim-bashing had consequences. Last October, three members of a militia-like group called the Crusaders were arrested and charged with plotting to blow up an apartment complex in Kansas where 120 Somali Muslim immigrants live. The attack was reportedly set for Nov. 9, the day after Election Day.

The number of neo-Confederate groups — organizations like the League of the South, which seeks a second Southern secession — rose by 23%, from 35 to 43 groups. But the number of Klan chapters fell 32%, from 190 groups in 2015 to 130 in 2016. Because the Klan groups’ numbers had expanded rapidly earlier, from 72 in 2014 to 190 in 2015, some constriction had been expected. In addition, much of that decrease was accounted for by the disappearance of the Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, once the fourth largest Klan group in America, and the sharp reduction in the number of chapters in the United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which was the largest Klan group in 2015, and in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

While the overall level of hate groups remained fairly steady, the period saw a noticeable drop in real-world extremist activities like rallies and violence — outside of the wave of celebratory hate incidents that came mainly from Trump supporters in the election’s immediate aftermath — even as online activity increased. There hardly seemed a reason to organize their own rallies when extremists could attend a Trump event filled with just as much anti-establishment vitriol as any extremist rally.

### ‘Patriots’ at the Precipice

The antigovernment “Patriot” groups were another story.

Composed of people who believe the federal government is plotting to deprive

Americans of their liberties, the Patriot movement has in the past swollen when Democratic administrations, which they despise, are in power. When the Republican administration of George W. Bush was in charge, they fell off. Even before Trump actually won, energy was draining away from the antigovernment groups.

Trump's co-optation of some of the Patriot movement's key issues — resistance against any kind of gun control, as evidenced by Trump's enthusiastic endorsement by the National Rifle Association, and his clear sympathy for the movement's interest in transferring

after Election Day, adding that interest in the "prepping" movement, which overlaps heavily with the Patriots, had "hit a multi-year low." "It is almost as if the apocalypse has been cancelled and the future history of the U.S. has been rewritten with a much happier ending," he said.

Stewart Rhodes, founder of a leading Patriot group called the Oath Keepers, agreed, telling *Mother Jones* magazine that he worried that the far right would become complacent under Trump and that its activities would peter out.

Earlier, the groups had skyrocketed from a low of 149 in 2008 to a high of

armed wing of the Patriot movement, fell 40%, from 276 to 165 groups.

Another key factor in the decline of the Patriot groups was the standoff that began on Jan. 2, 2016, when an armed mob led by Ammon and Ryan Bundy seized control of Oregon's Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. Though the Bundys and their father, Cliven, had engaged in a similar armed standoff in 2014 at their Nevada ranch without being arrested for more than a year, the Malheur confrontation went differently. Most locals quickly lost sympathy for the Bundy gang, and most of its members were arrested and charged with serious crimes after 41 days. One of their number was shot dead at a roadblock when he tried to pull a gun on officers.

Even though the principals of the Oregon standoff were acquitted last October in a shocking jury verdict, many in the movement saw the confrontation as signaling the government's determination to crack down. And the Bundys all face another trial in February on felony charges related to the 2014 Nevada confrontation.

Finally, several major Patriot groups either collapsed or shrank. One of them, Get Out of Our House, disappeared with all 37 of its chapters. We the People, the country's leading radical tax protest group, dropped from 91 chapters to one. And the Oath Keepers lost 71 chapters, going from 181 in 2015 to 110 last year.

That didn't mean Oath Keepers weren't active. Like hate groups, the Patriot movement saw a continuing move into cyber-activism last year. On Facebook alone, Oath Keepers were maintaining at least 323 pages associated with the group.

### Behind the Election

The election of Donald Trump — and related developments in Europe — is the culmination of a series of long-developing trends. As the world has become more interconnected, our increasingly globalized economy has fomented huge migrant flows and severe shocks to the industrial sectors of most developed countries. (War



**A wave of anti-minority hate crimes and incidents washed over the country in the immediate aftermath of Donald Trump's victory.**

control of federal lands to the states — was part of the reason for the Patriot falloff. The fact that such a prominent candidate was leading the charge on their concerns resulted in many abandoning activism.

"At this point there is an overwhelming belief among those on the right that Donald Trump is going to be able to do what he promised to do," the publisher of *The Economic Collapse Blog* wrote a month

1,360 in 2012, in large part as a reaction to the November 2008 election of Barack Obama. Intensely focused on the federal government as its chief enemy, the Patriot movement swelled when the nation was led by a black man suspected of being a foreign-born Muslim and worse. But as 2016 progressed, Patriots increasingly grew hopeful that Trump would become the new face of the federal government.

In the end, the number of Patriot groups fell by 375, or 38%, plummeting from 998 groups in 2015 to 623 last year. Within that, militias, which form the

in the Middle East also produced enormous Syrian refugee flows last year.)

In the United States, that has meant that the proportion of foreign-born residents has grown from 4.7% in 1970 to 13.7% in 2015. The latter percentage is comparable to the very high levels of the foreign-born seen in the early 20th century (14.7% in 1910 and 13.2% in 1920), when white nativism reached a peak that led to history's largest Klan membership and the racist Immigration Act of 1924.

As part of the same trend, the proportion of non-Hispanic white people in the U.S. has declined rapidly, creating a crisis of white identity. While America was about 90% white from the colonial era right up through the early 1960s, it was 62% white by 2015 and predicted by the Census Bureau to fall to under 50% by 2043.

At the same time, economic sectors like basic steel and auto production have increasingly moved overseas, chasing lower wages in a world economy. This has disproportionately affected working- and middle-class whites in the Rust Belt and similar areas, with white suicides and drug overdose deaths hitting new highs. As manufacturing wages have fallen and higher education has become essential to make a living wage, income inequality has risen dramatically since the 1970s.

How did this all play out in last November's election?

In its post-election analysis, *The New York Times* found that Trump's victorious election coalition, in addition to conservative Republicans of the South and West, was composed of "millions of voters in the onetime heartlands of 20th-century liberal populism — the Upper and Lower Midwest — where white Americans without a college degree voted decisively to reject the more diverse, educated and cosmopolitan Democratic Party of the 21st century."

Without a doubt, Trump appealed to garden-variety racists, xenophobes, religious bigots and misogynists — people not necessarily in any hate or related kind of



**The vote by the United Kingdom to "leave" the European Union was largely animated by opposition to Syrian and other refugees entering the country. In the U.S., the election of Donald Trump was driven by some of the same forces.**

group, but who still were antagonistic toward multiculturalism. And the numbers of those people have been rising, with studies showing anti-black racism among whites increasing during the Obama years. But bigotry was certainly not the only factor motivating Trump supporters; the *Times* post-mortem found that many saw in their candidate "their best chance to dampen the most painful blows of globalization and trade, to fight special interests, and to be heard and protected."

None of this is to say that whites have it worse than most minority groups, particularly African Americans and Latinos. But as numerous sociological studies have shown, a person's objective economic condition is less important in fostering anger than how that person is faring compared to expectations. Whites have long had it better than other groups, but that advantage is slowly being whittled away.

### Where Do We Go From Here?

Right-wing populism, driven in part by the kind of conspiracy theories and bigoted thinking that was espoused by Trump during his campaign, has become the answer for many Americans and millions of Europeans as well. Populism is the idea, as scholars Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell phrased it, that "pits a virtuous and homogenous people against

a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are depicted as depriving the sovereign people" of their prosperity and rights.

Translated for today's situation, the elites are seen as a global plutocracy of self-interested politicians, media leaders and capitalists — or, in the case of Europe, as the well-paid leaders of the European Union. The "dangerous others," meanwhile, are immigrants, Muslims, black people, Jews and virtually every other minority.

The June vote by 52% of the British electorate to quit the European Union (EU) is in very many ways a close analog to the Trump vote in the United States. Those who voted to leave the EU, which requires open borders and migration within Europe and has welcomed millions of refugees from the Middle East, were mostly older middle- and working-class whites from troubled industrial areas. Also, as in the U.S. after Trump's victory, the United Kingdom saw a wave of celebratory hate violence — up 47% over a year before — wash over the island nation.

It's hard to predict where all of this will lead.

On one hand, it does seem likely that Trump's ostentatiously right-wing politics will continue to dampen the Patriot movement, as happened under the last conservative Republican administration. It is also possible that, like the Patriot groups, the number of hate groups will fall as members look to Trump to pursue their program. On the other hand, it seems certain that Trump will be unable to fulfill many

of his harder-line campaign vows — to ban Muslims, build a 2,000-mile border wall, or deport up to 12 million people — and this could easily result in an explosion of anger from extremists who feel betrayed. Historically, it is in just such situations that disappointed extremists may resort to domestic terrorism.

One thing seems certain. The radical right is feeling its oats today in a way that few Americans can remember. There are very large numbers of Americans who agree with its views, as sanitized under the deceptive Alt-Right label, although many of them may be less visible than before because they are not affiliated with actual groups. Whether or not the movement grows in coming years, it seems indisputable that its views have a better chance to actually affect policy now than in decades.

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

### KU KLUX KLAN GROUPS

Klan groups last year received a great deal of media attention, due largely to the fact that many of their leaders backed Donald Trump's candidacy. David Duke, easily America's best known (former) Klan leader, spoke repeatedly of his support for Trump, saying at one point, "I'm overjoyed to see Donald Trump and most Americans embrace most of the issues that I've championed for years."

Trump at first declined to denounce or disavow Duke, saying, falsely, that he did not know anything about him. (In fact,

Trump had written in a 2000 *New York Times* op-ed that he abandoned his exploration of a presidential bid with the Reform Party that year because of Duke and two fellow extremists who were involved with the party.) But in the end, pressed by the media, he weakly disavowed Duke.

Nevertheless, Duke took advantage of the media attention he received to launch his latest bid for political office. Last July, he announced his run for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Sen. David Vitter (R-La.). But he lost badly in the open November primary, coming in seventh with 3% of the vote, or 58,581 votes.

Aside from those developments, the activities of Klan groups were largely limited to anonymous leafleting — an easy task, typically requiring only one person, that virtually guarantees media attention. The SPLC found that various Klan groups had distributed white supremacist fliers 117 times in 26 states last year.

One of the groups most involved in leafleting, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was embarrassed last December when its imperial wizard, Chris Barker of East Yanceyville, N.C., and a California leader, William Hagen (aka William Quigg), were arrested for stabbing another member. As a result, Barker was absent from the parade celebrating Trump's victory he'd planned for December.

### WHITE NATIONALIST GROUPS

White nationalism — groups that share most of the ideals of Klan and similar

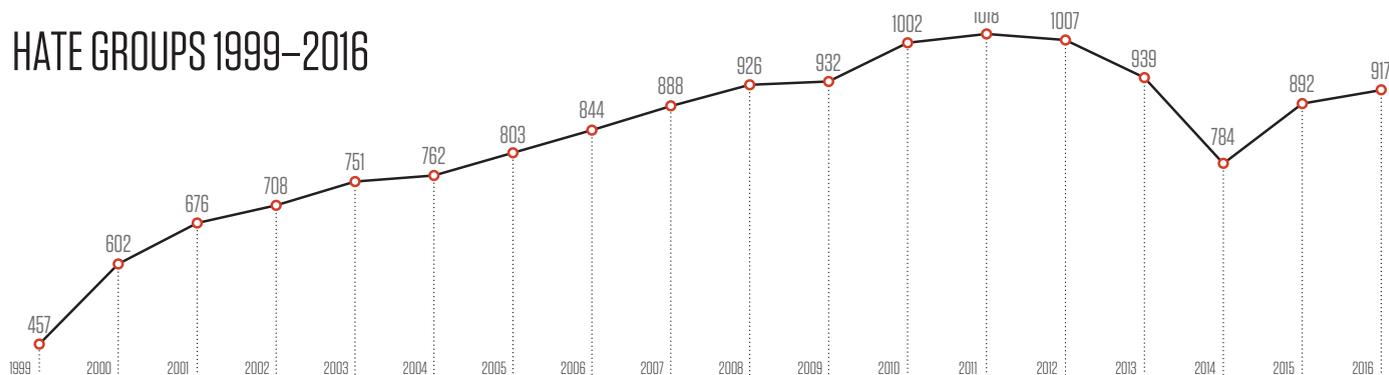
organizations but generally avoid robes and neo-Nazi symbols in favor of a suit-and-tie approach — was the sector of the radical right that identified most closely with the Trump campaign. In fact, the Alt-Right was essentially a rebranding of white nationalism meant to make it seem more acceptable in the political mainstream.

William Daniel Johnson, the head of the American Freedom Party, got a great deal of press attention last year, due to his formation of the American National Super PAC to fund robocalls in support of Trump during the primaries. The calls, in states including Minnesota, Utah and Vermont, dwelled on familiar racist themes like the dangers of non-white immigration and the alleged perils facing the white race.

The white nationalist scene was also marked by the emergence in the public arena of Richard Spencer, who claims to be a serious intellectual concerned with serious problems, and has a think tank to prove it. Spencer received an enormous amount of press as a spokesman for the Alt-Right, but his raw racism was exposed at a speech he gave in late November. He ended the talk to a Washington, D.C., Alt-Right conference with the cry, "Hail Trump, hail our people, hail victory!"

Not only did those words evoke German Nazism ("hail victory" translates in German as "sieg heil"), but the Nazi salutes then thrown by several members of his audience seared the extreme

## HATE GROUPS 1999–2016



nature of Spencer's movement into the public mind.

### NEO-NAZI GROUPS

Aside from the rise of Andrew Anglin's Daily Stormer site and its real-world "clubs" — new chapters that profited directly from the Trump phenomenon — the year on the neo-Nazi scene was marked by a number of attempts to build new coalitions among groups. Several of them, like the Coalition of Aryan Organizations and the United Aryan Front, collapsed almost as quickly as they appeared.

That left what was first called the Aryan Nationalist Alliance and then was rebranded as simply the Nationalist Front. The unity effort was spearheaded by Jeff Schoep, leader of the National Socialist Movement, Josh Steever of the Aryan Strikeforce, and Matthew Heimbach of the Traditionalist Worker Party.

The coalition peaked at 26 mostly tiny groups, but that had fallen by year's end to 16, reflecting the perennial infighting that characterizes the neo-Nazi scene.

The "Unity Statement" of the Nationalist Front, which describes Schoep and Heimbach as its leaders, is a fairly typical neo-Nazi screed emphasizing hatred of "the globalists and the Jewish banking elites" and calling for the creation of an all-white homeland within the current United States. What is most interesting about it is that it essentially adopts the so-called "third position," meaning that it opposes both communism and capitalism. Using anti-imperialist and pro-worker language that sounds almost as if it came from the left, it describes its goal as an ethno-state based on "economic Social Nationalism" (national socialism, or Nazism, in reverse).

The document is reminiscent of the early days of the German Nazis, when the so-called Strasserites emphasized the "socialism" in national socialism. Later, the German Nazi Party completely changed course, allying with major capitalists. One Strasser brother was murdered, another fled, and the Strasserites were purged.

### ANTI-LGBT GROUPS

After years of defeats on issues like same-sex marriage and gays in the military, anti-LGBT groups last year were thrilled by the election of Trump, who lost little time in naming advisers and others with virulently homophobic views. Trump's selection as his vice president of Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, a longtime opponent of LGBT rights, was a real victory for the anti-LGBT movement. And the idea that Trump will select one or more Supreme Court justices who might roll back recent LGBT gains also gave these organizations new optimism. At the same time, the anti-LGBT right ramped up several different legal strategies. Pursuing a course begun years before, activists worked to install more so-called "religious freedom restoration acts" (RFRAs) in states and cities that would ensure goods and services could be denied to LGBT people on a religious basis. The most draconian was passed in Mississippi in April, allowing businesses and state employees and healthcare personnel to deny some services to LGBT people. But a federal judge enjoined it in June, saying it favored some religions over others.

Anti-LGBT activists also pursued ongoing efforts to deny transgender people access to public bathrooms and other facilities that correspond with their gender identity. The harshest of these was North Carolina's H.B.2, which passed in March. The law reversed anti-discrimination provisions protecting LGBT people and made it illegal for trans people to use facilities corresponding to their identity.

Violence against trans people also hit a new high last year, with at least 26 apparent murder victims, surpassing the 23 killed in 2015. The SPLC has found trans women of color are the minority most victimized by violent hate crime.

### BLACK SEPARATIST GROUPS

The sniper murder of five Dallas police officers in July brought new attention to racist black separatist groups, which grew from 180 in 2015 to 193 last year. That is because the shooter, Micah Johnson,

had "liked" the Facebook pages belonging to the New Black Panther Party, the Black Riders Liberation Party and the late founder of the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad, prior to his killing spree.

Although those organizations are hate groups that explicitly denounce white people, Jews and LGBT people, many on the right used the Dallas killings to unjustly accuse groups like Black Lives Matter (BLM) of fostering violence it had nothing to do with. Although BLM has raised issues of police brutality, it has never endorsed anti-white or anti-police violence, and it is not a hate group.

### ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS

At the roadblock that was the beginning of the end of the January 2016 occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, Robert "Lavoy" Finicum, a spokesman for the occupiers, was killed by law enforcement officers as he refused to surrender. Prosecutors described the shooting as justified, and that seemed clearly backed up by video showing him reaching for what turned out to be a gun.

That didn't stop the Patriot movement from furiously describing Finicum as a martyr, and suggesting that the government had deliberately murdered him. After his death, the SPLC counted 82 events around the country that pushed that narrative and called for action against the government. But the Patriots' canonization of Finicum did little to invigorate the movement, as the declining group numbers show.

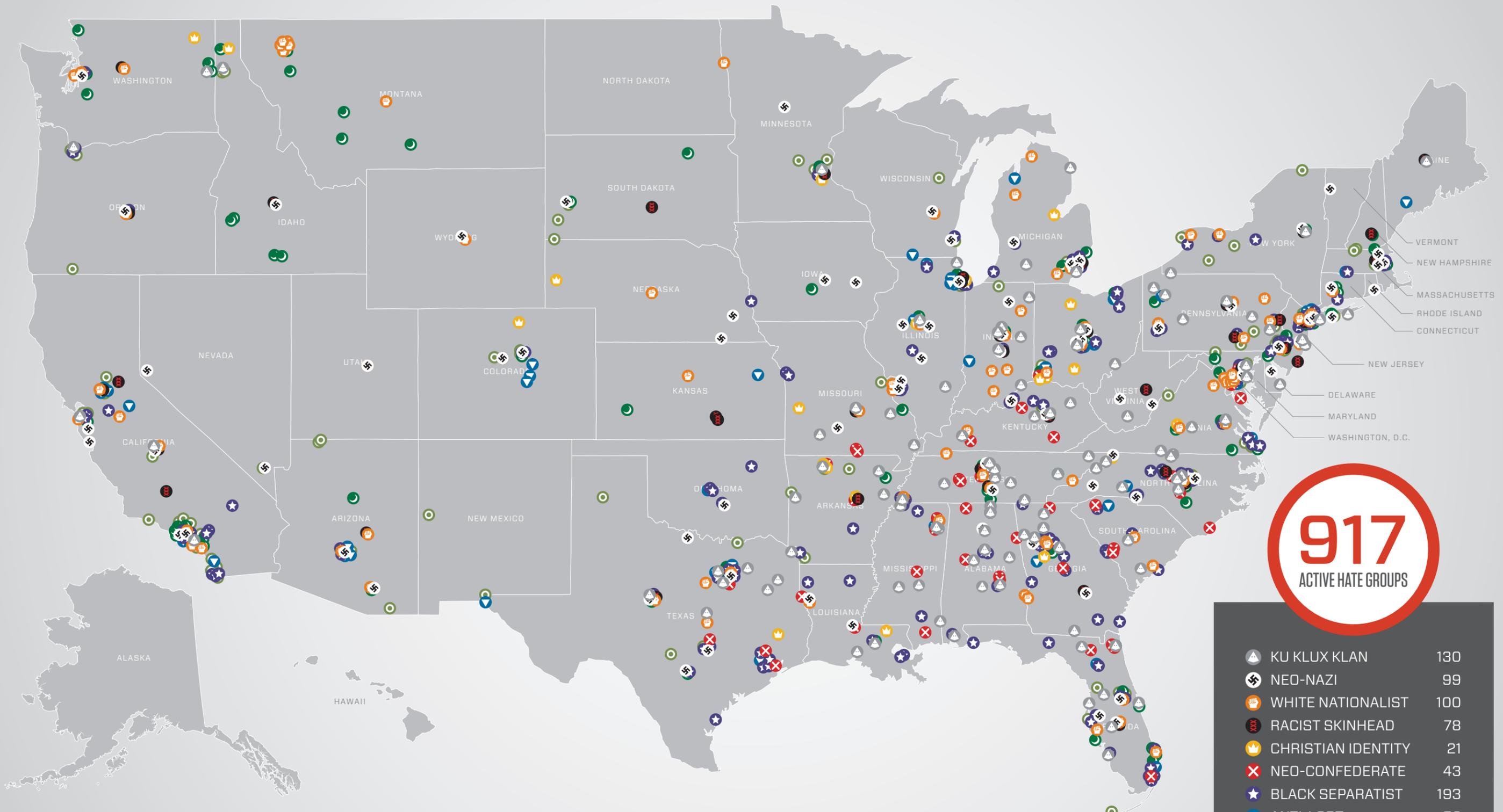
There was one very significant development in the Patriot world — the adoption by leading groups of hardline anti-Muslim ideology. Although evidence of that was widespread, the best example came in November, when three members of a Kansas Patriot group were charged with plotting to mass murder Muslims. ▲

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*Heidi Beirich, Keegan Hanks, Stephen Piggott, Evelyn Schlatter and Sarah Viets contributed to this report.*

# ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

in the United States in 2016



**917**  
ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

▲	KU KLUX KLAN	130
☘	NEO-NAZI	99
👑	WHITE NATIONALIST	100
👤	RACIST SKINHEAD	78
👑	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY	21
✘	NEO-CONFEDERATE	43
★	BLACK SEPARATIST	193
▼	ANTI-LGBT	52
🌿	ANTI-MUSLIM	101
○	GENERAL HATE	100







# 100 WHITE NATIONALIST

NEO-NAZI CONT'D

Hillsboro, WV

**National Alliance Reform and Restoration Group**

Carson City, NV

**National Socialist German Workers Party**

Lincoln, NE

**National Socialist Movement**

Detroit, MI\*

Alabama

Tucson, AZ

Colorado

Connecticut

Delaware

Florida

Georgia

Iowa

Kentucky

Louisiana

Maryland

Mississippi

New Jersey

New York

Ohio

Oregon

Pennsylvania

Tennessee

Texas

Utah

Wyoming

**New Order**

Milwaukee, WI

**Noble Breed Kindred**

California

**NS Publications**

Wyandotte, MI

**PzG Inc.**

Rapid City, SD

**Third Reich Books**

Fairbury, NE

**Werewolf 88**

Pennsylvania

**White Aryan Resistance**

Warsaw, IN

**White Devil Social Club**

Wisconsin

**Wolfhook Life Clothing**

Northern Indiana

**Alternative Right**

Atlanta, GA

**American Eagle Party**

Gatlinburg, TN

**American Freedom Party**

Los Angeles, CA\*

Lakewood Ranch, FL

Indiana County, IN

Montana

Grand Forks, ND

New York, NY

Granbury, TX

**American Freedom Union**

Hampton Township, PA

**American Renaissance/**

**New Century Foundation**

Oakton, VA

**American Vanguard**

Huntington Beach, CA\*

Arizona

Northern California

Orlando, FL

Missouri

Nebraska

Ohio

Pennsylvania

Texas

Utah

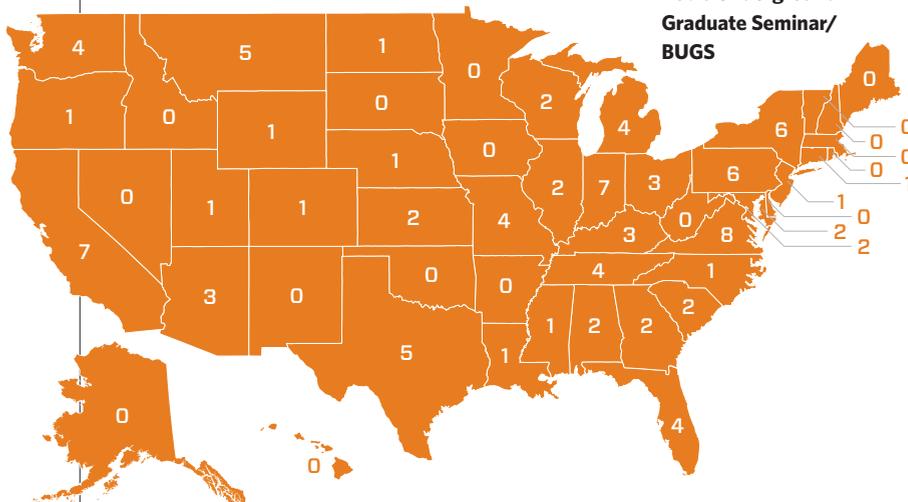
Virginia

Bremerton, WA

**Bob's Underground**

**Graduate Seminar/**

**BUGS**



# 78 RACIST SKINHEAD

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

**AC Skins**

Atlantic City, NJ

**American Front**

Oregon

Washington

**American Vikings**

Indianapolis, IN

**Aryan Strikeforce,**

Phillipsburg, NJ\*

Arkansas

Colorado

Kentucky

Massachusetts

Missouri

New York

Ohio

Pennsylvania

Tennessee

Virginia

West Virginia

**Be Active Front USA**

Maryland

Pennsylvania

**Blood and Honour**

**America Division**

Washington

**Blood and Honour**

**Social Club**

Greensboro, NC\*

Georgia

Indiana

New York

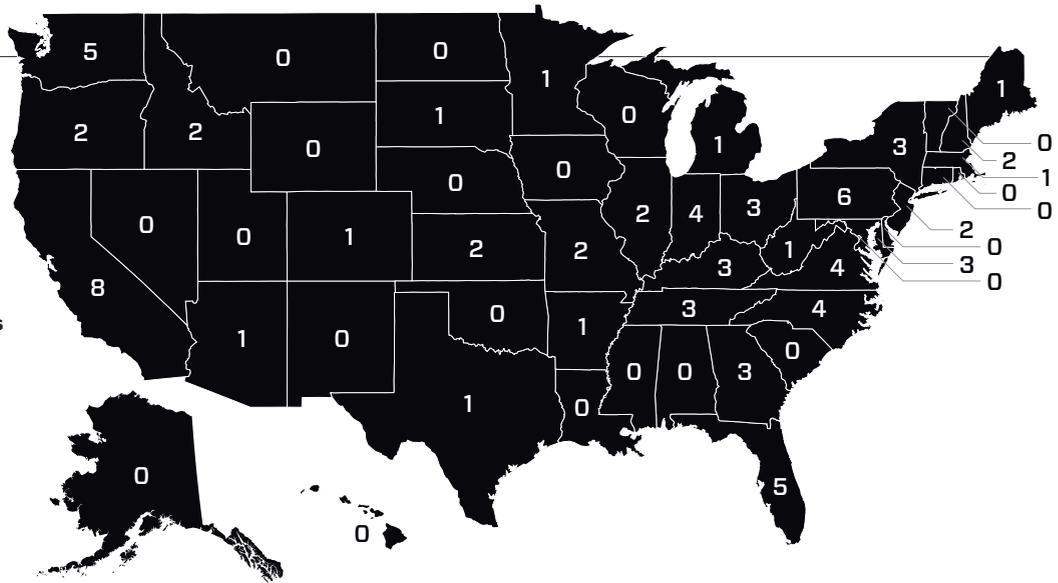
Ohio

Columbia, SC  
**Center for Perpetual Diversity**  
 Arlington, VA  
**Conservative Citizens Foundation, Inc.**  
 Bridgeton, MO  
**Council of Conservative Citizens**  
 St. Louis, MO\*  
 Eufaula, AL  
 Silver Spring, MD  
 New York, NY  
 Franklin, TN  
**Counter-Currents Publishing**  
 San Francisco, CA\*  
 New York, NY  
 Seattle, WA  
**European American Action Coalition**  
 Pittston, PA  
**European American Front**  
 Baldwin, MS  
**Faith and Heritage**  
 Killeen, TX  
**Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation, The**  
 Vienna, VA  
**Forza Nuova—USA**  
 New Jersey\*  
 Phoenix, AZ  
**Foundation for the**

**Marketplace of Ideas**  
 Clinton Township, MI  
**Free American**  
 Tucson, AZ  
**Heritage and Destiny**  
 Silver Spring, MD  
**H.L. Mencken Club**  
 Elizabethtown, PA  
**Identity Evropa**  
 Oakdale, CA  
**National Policy Institute**  
 Whitefish, MT\*  
 Arlington, VA  
**Northwest Front**  
 Bremerton, WA  
**Occidental Dissent**  
 Eufaula, AL  
**Occidental Observer**  
 Laguna Beach, CA  
**Occidental Quarterly/ Charles Martel Society**  
 Atlanta, GA  
**Patriotic Flags**  
 Charleston, SC  
**Phalanx**  
 Washington, DC  
**Pioneer Little Europe**  
**Kalispell Montana**  
 Kalispell, MT  
**Political Cesspool, The**  
 Bartlett, TN  
**Racial Nationalist Party**

**of America**  
 Lockport, NY  
**Radix Journal**  
 Whitefish, MT  
**Right Stuff, The**  
 New York, NY\*  
 Cincinnati, OH  
 Columbus, OH  
 Lehigh County, PA  
**Scott-Townsend Publishers**  
 Washington, DC  
**Social Contract Press**  
 Petoskey, MI  
**Sons & Daughters of Liberty**  
 Florida\*  
 Illinois  
 Indiana  
**South Africa Project**  
 Converse, LA  
**Stormfront**  
 West Palm Beach, FL  
**Traditionalist Worker Party**  
 Paoli, IN\*  
 Sacramento, CA  
 Columbus, IN  
 Kansas  
 Louisville, KY  
 Madisonville, KY  
 Murray, KY  
 Philadelphia, PA  
 Dallas, TX  
 Virginia

**Traditionalist Youth Network**  
 Paoli, IN\*  
 Bloomington, IN  
 Benson, NC  
 Wisconsin  
**VDARE Foundation**  
 Warrenton, VA  
**Washington Summit Publishers**  
 Whitefish, MT  
**White Boy Society**  
 Illinois\*  
 Kansas  
 Michigan  
 Missouri  
 Wisconsin  
**White Lives Matter**  
 Texas\*  
 Connecticut  
 Tennessee  
**White New York**  
 Rochester, NY  
**White Rabbit Radio**  
 Dearborn Heights, MI  
**Wolves of Vinland**  
 Lynchburg, VA\*  
 Colorado  
 Oregon  
 Washington  
 Wyoming  
**WTM Enterprises**  
 Roanoke, IN



Pennsylvania  
**California Skinheads**  
 California  
**Confederate Hammerskins**  
 Florida  
 Georgia  
 North Carolina  
 Nashville, TN  
 Virginia  
**Crew 38**  
 California  
 Florida  
 Georgia  
 Idaho  
 Chicago, IL  
 Kentucky  
 Wichita, KS

Maine  
 Maryland  
 New Hampshire  
 North Carolina

Tennessee  
 Virginia  
 Washington  
**Eastern Hammerskins**

New Hampshire  
**Firm 22**  
 Florida  
**CONTINUED »**

# 21 CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

**RACIST SKINHEAD CONT'D**

- Indiana
- New York
- Washington

**Golden State Skinheads**

- Northern California
- Southern California

**Keystone State Skinheads**

- Harrisburg, PA\*
- Philadelphia, PA

**Maryland State Skinheads**

- Baltimore, MD

**Midland Hammerskins**

- Wichita, KS
- South Dakota

**Northern Hammerskins**

- Chicago, IL
- Detroit, MI

**Northwestern Hammerskins**

- Idaho
- Oregon
- Washington

**Sacto Skins**

- Sacramento, CA

**Supreme White Alliance**

- Ohio\*
- Florida
- Kentucky

- Missouri
- Pennsylvania
- Virginia

**Vinland Clothing**

- Oildale, CA

**Vinlanders Social Club**

- Indiana\*
- Arizona
- California
- Florida
- Minnesota
- North Carolina
- Texas

**Western Hammerskins**

- California

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

**America's Promise**

- Ministries
- Sandpoint, ID

**Christian American**

- Ministries
- Greensburg, LA

**Christian Revival Center**

- Harrison, AR

**Church of Israel**

- Schell City, MO

**Covenant People's Ministry**

- Brooks, GA

**Diving International**

**Church of the Web**

- Morton, IL

**Divine Truth Ministries**

- Bainbridge, OH\*
- Arkansas

**Euro Folk Radio**

- Chicago, IL

**Fellowship of God's**

**Covenant People**

- Union, KY

**Kingdom Identity**

**Ministries**

- Harrison, AR

**Kinsman Redeemer**

**Ministries**

- Alexandria, KY

**Mission to Israel**

- Scottsbluff, NE

**Non-Universal**

**Teaching Ministries**

- Fostoria, OH

**Our Place Fellowship**

- Colville, WA

**Sacred Truth Publishing & Ministries**

- Mountain City, TN

**Scriptures for**

**America Ministries**

- Laporte, CO

**Virginia Publishing**

**Company**

- Lynchburg, VA

**Weisman Publications**

- Apple Valley, MN

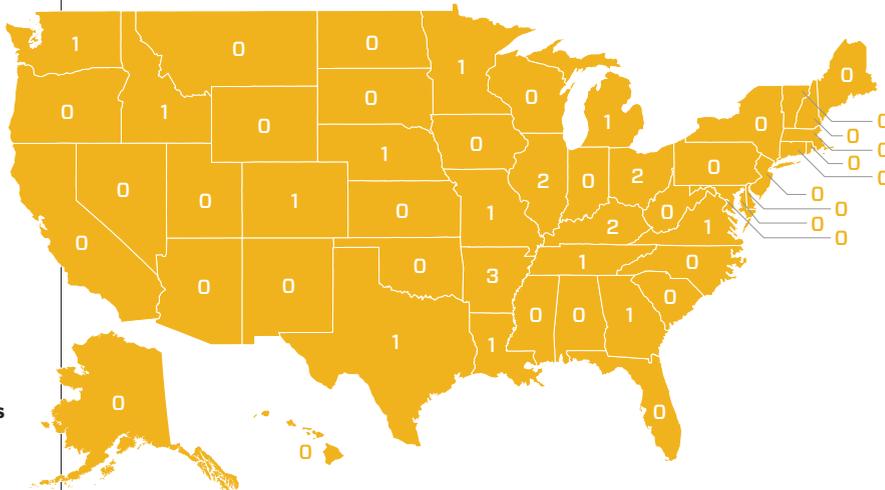
**Yahushua Dual Seed**

**Christian Identity Ministry**

- Livingston, TX

**Yahweh's Truth**

- Linwood, MI



**HATE BY STATE**

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

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

# 43 NEO-CONFEDERATE

Many groups celebrate traditional Southern culture and the Civil War's dramatic conflict between the Union and the Confederacy. But neo-Confederate groups go further and embrace racist attitudes toward blacks and white separatism. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South.

**ACTBAC NC**

Snow Camp, NC

**Dixie Republic**

Traveler's Rest, SC

**FreeMississippi**

Perkinston, MS

**League of the South**

Killen, AL\*

Anniston, AL

Tuscaloosa, AL

Wetumpka, AL

Harrison, AR

Jacksonville, FL

Lake City, FL

Miami, FL

Macon, GA

Ft. Mitchell, KY

London, KY

Taylorsville, KY

Logansport, LA

Clements, MD

West Plains, MO

Tupelo, MS

Wilmington, NC

Aiken, SC

Lobelville, TN

Conroe, TX

La Porte, TX

Waxahachie, TX

Winchester, VA

**Mary Noel Kershaw Foundation**

Lobelville, TN

**Pace Confederate Depot**

Baldwyn, MS

**Southern Future**

Aiken, SC

**Southern National Congress**

Alexandria, VA\*

Wetumpka, AL

Arkansas

Jacksonville, FL

Morganton, GA

Fruit Hill, KY

Louisiana

Maryland

Mississippi

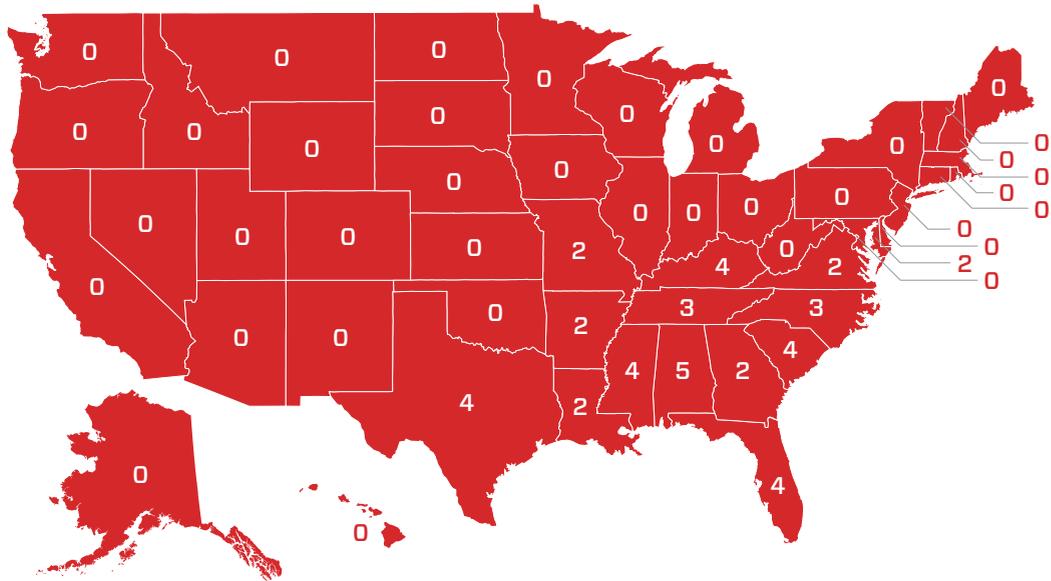
West Plains, MO

North Carolina

Travelers Rest, SC

Tennessee

Texas



# 193 BLACK SEPARATIST

Black separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. These groups typically oppose integration and racial intermarriage, and want separate institutions — or even a separate nation — for blacks. Most forms of black separatism are strongly anti-white and anti-Semitic.

**All Eyes on Egipt Bookstore**

Brooklyn, NY\*

Orlando, FL

Decatur, GA

Macon, GA

Monticello, GA

Chicago, IL

Dorchester, MA

Detroit, MI

Cleveland, OH

**Black Riders Liberation Party**

Los Angeles, CA\*

Oakland, CA

San Diego, CA

Miami, FL

Chicago, IL

Detroit, MI

New York, NY

Portland, OR

Virginia

**Israelite Church of God in Jesus Christ, The**

New York, NY\*

Washington, DC

Fort Myers, FL

Miami, FL

Orlando, FL

West Palm Beach, FL

Baltimore, MD

Minneapolis, MN

Greensboro, NC

Omaha, NE

Jersey City, NJ

Philadelphia, PA

Oklahoma City, OK

Portland, OR

Allentown, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

**Israelite School of Universal**

**Practical Knowledge**

Baltimore, MD\*

Los Angeles, CA

Rialto, CA

Washington, DC

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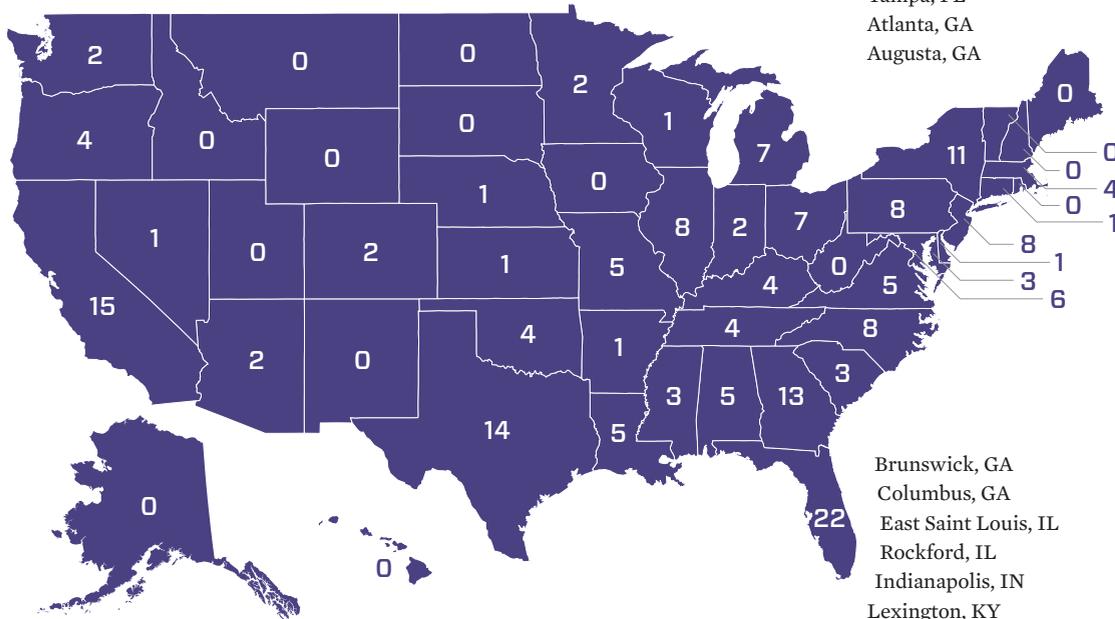
BLACK SEPARATIST CONT'D

- Miami, FL
- Atlanta, GA
- Chicago, IL

- Charlotte, NC
- Newark, NJ
- Las Vegas, NV
- Bronx, NY

- Miami, FL
- Pensacola, FL
- Pine Hills, FL
- Saint Petersburg, FL
- Tampa, FL
- Atlanta, GA
- Augusta, GA

- Cleveland, OH
- Columbus, OH
- Dayton, OH
- Tulsa, OK
- Harrisburg, PA
- Philadelphia, PA
- Pittsburgh, PA
- Charleston, SC
- Columbia, SC
- Greenville, SC
- Chattanooga, TN
- Memphis, TN
- Austin, TX
- Dallas, TX
- Fort Worth, TX
- Houston, TX
- Texarkana, TX
- Norfolk, VA
- Richmond, VA
- Milwaukee, WI



- Indianapolis, IN
- Detroit, MI
- Minneapolis, MN
- St. Louis, MO
- North Carolina
- New York, NY
- Syracuse, NY
- Oklahoma
- Portland, OR
- Philadelphia, PA
- Texas

**Israel United In Christ**

- Mount Vernon, NY\*
- Birmingham, AL
- Phoenix, AZ
- Los Angeles, CA
- Denver, CO
- Washington, DC
- Miami, FL
- Orlando, FL
- Tallahassee, FL
- Atlanta, GA
- Chicago, IL
- Kansas City, KS
- Louisville, KY
- New Orleans, LA
- Boston, MA
- Detroit, MI
- St. Louis, MO

- Heath, OH
- Oregon
- Warr Acres, OK
- Pittsburgh, PA
- Memphis, TN
- Austin, TX
- Corpus Christi, TX
- Dallas, TX
- Houston, TX
- San Antonio, TX
- Hampton, VA

**Nation of Islam**

- Chicago, IL\*
- Birmingham, AL
- Huntsville, AL
- Mobile, AL
- Montgomery, AL
- Pine Bluff, AR
- Phoenix, AZ
- Compton, CA
- Los Angeles, CA
- Oakland, CA
- Rialto, CA
- San Diego, CA
- Stockton, CA
- Denver, CO
- Washington, DC
- Wilmington, DE
- Fort Lauderdale, FL
- Gainesville, FL

- Brunswick, GA
- Columbus, GA
- East Saint Louis, IL
- Rockford, IL
- Indianapolis, IN
- Lexington, KY
- Louisville, KY
- Baton Rouge, LA
- Monroe, LA
- New Orleans, LA
- Shreveport, LA
- Boston, MA
- Springfield, MA
- Baltimore, MD
- Benton Harbor, MI
- Detroit, MI
- Grand Rapids, MI
- Kansas City, MO
- St. Louis, MO
- Holly Springs, MS
- Southaven, MS
- Charlotte, NC
- Durham, NC
- Greensboro, NC
- Raleigh, NC
- Winston-Salem, NC
- Camden, NJ
- Newark, NJ
- New Brunswick, NJ
- Plainfield, NJ
- Willingboro, NJ
- Brooklyn, NY
- Buffalo, NY
- Harlem, NY
- Rochester, NY
- Akron, OH

**New Black Panther Party**

- Houston, TX\*
  - Los Angeles, CA
  - Washington, DC
  - Jacksonville, FL
  - Miami, FL
  - Tampa, FL
  - Tallahassee, FL
  - Atlanta, GA
  - Augusta, GA
  - Waycross, GA
  - Springfield, IL
  - Louisville, KY
  - St. Louis, MO
  - Hattiesburg, MS
  - Newark, NJ
  - Dayton, OH
  - Nashville, TN
  - Dallas, TX
  - Tomball, TX
  - Virginia Beach, VA
- New Black Panther Party for Self Defense**
- Stone Mountain, GA\*
  - New Haven, CT
  - Tampa Bay, FL
- Sicarii 1715**
- San Diego, CA\*
  - Inland Empire, CA
  - Seattle, WA
- War On The Horizon**
- Washington, DC

# 52 ANTI-LGBT

Opposition to equal rights for LGBT people has been a central theme of Christian Right organizing and fundraising for the past four decades. These groups are not listed on the basis of opposition to same-sex marriage or the belief that the Bible describes homosexual activity as sinful. Anti-LGBT groups engage in crude name-calling and disseminate disparaging propaganda and falsehoods about this population, such as the claim that gay men molest children at vastly higher rates than straight men.

**Abiding Truth Ministries**  
Springfield, MA

**Alliance Defending Freedom**  
Scottsdale, AZ

**American College of Pediatricians**  
Gainesville, FL

**American Family Association**  
Tupelo, MS\*

Franklin, PA

**Americans for Truth About Homosexuality**  
Naperville, IL

**American Vision**  
Powder Springs, GA

**ATLAH World Missionary Church (All The Land Anointed Holy)**  
New York, NY

**Campus Ministry USA, The Center for Family and Human Rights (C-FAM)**  
Washington, DC

New York, NY

**Chalcedon Foundation**  
Vallecito, CA

**Citizens for Community Values**  
Cincinnati, OH

**Conservative Republicans of Texas**  
Houston, TX

**D. James Kennedy Ministries (formerly Truth in Action)**  
Fort Lauderdale, FL

**Faith Baptist Church (formerly Sons of Thundr)**  
Greenville, GA

**Faith2Action**  
North Royalton, OH

**Faithful Word Baptist Church**  
Tempe, AZ

**Family Research Council**  
Washington, DC

**Family Research Institute**  
Colorado Springs, CO

**Family Watch International**  
Gilbert, AZ

**Generations With Vision**  
Elizabeth, CO

**Heterosexuals Organized for a Moral Environment (H.O.M.E.)**

Downers Grove, IL

**Illinois Family Institute**  
Carol Stream, IL

**Illinois Family Institute Tri-County chapter**  
Peoria, IL

**Liberty Counsel**  
Orlando, FL

**Mass Resistance**  
Waltham, MA\*

Torrance, CA

Lewiston, ME

St. Louis, MO

Yorktown, VA

**Mission: America**  
Columbus, OH

**Pacific Justice Institute**  
Sacramento, CA

**Pass the Salt Ministries**  
Hebron, OH

**Pilgrims Covenant Church**  
Monroe, WI

**Pray in Jesus Name Project, The**  
Colorado Springs, CO

**Probe Ministries**  
Plano, TX

**Providence Road Baptist Church**  
Maiden, NC

**Public Advocate of the United States**  
Falls Church, VA

**Ruth Institute**  
San Marcos, CA

**Save California**  
Sacramento, CA

**Stedfast Baptist Church**  
Fort Worth, TX

**TC Family (Traverse City Family)**  
Traverse City, MI

**Tom Brown Ministries**  
El Paso, TX

**Traditional Values Coalition**  
Washington, DC\*

Anaheim, CA

**True Light Pentecost Church**  
Spartanburg, SC

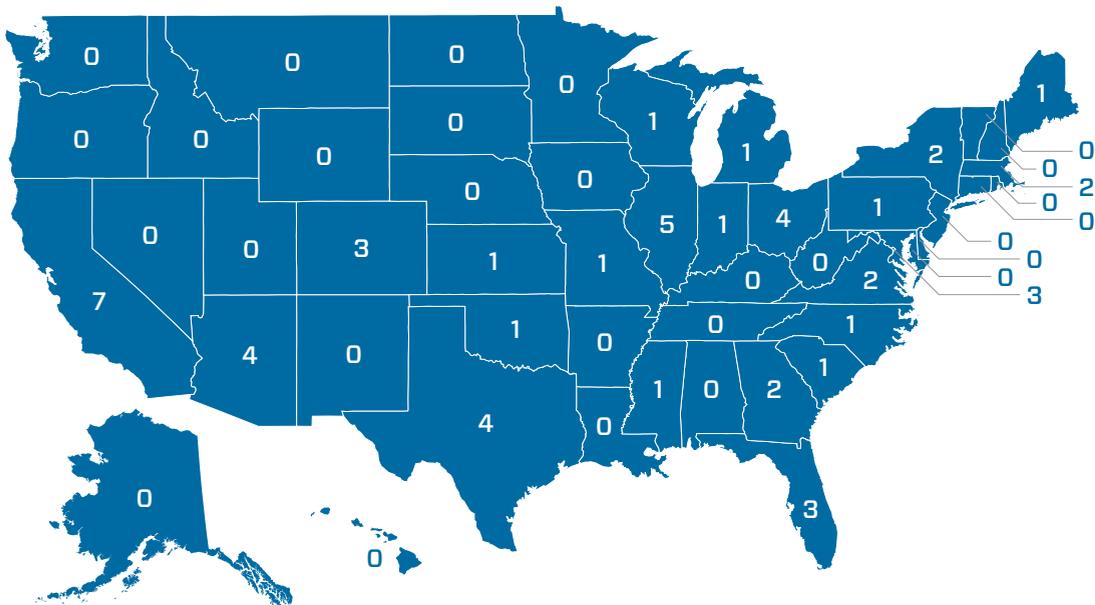
**United Families International**  
Gilbert, AZ

**Verity Baptist Church**  
Sacramento, CA

**Westboro Baptist Church**  
Topeka, KS

**Windsor Hills Baptist Church**  
Oklahoma City, OK

**World Congress of Families/Howard Center for Family, Religion, and Society**  
Rockford, IL



# 101 ANTI-MUSLIM

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

**III% Security Force**

Henry County, GA

**ACT for America**

Virginia Beach, VA\*

Jonesboro, AR

Tucson, AZ

Corona, CA

Los Angeles, CA

Minneapolis, MN

Ste. Genevieve, MO

St. Louis, MO

Lake County, MT

Kalispell, MT

Stillwater County, MT

Whitehall, MT

Fayetteville, NC

**American Constitution Center**

Nashville, TN

**American Freedom Alliance**

Los Angeles, CA

**American Freedom Defense Initiative**

New York, NY

**Citizens for National Security**

Boca Raton, FL

**Citizen Warrior**

Nashville, TN

**Clarion Project**

Washington, DC

**Committee to End the CSI Refugee Center**

Buhl, ID

**Counter Jihadist Coalition of Southern California**

Santa Monica, CA

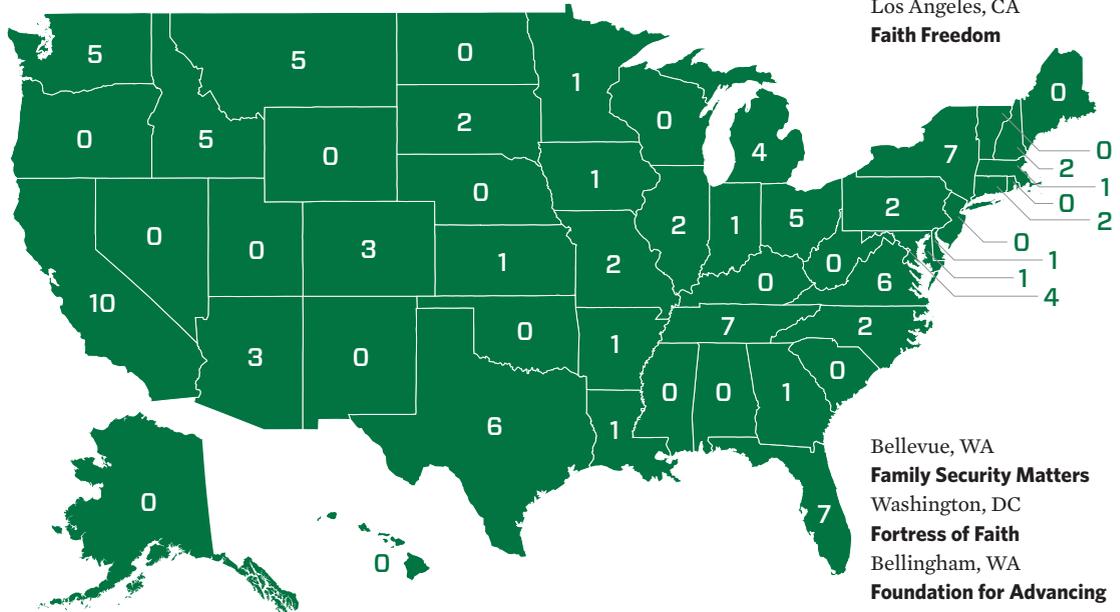
**Crusaders, The**

Garden City, KS

**David Horowitz Freedom Center**

Los Angeles, CA

**Faith Freedom**



Mission Viejo, CA  
 Colorado  
 Cheshire, CT  
 Connecticut  
 Bear, DE  
 Brevard County, FL  
 Heathrow, FL  
 Jacksonville, FL  
 Palm Beach, FL  
 Des Moines, IA  
 Meridian, ID  
 Twin Falls, ID  
 Des Plaines, IL  
 Baton Rouge, LA  
 Boston, MA  
 Detroit, MI  
 Grand Rapids, MI

Nashua, NH  
 Brooklyn, NY  
 Long Island, NY  
 Cleveland, OH  
 Cincinnati, OH  
 Columbus, OH  
 Rapid City, SD  
 Knoxville, TN  
 Memphis, TN  
 Dallas, TX  
 Houston, TX  
 San Antonio, TX  
 Leesburg, VA  
 Pierce County, WA  
 Spokane Valley, WA  
**Altra Firearms**  
 Jackson Center, PA

**American Freedom Law Center**

Ann Arbor, MI

**American Security Rally of Montana**

Helena, MT

**Bare Naked Islam**

Marina del Rey, CA

**Bomb Islam**

Phoenix, AZ

**Bosch Fawstin**

New York, NY

**Bureau on American Islamic Relations**

Irving, TX

**Center for Security Policy**

Washington, DC

**Christian Action Network**

Forest, VA

Bellevue, WA

**Family Security Matters**

Washington, DC

**Fortress of Faith**

Bellingham, WA

**Foundation for Advancing Christian Truth**

Bronx, NY

**Islamthreat.com**

Pleasant Hill, CA

**Jihad Watch**

Sherman Oaks, CA

**Keep South Dakota Safe PAC**

Aberdeen, SC

**Lincoln County Citizen Action Network**

Fayetteville, TN

**Pig Blood Bullets**

Priest River, ID

**Political Islam**

Nashville, TN

**Radio Jihad/Global Patriot Radio**

New York

**Refugee Resettlement**

**Watch**

Fairplay, MD

**Religious Awareness Network**

Washington, DC

**Secure Michigan**

New Baltimore, MI

**Shoebat Foundation, The**

Newtown, PA

**Silver Bullet Gun Oil**

Courtland, VA

**Soldiers of Odin**

Flagstaff, AZ

California

Colorado

Illinois

Indiana

New Hampshire

North Carolina

Cleveland, OH

Ohio

Tennessee

Texas

**Stop the Islamization****of the World**

Houston, TX

**Straight Way and More, The**

Venice, FL

**Sultan Knish a blog**

by Daniel Greenfield

New York, NY

**Team America Political****Action Committee**

Littleton, CO

**Treasure Valley****Refugee Watch**

Meridian, ID

**Truth in Love Project**

Chattaroy, WA

**Understanding the Threat**

Vienna, VA

**United West, The**

Lake Worth, FL

**Virginia Christian Alliance**

Henrico, VA

## 100 GENERAL HATE

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

**ANTI-IMMIGRANT (14)****American Border Patrol**

Sierra Vista, AZ

**American Immigration****Control Foundation/****Americans for****Immigration Control**

Monterey, VA

**Americans for Legal****Immigration (ALIPAC)**

Raleigh, NC

**Borderkeepers of Alabama**

Birmingham, AL

**Californians for Population****Stabilization**

Santa Barbara, CA

**Center for Immigration****Studies**

Washington, DC

**Colorado Alliance for****Immigration Reform**

Lakewood, CO

**Federation for American****Immigration Reform**

Washington, DC

**Immigration Reform****Law Institute**

Washington, DC

**Legal Immigrants****for America**

Winter Springs, FL

**National Coalition for****Immigration Reform****(formerly CCIR)**

Huntington Beach, CA

**New Yorkers for****Immigration Control and****Enforcement (NYICE)**

New York, NY

**ProEnglish**

Arlington, VA

**US Border Guard**

Mesa, AZ

**HATE MUSIC (16)****American Defense Records**

Lexington, KY

**Behold Barbarity Records****& Distro**

Plymouth, MN

**Hate Crime Streetwear****Productions**

Anaheim, CA

**Hostile Class Productions**

Burbank, IL

**ISD Records**

Denison, TX

**Label 56**

Nottingham, MD

**Micetrapp Distribution**

Maple Shade Township, NJ

**MSR Productions**

Wheat Ridge, CO

**NSM88 Records**

Detroit, MI

**Poker Face**

Allentown, PA

**Resistance Records**

Chicago, IL

**Soleilmoon Recordings**

Portland, OR

**Stahlhelm Records**

Milwaukee, WI

**Tightrope**

Calico Rock, AR

**United Riot Records**

New York, NY

**Wolf Tyr Productions**

Holbrook, NY

**HOLOCAUST DENIAL (10)****Barnes Review/Foundation****for Economic Liberty, Inc.**

Upper Marlboro, MD

**Campaign for Radical Truth****in History**

Coeur d'Alene, ID

**carolynyeager.net**

Kerrville, TX

**Committee for Open****Debate on the Holocaust**

San Diego, CA\*

York, PA

**Deir Yassin Remembered**

Geneva, NY\*

Ann Arbor, MI

**Institute for****Historical Review**

Newport Beach CA

**Irving Books**

Key West, FL

**Realist Report, The**

Poway, CA

**RADICAL TRADITIONAL****CATHOLIC (14)****Catholic Counterpoint**

Broomall, PA

**Catholic Family News/****Catholic Family****Ministries, Inc.**

Niagara Falls, NY

**Christ or Chaos**

West Chester, OH

**Culture Wars/Fidelity Press**

South Bend, IN

**Fatima Crusader, The/****International Fatima****Rosary Crusade**

Constable, NY

**IHM Media**

Richmond, NH

**IHS Press**

Norfolk, VA

**In the Spirit of****Chartres Committee**

Carrollton, VA

**Most Holy Family Monastery**

Fillmore, NY

**OMNI Christian Book Club**

Palmdale, CA

**Remnant, The/The****Remnant Press**

Forest Lake, MN

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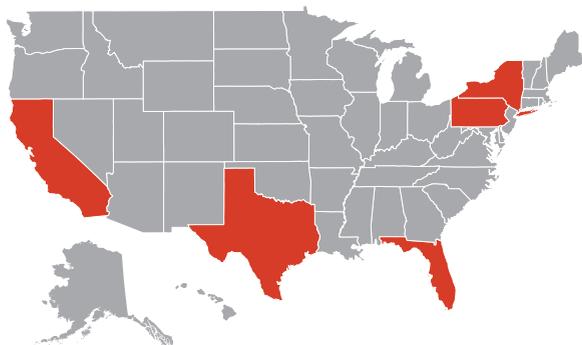
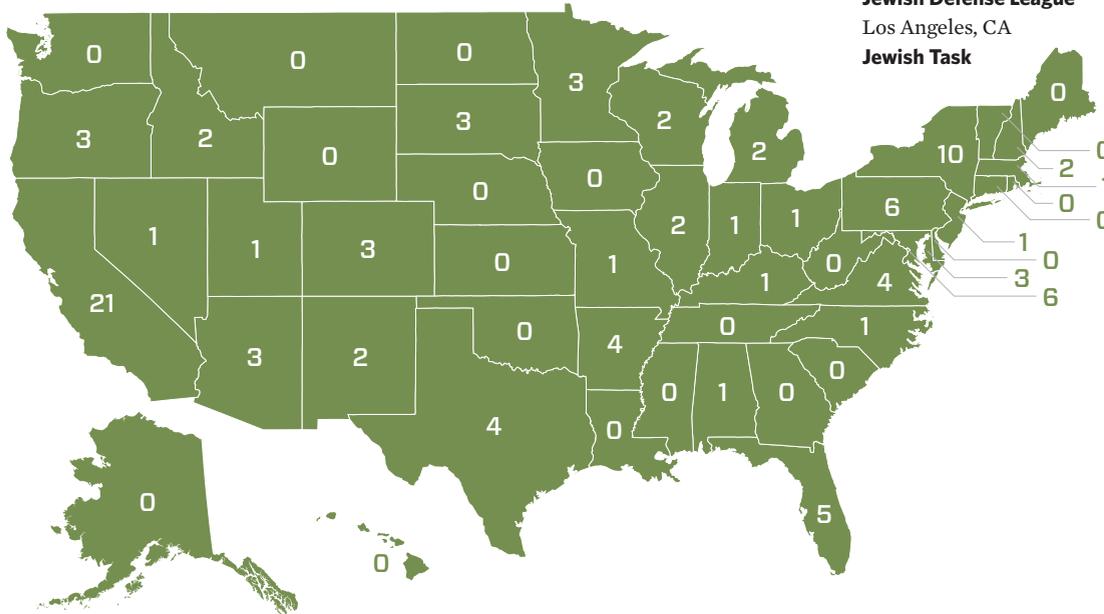
GENERAL HATE CONT'D

- Robert Sungenis**  
State Line, PA
- Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary**  
Richmond, NH
- Tradition in Action**  
Los Angeles, CA
- OTHER (46)**
- a2z Publications**  
Las Vegas, NV
- Active Democracy**  
Washington, DC
- Aggressive Christianity**  
Fence Lake, NM\*  
Berino, NM
- American Clarion**  
Rapid City, SD
- American Free Press**  
Washington, DC

- As-Sabiqun**  
Washington, DC\*
- Los Angeles, CA
- Oakland, CA
- Sacramento, CA
- San Diego, CA
- Philadelphia, PA
- Bill Keller Ministries**  
St. Petersburg, FL
- Brother Nathanael Foundation, The**  
Frisco, CO
- Chick Publications**  
Ontario, CA
- Christian Anti-Defamation Commission**  
Vista, CA
- Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement**

- Framingham, MA
- Cultural Studies Press**  
New York, NY
- European-American Evangelistic Crusades**  
Sheridan, CA
- Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints**  
Hildale, UT\*
- Colorado City, AZ
- Custer, SD
- Pringle, SD
- Holy Nation of Odin**  
Kingsburg, CA
- Insight USA**  
Longwood, FL
- Invictus Books**  
Wentzville, MO
- Jamaat al-Muslimeen**  
Baltimore, MD
- Jewish Defense League**  
Los Angeles, CA
- Jewish Task**

- Force**  
Fresh Meadows, NY
- Lordship Church**  
Coeur d'Alene, ID
- Masjid al Islam**  
Oakland, CA
- National Prayer Network**  
Clackamas, OR
- Official Street Preachers**  
Los Angeles, CA
- Ozark Craft LC**  
Harrison, AR
- Power of Prophecy**  
Austin, TX
- Reformation-Bible Puritan-Baptist Church/Vatican Assassins**  
Newmanstown, PA
- Rense Radio Network**  
Ashland, OR
- Repent Amarillo**  
Amarillo, TX
- Samanta Roy Institute of Science and Technology**  
Shawano, WI
- Sharkhunters International**  
Hernando, FL
- Sons of Liberty Media (formerly You Can Run But You Cannot Hide)**  
Annandale, MN
- Tony Alamo Christian Ministries**  
Fouke, AR\*  
Fort Smith, AR  
Canyon Country, CA  
Santa Clarita, CA  
New York, NY ▲



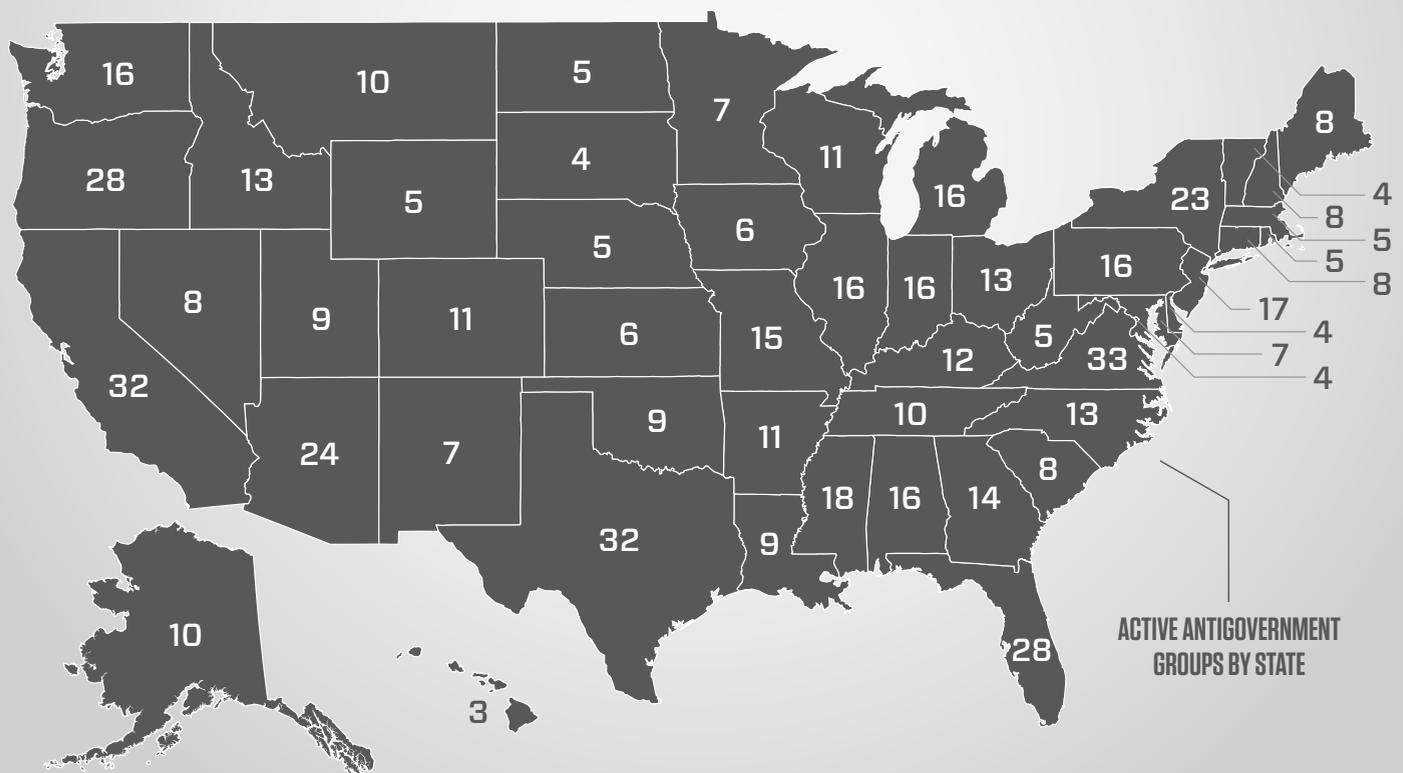
TOP FIVE STATES FOR HATE GROUPS 2016

1. CALIFORNIA
2. FLORIDA
3. TEXAS
4. NEW YORK
5. PENNSYLVANIA

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

# ACTIVE ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS

in the United States in 2016



THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT IDENTIFIED 623 EXTREME ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS THAT WERE ACTIVE IN 2016. Of these groups, 165 were militias, marked with an asterisk, and the remainder included “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries, and citizens’ groups. Generally, such groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order,” engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, group publications, the Internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. This list does not document activism that takes place only online by individuals or groups, whether on Facebook, VK, or similar online forums, which is a growing activity by all extremists. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located.

**ALABAMA (16)**

**III% Security Force\***  
Statewide

**III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide

**Alabama Constitutional Militia\***  
Clanton

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**Constitution Party of Alabama**  
Adamsville  
Montgomery

**Eagle Forum**  
Birmingham

**Freedom Yell**  
Ozark

**Free Patriot Press**  
Birmingham

**John Birch Society**  
Mobile

**LewRockwell.com**  
Auburn

**Limestone County Constitution Party**  
Athens

**Oath Keepers**  
Bay Minette

**Republic for the united States of America**  
Dothan

**South Alabama Militia\***  
Dothan

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

**ALASKA (10)**

**III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide

**Alaska Citizens Militia\***  
Nikiski

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**Anchorage Municipality Defense Force\***  
Anchorage

**Central Alaska Militia\***  
Delta Junction

**Constitution Party of Alaska**  
Soldotna

**Eagle Forum**  
Cordova

**Oath Keepers**  
Anchorage

**South Central Patriots\***  
Wasilla

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

**ARIZONA (24)**

**III% Security Force\***  
Statewide

**III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**Arizona Militia\***  
Glendale

**Arizona State Militia\***  
Flagstaff  
Kingman  
Parker  
Phoenix  
Sierra Vista  
Tucson

**Constitution Party**  
Tempe

**Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association**  
Higley

**Eagle Forum**  
Glendale

**Hour of the Time**  
Eagar

**Molon Labe**  
Phoenix

**Oath Keepers**  
Chino Valley  
Phoenix  
Pima County  
Prescott Valley

**Outpost of Freedom**  
Tucson

**Riders United for a Sovereign America, Corp.**  
Phoenix

**Surprise Tea Party Patriots**  
Surprise

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

**You Have the Right**  
Statewide

**ARKANSAS (11)**

**III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**Arkansas State Militia Corps\***  
Mansfield

**Constitution Party of Arkansas**  
Fayetteville

**Eagle Forum**  
Little Rock

**Oath Keepers**  
Logan County  
Pope County  
Union County  
Van Buren

**Secure Arkansas**  
Little Rock

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

**CALIFORNIA (32)**

**III% United Patriots\***  
Sunnyvale

**American Independent Party**  
Vacaville

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**California State Militia\***  
Fresno  
Modoc County  
Sacramento County  
San Francisco  
Victorville

**Constitution Club, The**  
Hemet

**Constitution Party**  
San Leandro

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

**Eagle Forum**  
Santa Rosa

**Educate Yourself**  
Costa Mesa

**Free Enterprise Society**  
Fresno

**Free Republic**  
Fresno

**Guardians of the Oath**  
Orange County

**HISAdvocates.org**  
Costa Mesa

**Jeremiah Films**  
Los Angeles

**Liberty Under Fire**

**Freedom Fighters**  
Taft

**Oath Keepers**  
Anaheim  
Apple Valley  
Citrus Heights  
Riverside  
San Diego County\*

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

San Diego

**Tenth Amendment Center**  
Los Angeles

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

**United States Justice Foundation**  
Ramona

**Ventura County Tea Party**  
Ventura

**Washitaw Empire de Dugdahmoundyah**  
San Pedro

**We Are Change**  
Fresno  
Los Angeles

**COLORADO (11)**

**III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide

**American Constitution Party**  
Arvada

**American Freedom Network**  
Johnstown

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**Eagle Forum**  
Brighton

**Freedom First Society**  
Colorado Springs

**Oath Keepers**  
Statewide

**Team Law**  
Grand Junction

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

**We Are Change**  
Statewide  
Walsenburg

**CONNECTICUT (8)**

**III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide

**American Patriots III%**  
Statewide

**Eagle Forum**  
Ridgefield

**John Birch Society**  
Southington

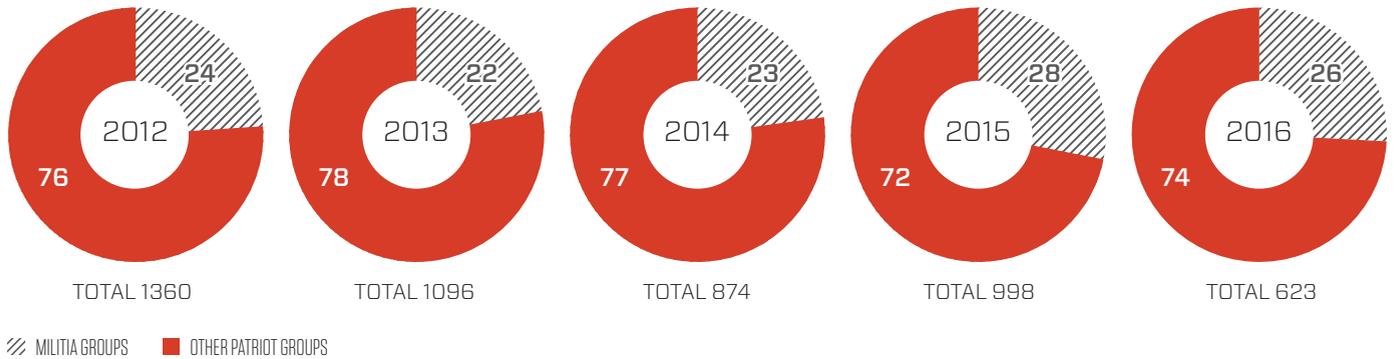
**Oath Keepers**  
Hartford

**Post & Email, The**  
Stafford

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

**We Are Change**  
Waterbury

# ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOT' ORGANIZATIONS IN PERCENTAGES



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

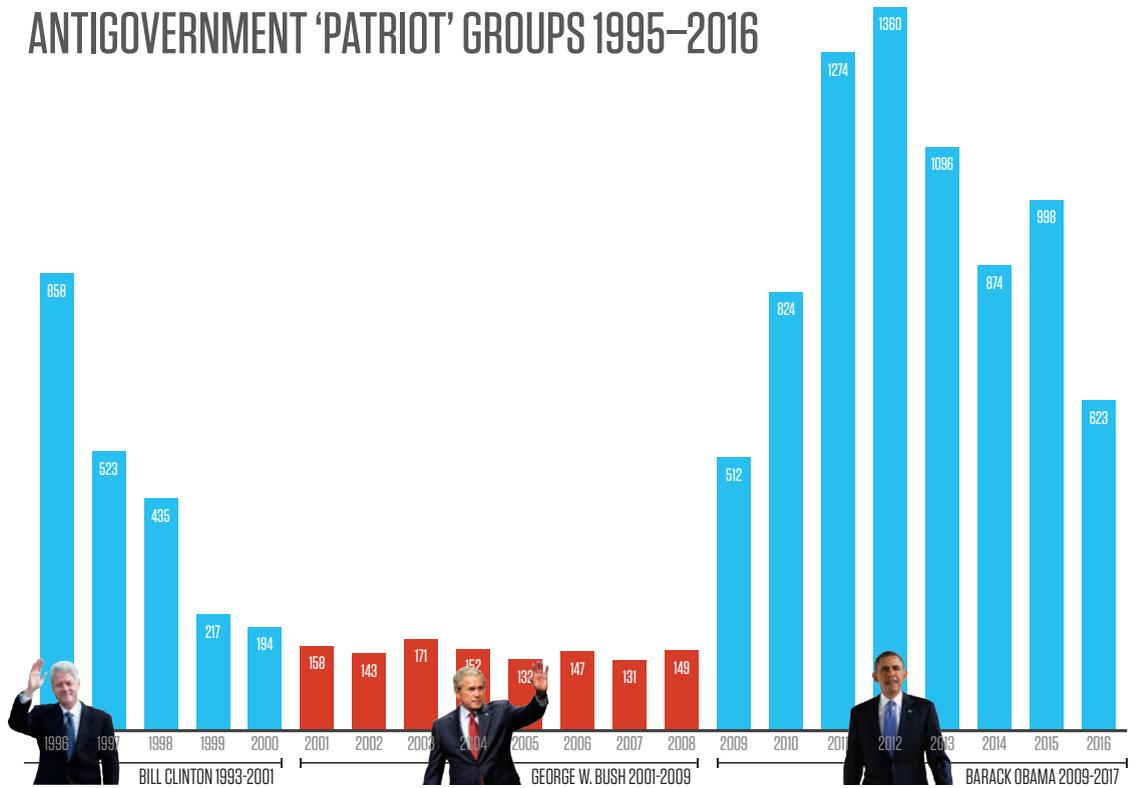
- DELAWARE (4)**
- III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide
- American Patriots III%**  
Statewide
- John Birch Society**  
Newark
- Oath Keepers**  
Statewide
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (4)**
- Renew America**  
Washington, DC
- Special Operations Speaks**  
Washington, DC
- WND Books**  
Washington, DC
- WorldNetDaily**  
Washington, DC
- FLORIDA (28)**
- III% Security Force**  
Statewide
- III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide
- Agenda21Today**  
Shady Grove
- American Coalition**
- 4 Property Rights**  
St. Lucie
- American Patriots III%**  
Statewide
- Constitution Party of Florida**  
The Villages
- Eagle Forum**  
Sanibel

- Florida Constitutional Guard\***  
Gainesville
- Florida Militia\***  
Central  
Northeast  
Northwest  
Southern
- Freedom Law School**  
Brooksville
- John Birch Society**  
Statewide
- KrisAnne Hall**  
Wellborn
- Liberty First**  
Wellborn
- Now the End Begins**  
Jacksonville
- Oath Keepers**  
Alachua County  
Statewide
- Sarasota Patriots**  
Sarasota
- Southeast Constitutional Militia\***  
Sarasota
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
Orange County
- Tri-County Tea Party (FL) (Villages Conservative Action Group)**  
Lady Lake
- Uncle Sam's Misguided Children**

- Sarasota
- We Are Change**  
Orlando  
Palm Beach  
Tampa
- Wild Bill for America**  
South Daytona
- GEORGIA (14)**
- III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide
- American Patriots III%**  
Statewide
- Constitution Party of Georgia**  
Woodstock
- Discount Book Distributors/**
- The Patriot Depot**  
Powder Springs
- Eagle Forum**  
Marietta
- Freedom Fighter Radio**  
Martinez
- John Birch Society**  
Barnesville
- Liberty Alliance**  
Powder Springs
- Oath Keepers**  
Duluth  
Gainesville  
Warner Robins
- Sovereign Filing Solutions**  
Morrow
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
Wilkinson County

- True Patriots**  
Dallas
- HAWAII (3)**
- American Patriots III%**  
Statewide
- Constitution Party**  
Keaau
- Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
Honolulu County
- IDAHO (13)**
- III% United Patriots\***  
Statewide
- American Patriots III%**  
Statewide
- AVOW (Another Voice of Warning)**  
Rigby
- Christian Exodus**  
Statewide
- Constitution Party of Idaho**  
Coeur d'Alene
- Eagle Forum**  
Ada County
- Idaho Light Foot Militia\***  
Kootenai County  
Meridian  
Priest River
- Oath Keepers**  
Bonner County  
Moyie Springs
- People for Constitutional Freedom (P4CF)\***  
Emmett
- The Voice of Idaho**

# ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOT' GROUPS 1995-2016



Boise  
**ILLINOIS (16)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of Illinois**  
 Metropolis  
**Eagle Forum**  
 Statewide  
**Illinois Sons of Liberty\***  
 Champaign County  
 Iroquois County  
 Lake County  
 McLean County  
 Peoria County  
 Will County  
 Willowbrook  
**Next News Network**  
 Northbrook  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Woodstock  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 DeWitt County  
**Three Percenters Club**  
 Springfield  
**We Are Change**

Chicago  
**INDIANA (16)**  
**III% Security Force**  
 Statewide  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of Indiana**  
 Evansville  
**Constitution Preservation**  
 Hammond  
**Eagle Forum**  
 Indianapolis  
**Indianapolis Baptist Temple**  
 Indianapolis  
**Indiana Sons of Liberty\***  
 Huntington  
 North  
 Northeast  
 South  
 Southwest  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Bedford  
**Outlaw Militia\***  
 Hamilton County  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Hamilton County

**Watchmen of Indiana\***  
 Statewide  
**IOWA (6)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of Iowa**  
 Statewide  
**Eagle Forum**  
 Orange City  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Statewide  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Story County  
**KANSAS (6)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Oath Keepers**  
 El Dorado  
 Southeast\*  
**Prophecy Club**  
**Resources, The**  
 Topeka  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**

Ellsworth County  
**KENTUCKY (12)**  
**III% Security Force\***  
 Statewide  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**B'Nai YHWH Alaheim**  
 Louisville  
**Constitution Party of Kentucky**  
 Lexington  
**John Birch Society**  
 La Grange  
**KY County Rangers\***  
 Bath County  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Ekron  
**Take Back Kentucky**  
 Clarkson  
**Tea Party of Kentucky**  
 Louisville  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Bullitt County  
**Watchmen of America**  
 Lexington  
**LOUISIANA (9)**

AP IMAGES/JAN BAUER (CLINTON); AP IMAGES/MIKE EGROLL (BUSH); AP IMAGES/CAROLYN KASTER (OBAMA)

**III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Constitution Party  
of Louisiana**

Baton Rouge

**Eagle Forum**

Shreveport

**Oath Keepers**

Central

Covington

Baton Rouge

**Outlaw Militia\***

Tangipahoa Parish

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

Avoyelles Parish

**MAINE (8)****III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**John Birch Society**

Statewide

**Maine Militia\***

Bangor

Belfast

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

Piscataquis County

**Watchmen of Maine\***

Sanford

**We Are Change**

Bangor

**MARYLAND (7)****III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**America's Survival, Inc.**

Owings

**Constitution Party****of Maryland**

Rockville

**Kerodin.com**

Gaithersburg

**Oath Keepers**

Statewide

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

Statewide

**MASSACHUSETTS (5)****III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Constitution Party****of Massachusetts**

Framingham

**John Birch Society**

Statewide

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

Worcester County

**MICHIGAN (16)****III% Security Force**

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Constitution Party  
(U.S. Taxpayers Party  
of Michigan)**

Grand Rapids

**Delta 5 Mobile Light****Infantry Militia\***

Calhoun County

**Genesee County****Volunteer Militia\***

Genesee

**Jack Van Impe****Ministries International**

Troy

**Lost Horizons**

Commerce Township

**Michigan Downriver****Volunteer Militia\***

Wyandotte

**Oath Keepers**

Statewide

**Southeast Michigan****Volunteer Militia\***

Lapeer County

Livingston

Wayne County

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

Isabella County

**Three Percenters Club**

Lansing

**We Are Change**

Grand Rapids

**West Michigan****Volunteer Militia\***

Muskegon County

**MINNESOTA (7)****III% Security Force\***

Statewide

**III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**Central Minnesota****Tea Party**

Saint Cloud

**Constitution Party****of Minnesota**

Redwood Falls

**Genesis Communication  
Network**

Eagan

**Oath Keepers**

Saint Paul

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

Crow Wing County

**MISSISSIPPI (18)****III% Security Force**

Statewide

**III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Citizens Militia****of Mississippi\***

Batesville

Carroll County

Hickory Flat

**Constitution Party****of Mississippi**

Seminary

**Mississippi Militia\***

Statewide

**Mississippi Preparedness****Project\***

Harrison County

Northeast

Northwest

Statewide

Southwest

West

**Mississippi Tea Party**

Jackson

**Oath Keepers\***

Statewide

**Outlaw Militia\***

Gulfport

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

Petal

**MISSOURI (15)****III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**2nd Amendment****Patches.com**

Halltown

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Constitution Party****of Missouri**

Piedmont

**Eagle Forum**

Statewide

**John Birch Society**

Statewide

**Missouri Citizens Militia\***

Leadwood

**Missouri Militia\***

Columbia

Houston

Joplin

Lebanon

Springfield

**Oath Keepers**

Statewide

St. Louis

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

Cole County

**MONTANA (10)****III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Eagle Forum**

Billings

**John Birch Society**

Great Falls

**Oath Keepers**

Ennis

Eureka\*

Statewide

**Stand Up America U.S.**

Bigfork

**SteveQuayle.com**

Bozeman

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

Fergus County

**NEBRASKA (5)****III% United Patriots\***

Comstock

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Constitution Party****of Nebraska**

Lincoln

**Oath Keepers**

Statewide

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

Custer County

**NEVADA (8)****III% United Patriots\***

Statewide

**American Patriots III%**

Statewide

**Constitution Party****(Independent****American Party)**

Las Vegas

**Eagle Forum**

Elko

**Oath Keepers**

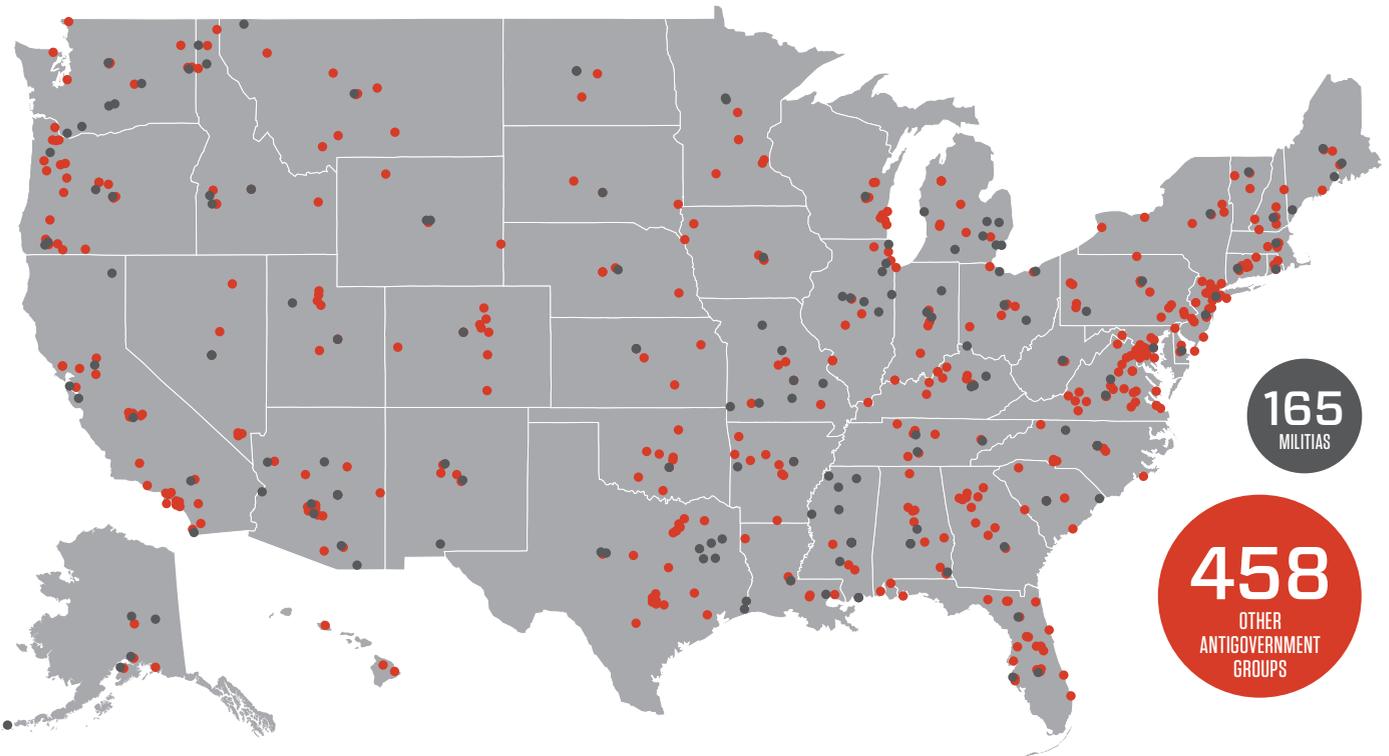
Las Vegas  
**Southern Nevada Militia\***  
 Statewide  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Statewide  
**We Are Change**  
 Las Vegas  
**NEW HAMPSHIRE (8)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**John Birch Society**  
 Conway  
 Troy  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Alstead  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Belknap County  
**We Are Change**  
 Manchester  
**What Really Happened**  
 Concord  
**NEW JERSEY (17)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party**  
**New Jersey**  
 Palmyra  
**John Birch Society**  
 Evesham Township  
 Flemington  
 Hanover  
 Keyport  
 Oakland  
 Totowa  
 Wantage  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Cape May  
 Bergen County  
 North  
 Statewide  
**R.V. Bey Publications**  
 Pleasantville  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Monmouth County  
**tomatobubble.com**  
 Saddle Brook  
**NEW MEXICO (7)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide

**Christian American Patriots Militia\***  
 Bernalillo County  
**Constitution Party of New Mexico**  
 Los Lunas  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Statewide  
**Southern New Mexico Militia\***  
 Doña Ana County  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Torrance County  
**NEW YORK (23)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 New York City  
**American Patriots III%**  
 New York City  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of New York**  
 Buffalo  
**John Birch Society**  
 Garden City Park  
 Flushing  
 New York City  
**New York Mutual Assistance Group\***  
 Statewide  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Capital Region  
 Catskill  
 Central  
 Hudson Valley  
 Long Island  
 Southern Tier  
 Staten Island  
 Statewide  
 Thornwood  
 Warren County  
 Wayne County  
 Western  
**Sovereign News, The**  
 New York City  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Herkimer County  
**We the People**  
 Queensbury  
**NORTH CAROLINA (13)**  
**III% Security Force\***  
 Statewide  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**America's Remedy**

Charlotte  
**Constitution Party of North Carolina**  
 Charlotte  
**Eagle Forum**  
 Statewide  
**Free North Carolina**  
 Cape Carteret  
**John Birch Society**  
 Charlotte  
 Crumpler  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Piedmont Triad  
 Statewide  
**Stokes County Militia\***  
 King  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Wake County  
**NORTH DAKOTA (5)**  
**III% Security Force\***  
 Statewide  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of North Dakota**  
 Bismarck  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Sheridan County  
**OHIO (13)**  
**III% Security Force**  
 Statewide  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party**  
 New Lebanon  
**John Birch Society**  
 Statewide  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Statewide  
 Toledo  
**Ohio Defense Force**  
**Home Guard\***  
 Cincinnati  
 Cleveland  
 Zanesville  
**Ohio Minutemen Militia\***  
 Oak Harbor  
**Silver Shield Xchange**  
 Cleveland  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Knox County

**OKLAHOMA (9)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Canadian County  
 Carter County  
 Comanche County  
 Oklahoma City  
 Pawnee County  
**Overpasses for America**  
 Tecumseh  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Pottawatomie County  
**OREGON (28)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**American Patriot Party**  
 Ashland  
**Bearded Bastards**  
 Statewide  
**Central Oregon**  
**Constitutional Guard**  
 Redmond  
**Constitution Party**  
 Grants Pass  
**Eagle Forum**  
 Portland  
**Embassy of Heaven**  
 Stayton  
**Freedom From Government**  
 Hillsboro  
**Heirs of Patrick Henry**  
 Statewide  
**McCutcheons Ink.**  
 Central Point  
**News With Views**  
 Merlin  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Benton County  
 Columbia County  
 Douglas County  
 Josephine County\*  
 Lane County  
 Linn County  
 Marion County  
 Polk County  
 Redmond  
 Washington County  
**Oregon Militia Alliance\***  
 Statewide  
**Pacific Patriots Network\***  
 Grants Pass  
**Southern Oregon**

# 623 ACTIVE ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS



**165**  
MILITIAS

**458**  
OTHER  
ANTIGOVERNMENT  
GROUPS

**Constitutional Guard**

Southern  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Crook County  
**Voice of Freedom, The**  
 Klamath Falls  
**West Valley**  
**Constitutional Guard\***  
 Yamhill County  
**PENNSYLVANIA (16)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**Alt Market**  
 Pittsburgh  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Berks County Patriots**  
 Blandon  
**Constitution Party**  
 Lancaster  
 Osceola  
**John Birch Society**  
 Harleysville  
 Pittsburgh  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Armstrong  
 Berks County

Statewide  
**Pennsylvania American Patriot Radio**  
 Crawford County  
**Pennsylvania Light Foot Militia\***  
 Westmoreland County  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Northumberland County  
**Unsolicited Opinion with Maggie, The**  
 Norristown  
**Western PA Liberty Forum**  
 Grove City  
**RHODE ISLAND (5)**  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Northern  
**Rhode Island Citizen Militia\***  
 Statewide  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Statewide  
**We Are Change**  
 Providence  
**SOUTH CAROLINA (8)**

**III% Security Force\***  
 Statewide  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of South Carolina**  
 Taylors  
**John Birch Society**  
 Statewide  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Charleston  
**South Carolina Light Foot Militia\***  
 Horry County  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Sumter County  
**SOUTH DAKOTA (4)**  
**III% United Patriots\***  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party of South Dakota**  
 Sioux Falls  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Stanley County

**Three Percenters Club**  
 Statewide  
**TENNESSEE (10)**  
**III% Security Force\***  
 Statewide  
**American Patriots III%**  
 Statewide  
**Constitution Party**  
 Montgomery County  
**Eagle Forum**  
 Nashville  
**East Tennessee Mountain Militia\***  
 Knoxville  
**Lawful Path**  
 Lynnville  
**National Black Robe Regiment**  
 Springfield  
**Oath Keepers**  
 Knoxville  
**Three Percenters Club\***  
 Nashville  
**Three Percenters-III%ers, The**  
 Smith County  
**TEXAS (32)**  
**III% United Patriots\***

Statewide	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>	Hampton	<b>Oath Keepers</b>
<b>Adask's Law</b>	Statewide	Mechanicsville	Statewide
Garland	<b>American Patriots III%</b>	Middlesex County	<b>Three Percenters-III%ers, The</b>
<b>American Patriots III%</b>	Statewide	New River Valley	Statewide
Statewide	<b>Constitution Party of Utah</b>	Orange County	<b>WISCONSIN (11)</b>
<b>American Patriot Party</b>	Bountiful	Pittsylvania-Henry	<b>:David-Wynn: Miller</b>
Statewide	<b>Eagle Forum</b>	Prince William County	Milwaukee
<b>Brave New Books</b>	South Jordan	Roanoke	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>
Austin	<b>Liberty RoundTable</b>	Scottsville	Statewide
<b>Constitution Party of Texas</b>	Highland	Statewide	<b>American Opinion</b>
Princeton	<b>Oath Keepers</b>	Winchester	<b>Foundation, Inc.</b>
<b>Eagle Forum</b>	Salt Lake City	<b>Outlaw Militia*</b>	Appleton
Anderson	<b>Three Percenters-III%ers, The</b>	Albemarle County	<b>American Patriots III%</b>
<b>Freedom School</b>	Sevier County	<b>Tea Party Patriots</b>	Statewide
Austin	<b>Utah Light Foot Militia*</b>	Merrifield	<b>Constitution Party of Wisconsin</b>
<b>Golden Triangle Militia*</b>	Tooele County, UT	<b>Three Percenters-III%ers, The</b>	of Milwaukee
Groves	<b>VERMONT (4)</b>	Buckingham County	<b>Eagle Forum</b>
Orange	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>	<b>WASHINGTON (16)</b>	Milwaukee
<b>Groups Against Agenda 21</b>	Statewide	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>	<b>John Birch Society</b>
Sulphur Springs	<b>American Patriots III%</b>	Statewide	Appleton
<b>Infowars.com</b>	Statewide	<b>American Patriots III%</b>	Menomonee Falls
Austin	<b>Oath Keepers</b>	Statewide	<b>Oath Keepers</b>
<b>John Birch Society</b>	Randolph	<b>Citizen Review Online</b>	North
Dallas	<b>Three Percenters-III%ers, The</b>	Sequim	Northeast
Houston	Orange County	<b>Constitution Party of Washington</b>	Port Washington
Robinson	<b>VIRGINIA (33)</b>	Spokane Valley	<b>WYOMING (5)</b>
<b>Oath Keepers</b>	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>	<b>DTM Enterprises</b>	<b>III% Security Force*</b>
Dallas	Statewide	Ephrata	Statewide
High Plains	<b>American Patriots III%</b>	<b>Eagle Forum</b>	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>
Northeast	Statewide	Lynden	Statewide
Upper Rio Grande	<b>American Policy Center</b>	<b>Liberty For All III%*</b>	<b>American Patriots III%</b>
<b>Outlaw Militia*</b>	Warrenton	Yakima	Statewide
Statewide	<b>Constitutional Rights PAC</b>	<b>Oath Keepers</b>	<b>Constitution Party of Wyoming</b>
<b>Republic Broadcasting</b>	Alexandria	Statewide	Torrington
Round Rock	<b>Constitution Party of Virginia</b>	<b>Stevens County Assembly</b>	<b>Natural News</b>
<b>Republic of Texas</b>	Newport News	Chewelah	Cody ▲
Bastrop County	<b>Declaration Alliance</b>	<b>Three Percenters-III%ers, The</b>	
<b>Rule of Law Radio</b>	Herndon	Pierce County	
Austin	<b>GrassTopsUSA Inc.</b>	<b>Washington Light Foot Militia*</b>	
<b>Silver Bear Café</b>	Lorton	Clark County	
Garland	<b>Gun Owners of America</b>	Grant County	
<b>Texas Eagle Forum</b>	Springfield	Skamania County	
Dallas	<b>John Birch Society</b>	Spokane County	
Anderson County	Fredericksburg	Yakima County	
Cherokee County	Petersburg	<b>We Are Change</b>	
Gregg County	<b>Oath Keepers</b>	Spokane	
Henderson County	Bedford County	<b>WEST VIRGINIA (5)</b>	
Smith County	Botetourt County	<b>III% United Patriots*</b>	
<b>Three Percenters-III%ers, The</b>	Craig County	Statewide	
Comanche County	Culpeper County	<b>American Patriots III%</b>	
<b>TURF - Texans Uniting for Reform and Freedom</b>	Dinwiddie	Statewide	
San Antonio	Fairfax County	<b>Constitution Party of West Virginia</b>	
<b>UTAH (9)</b>	Franklin County	Martinsburg	
<b>III% Security Force</b>	Fredericksburg		
Statewide	Goochland		



# PICTURING EXTREMISM

A director and a screenwriter discuss their new movie about white supremacists and what they hoped to accomplish

*It may have shocked some fans of the “Harry Potter” children’s films to see their star, Daniel Radcliffe, shaving his head and donning neo-Nazi tattoos in his latest movie, “Imperium,” an independent film released late last summer. But then again, the film’s message was not altogether different from the anti-bi-gotry themes woven into the Potter films, too. The film follows the story of Radcliffe’s character, Nate Foster, an FBI agent frustrated with his work in the agency’s counterterrorism division who is recruited by a senior agent in charge of its domestic terrorism unit, played by Toni Collette. Foster goes undercover with a neo-Nazi gang and works his way through the world of white supremacy to eventually uncover a potentially lethal terrorist plot. “Imperium” has a depth and realism unusual for a mainstream American film, in part because its script was co-written by longtime FBI agent **Michael German**, now a senior fellow with the Brennan Center for Justice. German, a one-time undercover agent himself whose bust of a Washington state militia group helped inspire the film’s climactic ending, is a domestic terrorism expert whose experiences helped inform “Imperium’s” detailed explanation of how ordinary people become radicalized by far-right movements. The Intelligence Report recently caught up with German and the film’s first-time director, **Daniel Ragussis**, for a discussion of the film and what its makers hoped to achieve.*

**One of the interesting things about the Harry Potter books and films is that J.K. Rowling really wove in a deeper anti-fascist message - the villain, Voldemort, was clearly a fascist prototype, and the whole cultural conflict was over "blood purity" and dehumanization.**

RAGUSSIS: Yes, and it's interesting, because I made the point — not only about Harry Potter, but "Star Wars" and other things that are full of this sort of modern popular culture conception of evil, which has been incredibly shaped by the Nazis and by fascism — that you see this in a lot of these major franchises. That's an interesting way in which our culture is picking up on these historical tropes and then turning them into movie bad guys, but there's a real, historical precedent for it and a real rooting in what actually happened.

**Were you around, or were you like the Radcliffe character, who was only 5 years old when the Oklahoma City bombing happened?**

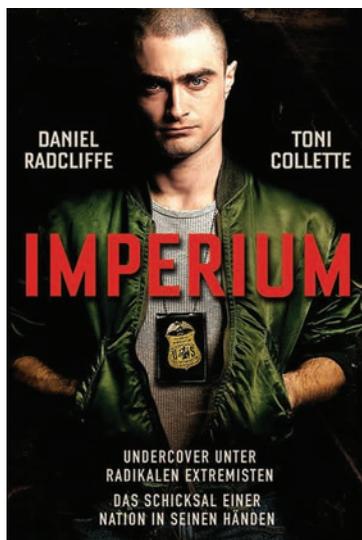
RAGUSSIS: No, I was older than that, so I remember it. What I will say is, I didn't realize there was a connection between that and the white supremacist movement until I started working on this movie. I probably discovered that through Mike German, when he wrote an op-ed for *The Washington Post* in 2005.

I had become interested in this world, the white supremacist community, and I was looking for a way into that world when I came across Mike's story. He was drawing connections between Oklahoma City and all the rest of the far-right movement, and that was something that was new to me. Not only new, but something where I was feeling, "How did I not know this? How do people not know this? How is this something that we don't talk about?"

**Good question.**

RAGUSSIS: Yeah, and it's an interesting question. It has a lot of layers to it. I think one of the things Mike talks about is that there is, for whatever reason, a reticence or a blind spot where we as a culture are not making those connections and are not seeing those things. Even our law enforcement community is not necessarily making those connections in a way so that people realize that this is a real threat.

In fact, when I was passing the script around in the early



**Director Daniel Ragussis (previous page, from far left), actor Daniel Radcliffe and former FBI agent Michael German worked together to produce "Imperium," a film about infiltrating the radical right.**

days, trying to get financing, I can't tell you how constantly the comment I was getting was, "This isn't really a thing, is it? Does this really happen? When were these cases? In the 1950s?" And I was like, "No, this is a thing that's happening, and you need to be aware of it. This is not from the 1950s. It happened then, but it's happening now too."

**One of my favorite Mike German stories was his arrest of members of the Washington State Militia in 1996, when he was still at the FBI. Mike posed as this skinhead arms dealer who was capable of bringing these eager militiamen arms and weapons, and he set them up with a warehouse meeting space where they recorded all the meetings where bombs were made and revolutionary talk flowed. On the final day, Mike told them they were going to learn how to get out of handcuffs without a key, so they all slipped into cuffs and were sitting there waiting when Mike pulled his badge and announced their arrest.**

RAGUSSIS: That was actually the spiritual inspiration for how the film climaxes. The scenario where the agent outthinks the people.

**Mike, I wonder when you sat down to write the script, to what extent did you intend the character to be sort of a facsimile of yourself?**

GERMAN: Not at all. In fact, probably if there was any intention it was in the opposite direction, to make it clear that it wasn't me. Also, to be clear, I think Dan was really more responsible for developing the character.

The way we worked was that we talked through a lot of the issues and what we thought were important things to highlight about what it's like to be undercover and what it's like to have to wrestle with the bureaucratic structure of the FBI, the attitudes within the FBI about white supremacist violence versus terrorism from other groups. Also, how to capture the complexity of the white supremacist movement and the fractures within that movement.

As far as the character, it's funny, because when I look at it I don't see anything. Dan and I have joked about it that I don't really like classical music [which the Radcliffe character does]. That's Dan's influence.

**You're taller than Daniel Radcliffe, I'll say that!**

GERMAN: That part of it we actually talked about. Once it was written, and we first started talking about who would play these roles, I sort of suggested that we find somebody that's of smaller stature to give the audience a feeling of that person's vulnerability. That we're not looking at this person as Jason Bourne.

The chances of him fighting his way out of this situation are really slim. That's what it really is. Even though I have boxed and wrestled and played rugby, was a pretty athletic guy, I wasn't going to fight my way out of any of those rooms. They always had you outnumbered and outgunned and so the idea was how to capture that vulnerability. We wanted to have somebody who the audience would immediately see was at risk with this kind of work.

**One of the impressive things about the film, I thought, was even though it's all fictionalized, there were some events in the film that were clearly drawn from real life and the context was astonishingly accurate, especially for a contemporary film. You obviously worked pretty hard at that.**

RAGUSSIS: Yes, I did. What I would say is, it's not necessarily a character thing, like, "Oh, I'm going to make this guy into a version of Mike," so much as what Mike did educate me about and what his experiences were. This kind of work does not involve someone going around and beating the hell out of people and getting in shootouts and all the rest of it.

In reality, this kind of work is about social dominance and having people like you and having people trust you and want to talk to you. It's all about social manipulation. It's not about pulling a gun. That became one of the primary missions of the film, to show undercover work in that way, and to have a main character who is bound by those constraints.

Of course, I conducted extensive research, including sociologists' work in this area. I read propaganda pieces like *The Turner Diaries*, and then of course, there's the online community, which in this day and age is enormous, and that's where you could really get a lot of the social side of things. If you go on these sites, yes, there's political discussions, of course, and everything is always infused with that. But then there are long threads where people are talking about, "Who's your favorite classical composer and what's your favorite painting," recipe exchanges, "I'm looking for love in another race-conscious individual."

It painted a picture to me that was very important to try and record, that these people have lives and interests. They can't be reduced to a simple character, and that was important for me because I am of the mind that it is important to understand

these people, these human beings, and even potentially engage with them as such. That's really the way that this is ultimately going to be overcome.

**Although obviously a lot of these folks are lost souls.**

RAGUSSIS: No, exactly, and that came through very clearly in the research that I was doing. Even someone like Jerry [an older white supremacist character in the film], who has developed a successful middle-class, well-educated lifestyle, still is imprisoned by those beliefs and I can't imagine would ever be shifted from them. Who is going to reason Jerry out of those beliefs? It would be incredibly difficult, if not impossible. That's the really challenging part for anyone that wants us to make progress and move beyond these belief systems.

**I'm curious about the extent of which the project was a learning experience for the cast and the crew.**

RAGUSSIS: I think it certainly was, and again, in the beginning, even when I was hiring crew, I was getting the same comments and questions that I was mentioning before. People were saying, "Is this really a thing? Didn't this happen in the '50s and '60s? Is this really a thing today?"

Then, of course, with every one of them, as I pointed them in the right direction to do the research and start exploring, they realized what I had realized, that, yes, this is actually an enormous thing. It was both educating them to understand the reality of this community in all the ways that we've been talking about, but also trying to also take the further step of really getting into the mindset of these people, because for an actor, you have to be able to understand your character's point of view. You have to be able to see the world through their eyes.

**Mike, what do you think our prospects are going forward, especially regarding that cultural blind spot, where we only see terrorists as Muslims and we ignore other threats? What do you see for us going forward, as far as domestic terrorism from the radical right?**

GERMAN: I think it will be a persistent threat. It's been with us for a long time. It will be with us for a long time. But I think it's a manageable threat, and I think actually the law enforcement does a pretty good job of managing that threat. Their commentary isn't hyperbolic, they don't spread unnecessary fear, they tend to solve these crimes fairly quickly and take them seriously.

I actually wrote a piece not long ago that argued that our counter-terrorism apparatus could really learn a lot by how law enforcement addresses this crime. It isn't that we're not giving



**Former FBI agent Michael German (at left) co-wrote the movie directed by Daniel Ragussis (with microphone). It stars Daniel Radcliffe, who earlier played Harry Potter in the children's films that carried a similar anti-fascist message.**

enough attention to this, it's that we're giving too much attention to the other. The goal of our counter-terrorism response should be to stop unnecessary and irrational fear and look at these issues objectively, resolving the issues rather than hyper-ventilating about how a threat can materialize.

Part of what we tried to do in the film was show that this is a very layered issue. There's skinhead violence, and that's the kind of thing that local law enforcement is responsible for. There's terrorism, which is different and less prevalent, but potentially more damaging.

But there's also the influence on our policy that this kind of discourse has, and that's a different kind of problem, but one that we should be talking about and focused on. I think that's what's come up through the end of the presidential campaign and now, where people are just starting to recognize that there is a lot of divisive discourse that is really harming us as a society.

**Andrew Anglin, the editor of the neo-Nazi website *The Daily Stormer*, has excoriated the film, denouncing Radcliffe as a Jew and claiming that the movie wound up making the Nazis look good. How do you respond to that?**

RAGUSSIS: Well, look, he's obviously like anyone else, he's promoting a certain agenda or ideology and is going to try to turn the thing so that it's going in the direction that he wants.

Our objective was to show these people as human beings, which they are. You could do the same thing with the tens of millions of people who were actively supporting the Nazi movement in Germany. That's what Nazi Germany proves to you — these movements are propped up by millions of people that have in some ways somewhat normal and mainstream views. So to the degree that the movie humanized the people in the movement, I think that's the necessary complication of the subject matter.

We'd all maybe love to believe that these people are demons and monsters. Their views and their politics and sometimes behavior are monstrous, but they themselves are human beings, and so I think, as complicated and dirty a truth as it may be, it's not one that we can shy away from if we want to deal with this issue pragmatically and try to make progress on it.

GERMAN: It's easy to demonize people you disagree with and make them into monsters, but in the end everybody I met when I was undercover in the neo-Nazi and antigovernment movements were real people and had full lives. I think it's important that we look at these issues treating them as real people.

Part of the problem with our society now is that it's very easy to just go among people who share your beliefs and not have to be in a place where your beliefs are challenged. The vast majority of neo-Nazis strongly believe what they believe and don't want to share that side of themselves with the rest of society. They're completely peaceful and have their website, where they can go invent their ethnostate and [organize their] conference once a year. I'm completely fine with that and more power to them; I will defend their right to do that.

This idea that we have now of twitter-takedowns and social media-takedowns I think is very dangerous. From my experience within the violent fringe of this movement, that's exactly what they want. As soon as people feel like they can't express themselves and can't engage with others about their ideas, that's when the person on the fringe who says, "No, you have to use violence to change things," becomes more convincing. As much as it's painful to hear them sometimes, we need to engage with them and confront them, and then I think those ideas will fall on the lack of merit. ▲



# For the Record

INCIDENTS OF APPARENT HATE CRIMES AND HATE GROUP ACTIVITIES listed here are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the almost 260,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that a 2012 Bureau of Justice Statistics report estimated occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents between July and December 2016. Any additional listings can be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's website.

SPLCENTER.ORG/GET-INFORMED/HATE-INCIDENTS

## ALABAMA

### Birmingham • August 3, 2016

Former Ku Klux Klan member Thomas Edwin Blanton, one of three men convicted for the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, was denied parole.

## ARKANSAS

### Fort Smith • December 2, 2016

Racist fliers from American Vanguard Reaction America were distributed at the University of Arkansas.

## CALIFORNIA

### Agoura Hills • October 19, 2016

Mark Feigin, 40, was charged with making criminal threats to the Islamic Center of Southern California. An ensuing investigation of Feigin's home uncovered several guns and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

### Antioch • September 7, 2016

Roy Charles Sorvari, 27, and Christyne Gail McDaniel, 25, face charges of arson and conspiracy to commit murder, mayhem, torture and assault with a deadly weapon for allegedly throwing Molotov cocktails into the home of a black family in Antioch.

### Concord • September 30, 2016

The nonprofit Rainbow Community Center of Contra Costa was the target of a rash of burglaries and vandalism.

### Davis • December 21, 2016

Nathaniel Neal Rogers, 21, faces battery and hate crime charges following an altercation where he "pushed an Asian male and then told him to go back to his country," according to police.

### Fresno • November 30, 2016

Daniel Coronel Wilson, Jr., was charged in Fresno County Superior Court with felony assault in connection with the December 2015 beating of 68-year-old Sikh man Amrik Singh Bal.

### Glendale • December 22, 2016

Police investigated a possible hate crime after a family said its home was damaged with a red swastika on the garage door and what appeared to be "Trump" written underneath. A racist note was also left at the home.

### Palmdale • July 7, 2016

A swastika and "USA" were spray-painted on a Muslim man's car on the final day of Ramadan.

### Richmond • September 25, 2016

Maan Singh Khalsa, a Sikh, was brutally attacked and his turban was violently knocked off his head. His hair, which Sikhs let grow naturally, was cut. The assault resulted in stitches and other severe injuries. Hate crime charges were filed against two men arrested for the assault.

### San Jose • November 26, 2016

The Evergreen Islamic Center received a letter that called the recipients "children of Satan" and "vile and filthy people." The letter also threatened that President-elect Donald Trump will "do to you Muslims what Hitler did to the Jews." At least two other mosques in Southern California, the Long Beach Islamic Center and the Islamic Center of Claremont, received the same letter.

### Simi Valley • December 10, 2016

A 29-year-old man was booked on suspicion of making criminal threats and committing a hate crime after allegedly stabbing and injuring a worshipper near a Simi Valley mosque.

## CONNECTICUT

### East Haddam • November 10, 2016

Vandals sprayed "Trump 2016" over a message of unity sign welcoming all people of color and religions to the community.

### Stamford • August 3, 2016

Kendall J. Sullivan, 50, posted numerous statements on the Internet forum Metalthrone.net

in which he threatened to injure or kill several people and religious groups.

## FLORIDA

### Fort Pierce • September 14, 2016

The mosque that Orlando nightclub gunman Omar Mateen attended was set on fire in what Muslim leaders say was the latest incident in an escalating campaign of harassment and violence.

### Sarasota • December 22, 2016

A Jewish congregation reported that someone had drawn anti-Semitic images on its property.

## GEORGIA

### Rome • July 21, 2016

Police in northwest Georgia say fliers were left in residents' driveways stating that the Black Lives Matter movement is telling followers to kill white people and police officers. The fliers urged readers to join the Ku Klux Klan.

### Woodstock • October 24, 2016

Residents found Ku Klux Klan literature strewn about their driveways. The fliers attacked the transgender population as "an abomination."

## IOWA

### Iowa City • November 16, 2016

An American citizen born in Sudan, Amar Samel, found a handwritten note taped to his front door that read, "You can all go home now. We don't want n\*\*\*\*\* and terrorists here. #Trump."

### Waterloo • October 28, 2016

A county supervisor candidate found graffiti on his yard signs and front door referencing anti-LGBT Bible verses and threatening death.

## KANSAS

### Garden City • October 14, 2016

Curtis Allen, Gavin Wright, and Patrick Eugene Stein face federal charges of conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction.

The men were accused of plotting a bomb attack targeting an apartment complex home to a mosque and many Muslim immigrants from Somalia. The FBI says that as part of this plot, the men conducted surveillance of the complex and other places in southwest Kansas.

### Lindsborg • September 3, 2016

The president of Bethany College reported that the school was the target of nearly a dozen racist messages written in chalk on sidewalks around the campus. One of the messages said, "Make Lindsborg white again."

## MARYLAND

### College Park • December 11, 2016

Fliers linked to American Vanguard, a white supremacist group, were found on the campus of the University of Maryland.

### Severna Park • December 6, 2016

Severna Park Middle School administrators closed down a bathroom after finding ink writings containing "a threat to the school and an Islamic reference."

### Wheaton • August 1, 2016

Two transgender women were punched and kicked inside a convenience store. Two suspects, Edras Vasquez, 20, and Carlos Hernandez-Sanez, 18, were being held on bond.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston • December 5, 2016

Posters advocating a white supremacist group, American Vanguard, were found on the Emerson College campus. The fliers were placed in public view as part of the group's "Northern Propaganda Campaign."

### Boston • December 16, 2016

A Suffolk County judge ordered that a Malden man be held on \$20,000 bail for after allegedly committing a hate crime by beating a man with a brick.

**Cambridge • December 6, 2016**  
Graffiti containing swastikas and other hate speech was found in three of Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School bathrooms.

## **MICHIGAN**

**Grand Rapids • November 21, 2016**  
A voicemail left at Grand Rapids Church threatened that Trump would “help gays get kicked out of the country along with all the fricken Mexicans that are illegal.” It went on to say “I hope Trump gets ya. Trump Trump Trump.”

## **NEW JERSEY**

**Bayonne • October 14, 2016**  
Police arrested Jonathon Huffey, 20, for spray-painting anti-Muslim messages and the words “Donald Trump” on a Muslim community center. Huffey faces charges of criminal mischief, bias intimidation, and criminal trespass.

**Lakewood • August 27, 2016**  
“Hail Hitler” was scrawled in black paint, along with two swastikas, on a side door to a pre-teen camp.

**Maywood • September 20, 2016**  
Aakash Dalal, 24, of Lodi was charged in a 30-count indictment with a former schoolmate, Anthony Graziano, for their alleged role in a series of arson and graffiti attacks that terrorized North Jersey’s Jewish community at the end of 2011 and the beginning of 2012.

**Moonachie • December 6, 2016**  
Police investigated a home break-in as a hate crime due to the graffiti, including “KKK,” a swastika and other racial slurs, that was painted on multiple walls inside the home. The name “Trump” was also written on a wall.

## **NEW YORK**

**Cooperstown • August 3, 2016**  
Lawrence Andrew Mileo, 50, a white man from Myrtle Beach, S.C., was arrested for verbally and physically assaulting a 33-year-old African-American woman.

**Mineola • December 14, 2016**  
According to police, graffiti was spray-painted on Washington Avenue reading, “Make America White Again,” presumably a reference to Donald Trump’s campaign slogan “Make America Great Again.”

**New York • September 7, 2016**  
Jonathan Echevarria, 22, of Brooklyn, was sentenced to 18 years in prison and Nolis Ogando, 22, of Ridgewood, to eight years behind bars for their part in a fatal group beating of a man they perceived to be gay more than five years ago. The victim died two days later as a result of his injuries.

**New York • September 10, 2016**  
A woman wearing traditional Muslim clothing told police that a man lit her blouse on fire in midtown Manhattan.

**New York • December 1, 2016**  
Yasmin Seweid, 18, was assaulted by three men who called her a terrorist and shouted President-elect Donald Trump’s name in her direction before trying to yank off her hijab.

**New York • December 3, 2016**  
Native New Yorker, Muslim and police officer, Aml Elsokary, was assaulted by a white man yelling “ISIS bitch,” among other slurs, and “I will cut your throat, go back to your country.” The episode is being investigated as a bias incident.

**New York • December 7, 2016**  
Nassau County police are investigating a series of bias incidents at Nassau Community College, all of which involved swastika graffiti.

**New York • December 21, 2016**  
Vandalism inside a Brooklyn wastewater treatment plant included six swastikas, the words “Heil Hitler” and “Trump.”

**White Plains • November 14, 2016**  
The spray-painting of a swastika and the words “white power” along the Bronx River Parkway bike path was being investigated as a hate crime.

**Wilton Manors • September 7, 2016**  
A Florida man who posted a Facebook rant threatening to kill gay people on Labor Day in a manner similar to the massacre at an Orlando nightclub was arrested and charged with a federal crime.

## **NORTH CAROLINA**

**Cary • October 13, 2016**  
Seven-year-old Pakistani-American Abdul Usmani was beaten by five of his fellow students as they made references to his race and Muslim religion.

**Roxboro • December 3, 2016**  
The Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a “Trump Victory” event.

## **NORTH DAKOTA**

**Fargo • September 6, 2016**  
Matthew Gust pleaded guilty to a federal hate crime for firebombing a Somali restaurant. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

## **OREGON**

**Portland • September 21, 2016**  
An orange swastika was painted on former Portland Mayor Vera Katz’ statue.

## **PENNSYLVANIA**

**Coudersport • September 17, 2016**  
Residents reported that plastic bags were left on their lawns that contained rocks, lollipops, and a flier that read, “Are there troubles in your neighborhood? Contact the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan today.”

**East Stroudsburg • October 30, 2016**  
State police reported that a church had been targeted with graffiti criticizing Donald Trump and depicting obscene sexual and anti-Semitic images.

**Lewisburg • December 5, 2016**  
A swastika was found carved into a bathroom stall on the Bucknell University campus.

**Mechanicsburg • December 20, 2016**  
Someone carved “KKK” and “Trump” into the vehicles of a Hispanic male and a man of Middle Eastern descent.

**Wilkes-Barre Township • October 5, 2016**  
Plastic bags containing rocks, a lollipop and a Klu Klux Klan recruitment fliers were found on residents’ front lawns.

## **SOUTH CAROLINA**

**Charleston • December 15, 2016**  
Dylann Roof, a self-radicalized white supremacist who killed nine black parishioners in 2015 when he opened fire during a long-planned assault on Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, was found guilty of several murder charges and hate crimes by a federal jury.

**Clemson • October 10, 2016**  
Clemson University police investigated the discovery of Ku Klux Klan recruitment fliers that appeared on the school’s campus.

## **SOUTH DAKOTA**

**Sioux Falls • December 7, 2016**  
Police were searching for the suspect or suspects who wrote “Make America White again — build the wall” on a bridge near a local high school.

## **TEXAS**

**College Station • December 13, 2016**  
Texas A&M University students and activists protested against a speech by white nationalist Richard Spencer, who was filmed at a conference in November using Nazi-like salutes.

**Galveston • December 2, 2016**  
A Muslim-owned business was targeted by vandals and covered in bacon, just days after bacon grease was smeared on its front door handles.

**McKinney • November 4, 2016**  
A Trump campaign sign posted outside of a polling place had razor blades glued to the bottom of it.

## **VERMONT**

**Hartford • October 17, 2016**  
Vandals spray-painted the side of Dothan Brook Elementary School with the words “Amer-KKK-ans for Trump.”

## **WASHINGTON**

**Lynden • December 21, 2016**  
Skip Edward Saunders, 33, pleaded guilty to a hate crime for sending racial slurs and death threats to a Lummi woman, Sharlaine LaClair, running for the Washington State House of Representatives.

**Pullman • November 9, 2016**  
According to police, a student found anti-LGBT slurs and “Go 2 Hell” written in red paint on his car.

## **WEST VIRGINIA**

**Clarksburg • November 10, 2016**  
A gay couple received an intimidating and anonymous note that read, “Trump is our president now! Get out of our neighborhood now F\*\*\*\*\*S!” When the couple called 911, police reportedly failed to respond. ▲

# KU KLUX KLOWNS

The Loyal White Knights promised a major KKK parade to celebrate the election. It didn't quite work out that way

BY RYAN LENZ

Even the best-laid plans don't do well in jail.

At least that was the apparent lesson for Chris Barker, imperial wizard of the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, who found himself in the slammer unexpectedly last December, charged with the stabbing of a fellow Klansman on the eve of the group's big post-election celebration.

Like many other hate groups, the Loyal White Knights were delighted by Donald Trump's unexpected Election Day triumph, and they were in the mood to celebrate. After all, campaign promises of a big, beautiful wall on America's southern border, plans for a national registry for Muslims and the deportation of as many as 12 million undocumented immigrants... What's not to like?

It was time for a parade.

But not just any parade. The Loyal White Knights planned to take to the streets of Roxboro, N.C., robed and proud, to show the world just how very pleased they were. Or was it in Pelham?

You see, when the time came for the Dec. 3 event billed as a "Victory Klavalkade Klan Parade," hundreds of anti-racist protesters, police and reporters arrived in Roxboro, where they waited for the Klansmen to arrive.

And waited.

And the Klan did show, finally, in a form. But rather than the loud, proud pageant they'd been advertising, the fearless warriors who are going to save the white man acted a little more like frightened scaredy-cats. Instead of actually following through on their Klavalkade, they tore bravely through Roxboro in a fast-paced column of cars and trucks fitted with Confederate battle flags.



**Men in orange: Imperial Wizard Chris Barker (left) and West Coast Grand Dragon William Hagen say they're defending the white race, but that allegedly didn't stop them from stabbing one of their own the night before their coming-out party.**

It was so quick that hardly anyone noticed. It was easy to miss.

The imperial wizard, the great and powerful Chris Barker, had an excuse, albeit a somewhat embarrassing one. On the morning of the march, Barker was cooling his heels behind bars after a rough night out.

The night before, at Barker's house in Yanceyville, N.C., an argument among Klan brothers turned ugly. Barker, and California Loyal White Knights leader William Hagen, were charged hours later with attacking fellow Klansman Richard Dillon of Indiana, leaving him with multiple stab wounds to the chest. And so the great and leaderless Kalavalkade turned into a fleeting race through town.

It isn't known what led the Aryan heroes to turn on one another. The pressure of organizing the march? The adrenalin rush from Trump's election? Too long a parade route for tired white legs? Or was it simply the fact that the most complex operation the Loyal White Knights could pull off was stapling bags of candy to racist fliers and tossing them in yards under cover of darkness?

Whatever the truth, the confusion surrounding the parade began even before the boys in the hoods quarreled.

Pressed by the media for details of the Klavalkade early, a lower-ranking Exalted Cyclops of the group told a reporter that it was set for 9 a.m. in Pelham. But then Amanda Barker, the Imperial Kommander of the group and Chris Barker's wife, said it was scheduled for six hours later in Roxboro, a town located about 40 miles away. Eventually, reporters landed in Roxboro.

Perhaps those expecting a grand display from Barker's Klan were asking too much, even if he could stay out of jail. His loyalty to the cause has come into serious question in the last couple of years — after all, a Klansman is not supposed to sell out his brothers to the cops, even if he is in trouble and facing prison on a federal weapons charge.

But that's precisely what Barker did.

In 2015, he began to cooperate with prosecutors in upstate New York in a case against Glendon Scott Crawford, a member of the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. As it happened, Crawford had contacted Barker just as Barker was facing the weapons charges, and Barker didn't hesitate. He got on the phone to the FBI and told them Crawford had just called him, seeking money to help construct a giant X-ray weapon with which he intended to mass murder Muslims.

Last year, Crawford and an accomplice were sent to prison for long terms, in part thanks to the help of Imperial Wizard Barker. But all was right in Barker's world, once again, or so it seemed.

Except that it wasn't. Barker now faces a new raft of weapons charges from an unrelated investigation — not to mention charges in the stabbing affair. ▲

# The SPLC *Intelligence Report* Offers Online Investigative Resources

The *Intelligence Report* is offering **free online resources** to help law enforcement track extremist activity in their communities and conduct criminal investigations. Check out our website and see all that we have to offer. **[intelligencereport.org](http://intelligencereport.org)**



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