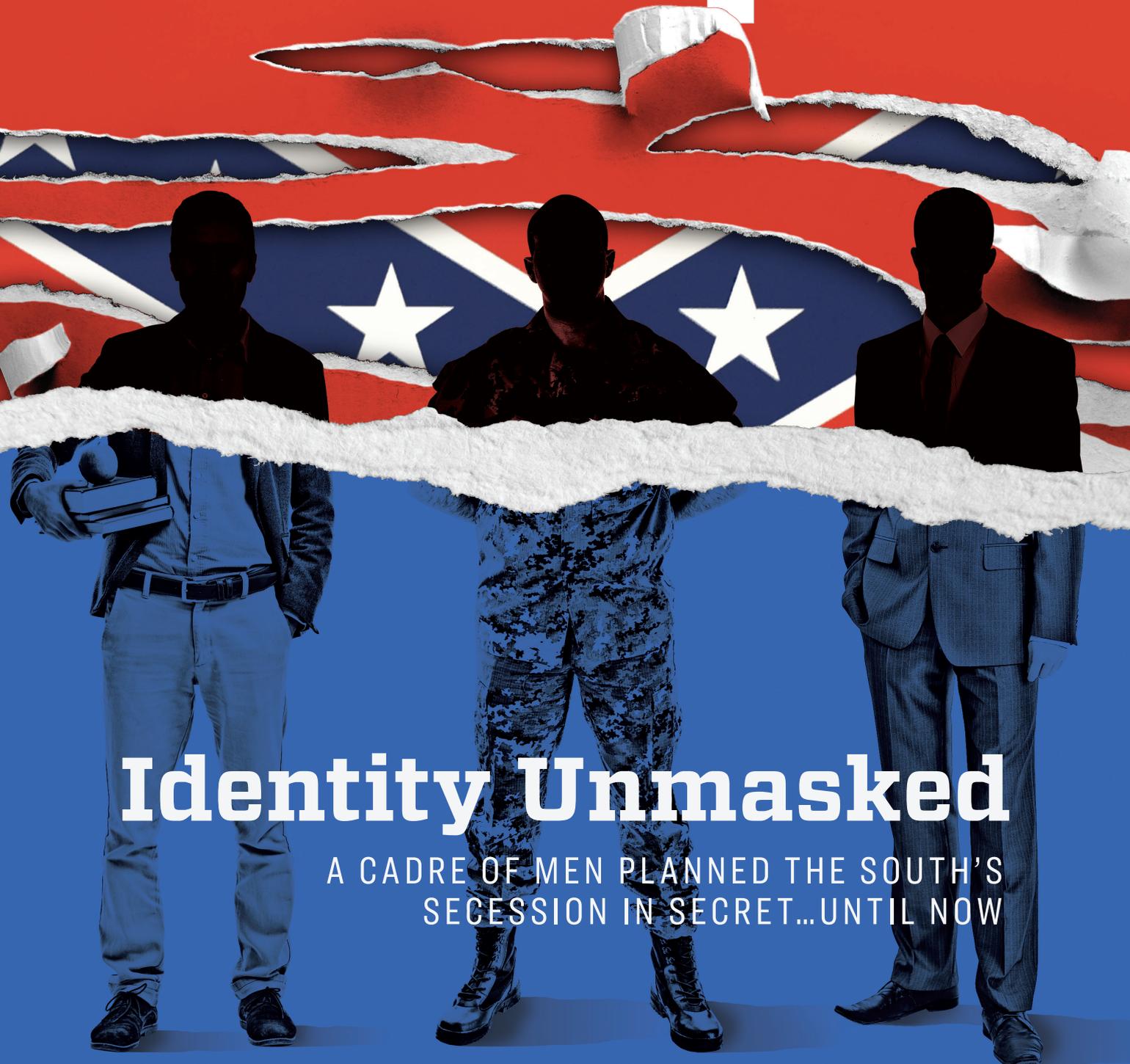


# Intelligence Report

PUBLISHED BY  
THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

FALL 2019 // ISSUE 167



## Identity Unmasked

A CADRE OF MEN PLANNED THE SOUTH'S  
SECESSION IN SECRET...UNTIL NOW

## UNDERSTANDING THE THREAT

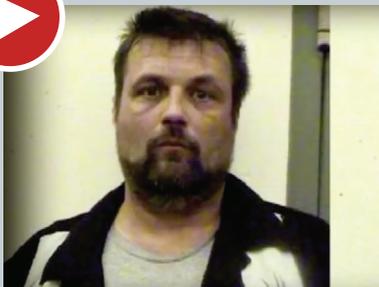
# Law Enforcement Training Videos

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



### LAW ENFORCEMENT RESPONSE TO HATE EVENTS

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



### 'SOVEREIGN CITIZENS' AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

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

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

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



### HATE CRIMES

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

**FOR MORE INFORMATION VISIT:**  
[splcenter.org/law-enforcement-resources](http://splcenter.org/law-enforcement-resources)



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**Southern Poverty**  
**Law Center**



ON THE COVER

**19** IDENTITY UNMASKED

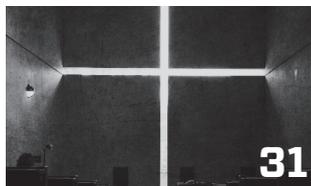
Meet the proprietors of the internet's largest neo-Confederate propaganda machine.



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**Out of the Darkness**

After two decades of pushing discredited "conversion therapy" for LGBTQ people, an "ex-gay" therapist comes out.



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**A Church Divided**

An anti-LGBTQ church spent years maligning LGBTQ people as "sinners." Then a scandal involving prostitutes, gambling and drugs engulfed its pastor.

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The *Intelligence Report* is published twice a year by the staff of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project and provided free of charge to law enforcement officials, journalists, scholars and others. The Southern Poverty Law Center is supported entirely by private donations. No government funds are involved.

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## 14 SPURNED & BURNED

Chasing mainstream acceptance, ACT for America rebuffs a previously lauded chapter president.



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## Rift Exposed

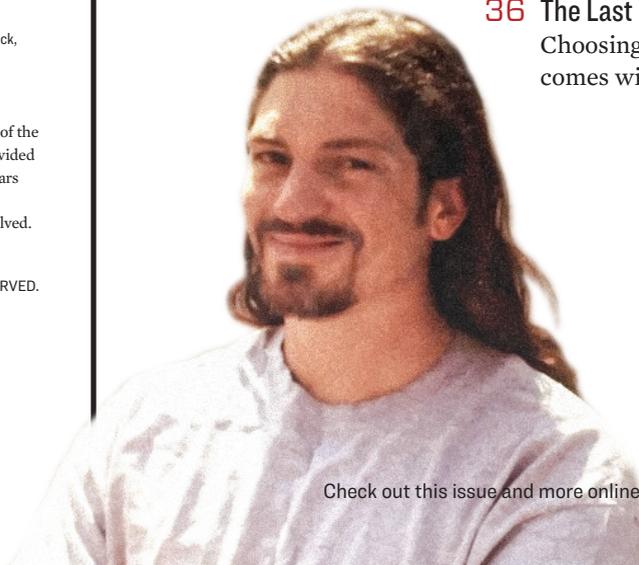
A fracture robs the nation's largest neo-Confederate hate group of its longtime headquarters.

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A militiaman's fundraising plea devolves into a lawsuit.

## 36 The Last Word

Choosing dollars over decency comes with a cost.



# Resolute

## The Battle Against Hate Demands Vigilance

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

Hate persists. It's relentless.

History demonstrates that through the centuries, across civilizations, humans consistently kill or marginalize one another. Slavery, racial oppression, ethnic cleansing, pogroms and genocide reign through the ages. They are the greatest of human atrocities, given the special designation of crimes against humanity. And they are driven by hate.

Hate endures.

That's why we have to fight it. Every day.

Our reporting unmasks rage peddlers and homicidal conspirators who hide behind bandanas and the internet. We report their names and their lies — lies told to enrage the ignorant, to incite prejudiced, fearful people and to justify legislation that undermines this country's founding principles. And our reporting reveals something else.

Hate cowers.

It scrambles to cover its tracks, its hypocrisy, its schemes. In this edition of *Intelligence Report*, you'll discover that truth. For example, the founder of the anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America, Brigitte Gabriel, has written that terrorist attacks represent Islam in its "purest form." But when a chapter president erected a display with a similar message, ACT distanced itself from that regional leader. It appears the group's political aspirations weren't worth a national scandal or the extension of its loyalty to an influential member.

And then there's Chris Cantwell. He appeared in a Vice documentary about the 2017 failed Charlottesville rally in which a white supremacist killed counterprotester Heather Heyer in a hit-and-run. With John Wayne machismo, Cantwell brandished weapons in the documentary and boasted: "I go to the gym all the time. I'm trying to make myself more capable of violence." After Heyer's murder, he bragged: "The fact that none of our people killed anybody unjustly is a plus for us, and we showed our rivals that we won't be cowed."

Four days later he cried. That's when he learned there was a warrant for his arrest. "I want to be peaceful. I want to be law-abiding," he said through tears while recording a YouTube video. "I'm terrified." His bravado faded with the reality of consequences. And now? After pleading guilty to assault and battery and being banned from the state of

Virginia? Now, we've learned, he's an FBI informant. Cantwell's rationale for cooperating with federal investigators seems as conflicted as his vacillation between being a self-proclaimed aggressor and being a committed pacifist. "The FBI," he says, "seems more interested in stopping the violence, which necessarily means leftists going to prison." Conviction has a way of weakening convictions.

But for every extremist who recants or sobs, just as many remain resolute. Grayson Fritts openly declared from his pulpit, "God has instilled the power of civil government to send the police in 2019 out to the LGBTQ freaks and arrest them and have a trial for them, and if they are convicted, then they are to be put to death." Fritts is a pastor at All Scripture Baptist Church in Knoxville, Tennessee. He was also a detective with the Knox County Sheriff's Office.

Armando Delgado Gonzalez wasn't hiding online or behind a fake name when he allegedly suggested a fatal remedy for immigration near Sunland Park, New Mexico. A member of border militia group United Constitutional Patriots told police that Gonzalez allegedly asked, "Why are we just apprehending [migrants] and not lining them up and shooting them? We have to go back to Hitler days and put them all in a gas chamber." BuzzFeed News reported that Gonzalez denied making the comments written in a police report.

Three months later, a gunman killed 22 people who were shoppers at a Texas Walmart less than 15 miles from Sunland Park. Police have arrested Patrick Crusius in connection with that massacre.

We see the boldness of hate.

That's why we didn't hesitate to publicize the names of leaders in the neo-Confederate group Identity Dixie. Our investigation revealed that the organization hopes to equip Southern states to secede from our country. The group has promoted radical right-wing Christian Dominionism, along with Kinism, the belief that the Bible prohibits interracial marriage.

Hate persists.

But we see the impact of fighting it. You'll read about what happened to the Virginia EMT who joked about torturing a young black boy with a needle. And you'll discover why a judge shut down an anti-gay conversion group for minors.

That's why we investigate. Relentlessly. ▲





## A Stranger's Hate

Police say he drove 600 miles to kill and maim people he didn't know but hated nonetheless. The 22 people who died after the Aug. 3 shooting in an El Paso, Texas, Walmart were simply shopping on a Saturday morning. But police have said the suspect, Patrick Crusius, targeted the location near the U.S.-Mexico border because he sought to kill Mexicans he viewed as "invaders." The dead included a 15-year-old boy, senior citizens and a young mother and father who died shielding their 2-month-old baby.

Authorities confirmed that Crusius, 21, of Allen, Texas, wrote a hate-filled manifesto. Some of it mirrored language used by President Donald Trump to describe Mexicans. Two days after the shooting, the president finally condemned white supremacy and later denounced "other supremacies." Despite the president's past reluctance to directly pinpoint domestic terrorism, FBI director Christopher Wray noted before Congress in July that domestic terror investigations led to 90 arrests in the last nine months. Crusius joins that list. At press time, he is being held on probable cause of capital murder but has not yet been formally charged. Prosecutors plan to seek the death penalty. Meanwhile, like residents in Poway, California, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania — the sites of shootings motivated by white supremacy — El Pasoans try to make sense of the senseless.

Follow all of our coverage at [splcenter.org/El-Paso](https://splcenter.org/El-Paso)



### ON THE COVER

SPLC analysts and reporters relentlessly unearth and publish stories that create fissures in hate groups or reveal their weaknesses and operations. Inside this issue, discover the impact accountability and publicity have on hate.

ILLUSTRATION BY **ROB DOBI**

**SHARED THREAT**  
 "Political debates in the United States can be untethered from facts, but threats to life focus minds on reality. The reality today is that when it comes to organized violence, Jewish and Muslim Americans, as well as members of other minority groups, face the same threat: white-supremacist terrorism."

U.S. Rep. Tom Malinowski, D-NJ, "America's greatest terrorist threat? White Supremacists."  
*The Washington Post*, May 3, 2019

### INVESTIGATIONS



MATTHEW GEBERT

A U.S. state department official was placed on leave following our report outing him as a leader in the white nationalist movement.

Learn more by visiting [splcenter.org/gebert](https://splcenter.org/gebert)

### ONLINE HATE MAP

From Hawaii to Rhode Island, hate groups operate throughout our nation. Explore what's happening in your state at [splcenter.org/hate-map](https://splcenter.org/hate-map)



### CONTACT US

For media inquiries, please contact our press team at (334) 956-8420.

Comments, suggestions or tips? Send them to [HWeditor@splcenter.org](mailto:HWeditor@splcenter.org)

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Get the latest news and join the conversation.



### 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.



# HATEWATCH



## ON OUR RADAR

# BRAVE IN THE DARK

Using fake names and fictional avatars, wannabe killers and hatemongers exude courage and commitment to their hateful causes. Until the world learns their real names. Until someone exposes their plans. Then they cry. They beg for forgiveness or a judge's mercy. They claim all that hate speech was just entertainment. In the anonymity provided by chat rooms dedicated to expressing homicidal intentions toward people because of their faith, ethnicity or sexual orientation, people declare a willingness to be martyrs. But in the light of day or when facing a possible conviction, they bargain for their lives. In this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, we expose the impact of fighting hate with light.

For the latest on this topic and more, go to [splcenter.org/hatewatch](https://splcenter.org/hatewatch).



## Infighting Rips, Shrinks Militia Group

BY RACHEL JANIK AND INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF

The United Constitutional Patriots, a border militia group best known for holding migrants at gunpoint, has split after internal strife turned members against one another.

The divide came after progressive YouTubers The Young Turks (TYT) revealed that UCP interim leader Steven Brant had reported one of the group's newest members to police. According to Brant neophyte Armando Gonzalez, asked, "Why are we just apprehending [migrants] and not lining them up and shooting them?" Gonzalez also allegedly said, "We have to go back to Hitler days and put them all in a gas chamber." Gonzalez denied making the comments Brant attributed to him.

TYT obtained the report containing the comments from the Sunland Park Police Department in New Mexico.

Gonzalez's alleged comments sparked media backlash. Shortly after the story broke, spokesman

Jim Benvie and a handful of other UCP members split from the organization and started a new group called Guardian Patriots.

Guardian Patriots have remained active on the Southern border but have moved its operations to private land. Since establishing Guardian Patriots, membership in both groups has remained relatively low. Each organization maintains about three to five active members.

The low membership hasn't stopped Guardian Patriots from throwing its full support behind Brian Kolfage's We Build the Wall nonprofit. Kolfage's organization aims to build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border using donations from private citizens. The nonprofit has support from controversial right-wing figures such as Steve Bannon, David Clarke, Kris Kobach and Tom Tancredo.

In May, We Build the Wall Inc. reached its first milestone when the group successfully built

Jeff Allen and United Constitutional Patriots members Jim Benvie, Steve Brant and a UCP member who goes by "Stinger" patrol the U.S.-Mexico border near Sunland Park, New Mexico, in March. The group gained infamy for detaining migrants at gunpoint in April.

## FEAR SPURS CENSORSHIP

BY KEEGAN HANKES, CAROLINE SINDERS  
AND UNICORN RIOT

Administrators of pages pushing hateful messages started self-censoring — and in at least one instance mass-deleting — content from several key online communities after the terror attacks on mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand.

Their actions show that these administrators feel emboldened as long as they can lurk in the internet's shadows. But as soon as they face consequences, they change tactics out of fear.

A review of 12 far-right servers on the chat application Discord reveals that while users were celebrating the horrific attacks of March 15, administrators deleted large amounts of content and instituted bans on posts glorifying the alleged perpetrator.

The Southern Poverty Law Center and outside researchers affiliated with the non profit media organization, Unicorn Riot, conducted the review in the weeks since the March attacks. The review brought to light that while social media networks have been slow to remove hate content from their platforms, some extremist communities are taking down or banning content due to legal concerns.

“Attention all users. Considering the circumstances we find ourselves in it is very likely that this man was in any number of /k/ servers,” wrote user “Maj. Asshole,” an administrator of a 4chan-affiliated server titled “The Pathetic Life of an Average /K/ommand.”

“Considering this it is very likely we could all be, in the event the man was in the server, considered accomplices and held for a federal investigation. Seeing as that is the case, any mentioning of the recent habbening [sic] from now on us [sic] strictly verboten.”

“Maj. Asshole’s” fears seem legitimate. Federal prosecutors in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, recently charged Corbin Kauffman, a 30-year-old resident of Lehigh, Pennsylvania, with interstate transmission of threats to injure another person for content that he posted on Minds.com, a fringe social media site.

If the suspect in the New Zealand attacks was a member of “The Pathetic Life of an Average /K/ommand,” its users may also have cause for concern. David Hyman, a law professor at Georgetown University, told *Newsweek* in 2018 that anonymous online users can have their identities

a one-mile stretch of wall in Sunland Park for an estimated \$6 million to \$8 million. The wall, which was built on property co-owned by Jeff Allen and George Cudahy, was a center of interest for the Guardian Patriots, who were ecstatic to share updates with followers via Facebook.

UCP first gained notoriety detaining migrants at gunpoint along the New Mexico border. In April, U.S. representatives including Deb Haaland, Veronica Escobar and Ben Ray Lujan sent a letter asking FBI Director Christopher Wray to “immediately launch an investigation into this unlawful conduct.”

Larry Hopkins, the former leader who also went by the name Johnny Horton Jr., had the original UCP group stationed on land owned by Union Pacific Railroad in Sunland Park. When news of the group’s activities came to light, city and state officials began looking into Hopkins and his men. Julia Brown, the Sunland Park city manager, said, “It’s our position, and the governor’s, that such detention is not allowed and is, in fact, illegal.”

Residents also spoke out against the vigilante activity. Business owner Robert Ardovino called UCP’s actions “immoral” and said the group “shouldn’t be acting as law enforcement. That’s the bottom line.”

The FBI arrested Hopkins on April 20. Three days later, Union Pacific Railroad asked that UCP vacate its property, and Sunland Park police escorted the remaining members off the land. Hopkins has pleaded not guilty to charges of being a felon in possession of firearms. He remains in jail awaiting trial.

Citing policy, an FBI spokesperson from the New Mexico field office declined to comment on the case or whether the bureau is opening a broader investigation into UCP’s activities.

Hopkins isn’t the only person with ties to UCP who has been apprehended. In June, Benvie was arrested in Oklahoma for his activities with UCP. He was indicted by the U.S. District Court of New Mexico and charged with two counts of impersonating an agent of the U.S. Border Patrol.

A judge ordered Benvie’s release just days after his arrest on the condition that he stays away from any militia activity, remains at least 10 miles from the border, gets a GPS monitor fitted and gets a real job. If convicted, Benvie faces up to three years in prison.



Larry Mitchell Hopkins, 70, (top) the “Commander” of the United Constitutional Patriots, and James “Jim” Christopher Benvie, 44, the group’s spokesman, had run-ins with the law.

revealed if a judge deems it relevant to a case. “Private and privileged are not the same thing,” Hyman told *Newsweek*.

Users in these servers created memes and coordinated the creation of other content, including YouTube playlists celebrating the alleged killer. Some pledged to follow the Christchurch attacker’s footsteps.

“Wow. Just finished reading the manifesto. Truly powerful,” a person using the name “Sulferix” wrote in Outer Heaven, one of the servers reviewed for this piece. “I will be starting my own contribution to the fight soon, in every way that I can. I will start a group. I will train. I will be part of this if it fucking kills me. I hope I’m not the only one.”

Statements from moderators and users show they fear Discord, a chat application favored by video gaming communities and more recently the extreme right, will remove them from its platform, and they fear prosecution for hateful and violent remarks.

The resilience of these apocalyptic communities on Discord combined with self-censorship illustrates how far Silicon Valley’s policymakers and content moderators are lagging behind far-right extremists on their platforms.

As these Discord servers illustrate, while extremist communities are adaptive and committed to spreading violent ideologies, meaningful content moderation can change the paradigm.

PATRICK COUNTY,  
VIRGINIA

**17,673**

Estimated population

**92.3%**

White

**5.5%**

Black

**\$37,757**

Median household income  
(U.S. average is \$61,372)

**14.3%**

Bachelor’s degree or higher

**14.5%**

Poverty rate

—SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

## Racist Entertainer Rejected

BY MICHAEL EDISON HAYDEN

An emergency medical technician lost his job even after a Virginia state department determined he had not violated workplace rules forbidding discriminatory behavior.

The firing of Alex McNabb is notable as it indicates that the views he promoted, contrary to what members of the “alt-right” may say, are not palatable even in largely white enclaves, such as Patrick County, Virginia. The community the rescue squad said it needed to protect is 92 percent white and 86 percent lack a college education.

While he was an EMT, McNabb co-hosted the hate podcast, “The Daily Shoah.” On the show, McNabb compared his black patients to animals and boasted that he once “terrorized” a young black boy with a needle.

McNabb and his collaborators, including New York-based white supremacist Michael Peinovich, picked up thousands of downloads of their show per week by mocking minorities and scapegoating Jewish people as the enemies of white people. Collaborators and listeners alike reveled in McNabb’s position of power over people of color in his job as an EMT.

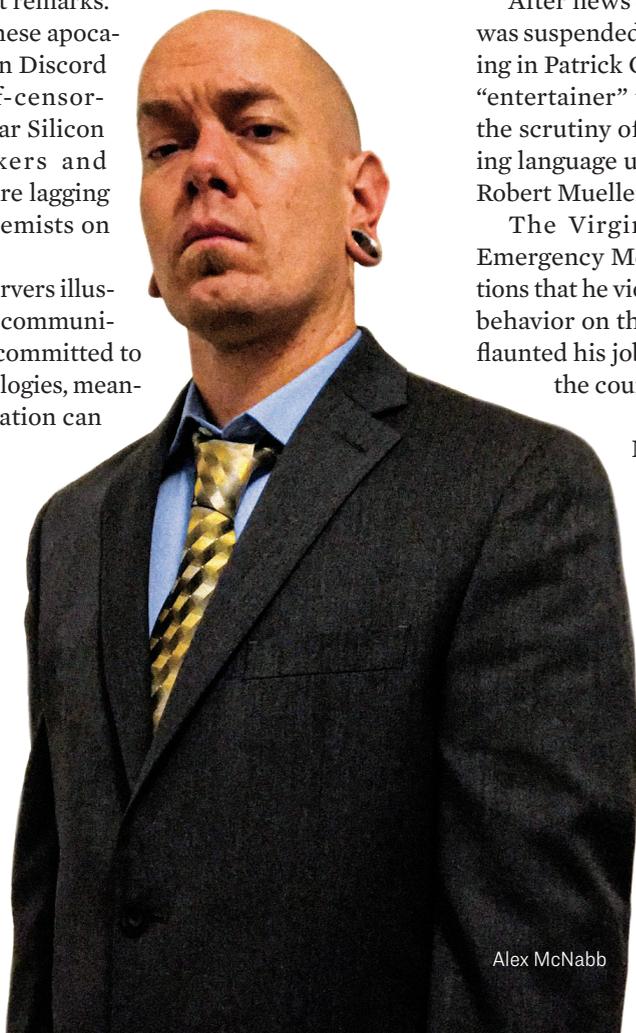
After news of McNabb’s role on the podcast broke, he was suspended with pay from his EMT job. During a hearing in Patrick County, McNabb said that he was simply an “entertainer” utilizing his free speech rights. He called the scrutiny of his words part of a “witch hunt” — echoing language used by President Donald Trump about the Robert Mueller Russia investigation.

The Virginia Department of Health’s Office of Emergency Medical Services cleared McNabb of allegations that he violated regulations forbidding discriminatory behavior on the job. McNabb and his alt-right comrades flaunted his job security, arguing his employment showed the county at large found his views palatable.

Andrew Anglin of The Daily Stormer, a neo-Nazi website, claimed on his site that McNabb’s victory was a “win” for the alt-right movement. “No one else gives a fuck about some guy who makes racist jokes on the internet being an EMT in Virginia,” Anglin said.

But less than two weeks later, the JEB Stuart Volunteer Rescue Squad, which serves a predominantly white county, fired McNabb under the auspices of “[looking] out for the members of [their] community,” according to WSLs, a Roanoke-based NBC affiliate.

McNabb continues to record “The Daily Shoah.” It’s unclear whether he has attained other employment.



Alex McNabb

# THREE SENTENCED TO A TOTAL OF 81 YEARS IN BOMB PLOT

BY BRETT BARROQUERE

A federal judge rejected a plea to consider political discord when setting the sentences for three Kansas men who plotted to kill Muslims and Somalis by bombing an apartment complex.

Instead, U.S. District Judge Eric Melgren sentenced the men to a total of 81 years behind bars. Their convictions and subsequent sentencing ended the story of the trio that dubbed itself “The Crusaders” and called its immigrant targets “cockroaches.”

The sentences were “a significant victory against hate crimes and domestic terrorism,” then-acting U.S. Attorney General Matthew Whitaker said in a statement about the decades-long punishments.

A jury previously convicted Patrick Stein, 50; Gavin Wright, 53; and Curtis Allen, 52, of conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction and conspiracy to violate housing rights. In January, Melgren sentenced Stein, of Dodge City, Kansas, to 30 years behind bars. Wright and Allen, both from Liberal, Kansas, received sentences of 26 and 25 years, respectively.

“The defendants in this case acted with clear premeditation in an attempt to kill innocent people on the basis of their religion and national origin,” Whitaker said in the statement. “That’s not just illegal — it’s morally repugnant.”

The trio plotted throughout 2016 to kill Somalis and Muslims living in Garden City, Kansas. The group conducted surveillance on an apartment complex and picked out various targets around the town of 26,500 people.

Tyson Fresh Meats has a packing plant in Garden City that employs resettled Somalis and Muslims from other countries. Many of the 250 refugees who resettled in Garden City between 2015 and 2018 work for Tyson and other agricultural producers.

The FBI and federal prosecutors used recordings made by an informant to get details of a plot to build bombs and kill Muslims. In addition to talk about obliterating the apartment complex, the recordings included discussions about arson, execution-style killings and using rape as a weapon.

Prosecutors said the group conducted surveillance on potential locations to target and determine when residents were likely to be home and at prayer in the mosque to increase the body count in any attack. They marked those buildings on a Google map with the label “cockroaches.”

FBI Agent Chad B. Moore noted in a criminal complaint that Stein discussed the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995 by Timothy McVeigh and the type of bomb used there.

“[Stein] was looking for any more explosives or things he could use to blow things up,” Moore wrote.

Investigators got search warrants for Allen’s home and his modular home business, G&G Home Center. During those searches, agents found a Sharps .22-caliber handgun, a Glock 19 handgun, chemicals and a possible detonator. They also found cans of ammunition and 13 boxes of munitions during the search.

According to a transcript of a recording, Stein told others he wanted “a bloodbath and it will be a nasty, messy motherfucker.”

During the sentencing, defense attorneys requested that the judge consider the volatile political climate and differences among citizens that influenced the defendants, several news organizations reported.

Somali immigrants attend a class at the Somali Community Development Center of Southwest Kansas in Garden City. The volunteer run center offers lessons in English and American civics to prepare recent immigrants for eventual citizenship.



He didn't.

"We have extremely divisive elections because our system is to resolve those through elections and not violence," Melgren replied, according to *U.S. News & World Report*.

NBC News reported that a Somali immigrant made a plea via video testimony during that sentencing. "Please don't kill us," Ifrah Farah said. "Please don't hate us. We can't hurt you."

Debi Wheeler, the regional director for U.S. programs with the International Rescue Committee, told *Intelligence Report* about the plight of the would-be victims.

"These are some of the most vulnerable people in the world," she said. The committee helps resettle refugees fleeing countries at war and people who face torture or execution in their native countries. "They come here to become U.S. citizens. They're an amazing group."

Prosecutors identified the men as being tied to the antigovernment Three Percent movement, whose members pledge to protest and provide armed resistance to what they see as a move to strip constitutional rights, including gun rights, from citizens.

Stein and Wright are in the medium-security federal prison in Beaumont, Texas. Allen has been assigned to federal medium-security prison in Florence, Colorado.

The three are appealing their convictions. The court has not set a hearing date for arguments in the case.

#### IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"Please don't kill us.  
Please don't hate us.  
We can't hurt you."

—Ifrah Farah, Somali immigrant

## 'CRYING NAZI' DENOUNCED

BY MICHAEL EDISON HAYDEN

A white nationalist who projected an image of strength — and then cried when cops came after him — has become a pariah to his brethren.

Christopher Cantwell, known as the "Crying Nazi," says he's become an informant for the FBI as a way to hurt antifa, but others in the movement aren't convinced. Andrew Anglin of the neo-Nazi website *The Daily Stormer* calls Cantwell a "federal snitch," and uses the label to taint anyone who collaborates with him.

Cantwell's fall from white nationalist grace is evident in the movement's online circles. As pseudonymous user "Goy Rogers" wrote on the white nationalist social media platform Gab, "Cantwell is a self admitted [sic] police informant and a known rat. Anyone who trusts him deserves to get burned."

Cantwell rose to fame during the August 2017 "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, when he appeared in a Vice documentary that went viral in the event's aftermath. The rally, which was planned by leaders of the "alt-right" movement, collapsed into chaos and made the rise of white supremacy in America a national news story. Last December, James Fields, a man who marched with white supremacists at that event, was found guilty of murdering anti-racist demonstrator Heather Heyer by ramming her with his car.

Cantwell then gained additional notoriety when he posted a YouTube video of himself sobbing after he learned police were searching for him following Charlottesville. His crying episode was in stark contrast to an earlier Vice video that showed him marching shirtless during the rally and displaying his cache of weapons for a reporter.

Cantwell canceled what was supposed to be a tour in April 2019, citing "serious personal problems" as the reason behind his decision.

He also said he needed to take a break from podcasting. The announcement offered a window into psychological pressures faced by those who sell hate for a living.

"I've been neglecting to deal with some serious personal problems for a very long time," Cantwell wrote on his website April 9 in a post titled "Learning My Lesson." "I kept on telling myself that if I could just get beyond this or that obstacle, I would finally be able to decompress and lick my wounds and recover."



Police assist white nationalist Christopher Cantwell after a tear gas attack that occurred as white nationalists marched in a parade through the University of Virginia campus in August 2017.

Cantwell hosts two self-produced shows, “Radical Agenda” and “Outlaw Conservative.” In both of them, he spews hate against racial, religious and sexual minorities. His announcement followed well-publicized turmoil in his life.

For example, following Unite the Right, Cantwell was charged with a series of crimes related to altercations that took place on the night of Aug. 11, 2017. He tangled on video with anti-racist activists who were protesting the white nationalist gathering.

Cantwell was banned from Virginia for five years in July 2018 after pleading guilty to two counts of assault and battery related to incidents that took place that night. The Suffolk County, New York, native located in the summer of 2018 to New Hampshire, where he lived prior to being arrested in Charlottesville.

Cantwell appeared to call for leftists to be killed by other white supremacists in a post on the white supremacist-friendly social network Gab on March 17, 2019. Gab, known for its relaxed attitude toward extremist content, banned Cantwell from the site March 18.

*Intelligence Report* staff reached Cantwell by text after he wrote about his personal problems and he said, “I’m fucking exhausted and I need a break.”

“I’m just stepping away from the microphone to avoid another ‘Crying Nazi’ moment while I unpack some of the baggage I’ve been collecting over the past few years,” Cantwell told *Intelligence Report* staff, referring to viral video from August 2017 in which he cried on camera about criminal charges he received in Charlottesville.

#### IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“Cantwell is a self-admitted police informant and a known rat. Anyone who trusts him deserves to get burned.”

—“Goy Rogers,” pseudonymous poster on Gab



## A Living Death Sentence

BY BRETT BARROQUERE

James Alex Fields Jr., the man who murdered a counterprotester after the failed “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, has seen his last day as a free man.

This summer, federal and state judges sentenced Fields to a total of 30 life sentences plus 419 years in prison for ramming his car into a crowd, killing Heather Heyer and injuring more than 30 others.

Fields faced charges in both state and federal court. He was convicted of murder, malicious wounding and other charges on the state level and hate crimes on the federal level.

“You have expressed yourself as a white supremacist, Mr. Fields. You have made choices,” Charlottesville Circuit Court Judge Richard Moore said when he sentenced Fields in July on state charges. “We all have choices — you made the wrong one.”

Moore sentenced Fields, 22, to life in prison plus 419 years. The judge ordered the sentence to



be served consecutively with the federal punishment, meaning Fields will have to serve two back-to-back federal life sentences before earning credit for serving any of his state sentence.

At the end of June, U.S. District Court Judge Michael F. Urbanski sentenced Fields to two consecutive life sentences and 27 concurrent life sentences. Federal prosecutors agreed not

James Alex Fields Jr., (right) is led out of court in July 2019 in Charlottesville, Virginia. Fields, was convicted of murdering counterprotester Heather Heyer by intentionally ramming his 2010 Dodge Challenger (above) into a crowd of anti-racism protesters after a white nationalist rally on Aug. 12, 2017.

to seek the death penalty in exchange for Fields pleading guilty to 29 federal hate crimes.

During his federal sentencing, Fields expressed regret. “I apologize for all the hurt and loss that I caused. I apologize to my mom for putting her through all this,” he said. But Fields’ mother wasn’t there. She didn’t attend his federal or state sentencing hearings. Only Fields’ attorneys were with him as he faced the anger of his victims.

Jeanne “Star” Peterson, who suffered a broken leg and multiple other broken bones in the Charlottesville attack on Aug. 12, 2017, looked at Fields across the courtroom and addressed him directly during the state sentencing hearing.

“Hello, scum,” Peterson said before the judge cut her off.

Marcus Martin, a Charlottesville resident who sustained multiple injuries, including a broken leg, described feeling an ongoing rage, suffering depression and having repeated outbursts since the attack.

Martin stared intently at Fields, who didn’t appear to return the gaze.

“You ran us down with a car. ... You don’t deserve to be on this earth. You are a fucking animal. You ain’t shit. You ain’t shit,” Martin said before walking out of the courtroom.

At a press conference after the federal sentencing, Heyer’s mother, Susan Bro, said the judge and jurors reached the right decision.

“I don’t know if Mr. Fields can ever be trusted in society,” Bro told reporters.

The Unite the Right rally, which was to feature “alt-right” and white nationalist speakers, never got off the ground. The governor declared a state of emergency before the rally was to begin at noon. Beset by violent confrontations between alt-right adherents and counter-protesters, Virginia State Police declared the gathering an unlawful assembly.

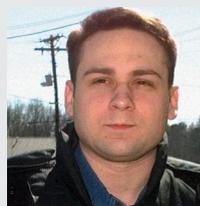
A video shows Fields plowing his car into a crowd of anti-racist protesters. The footage shows the car hitting people, tossing several into the air and killing Heyer. ▲

## Life Sentences and Deadly Consequences

BY BRETT BARROUQUERE

James Alex Fields Jr., a 22-year-old neo-Nazi from Ohio, isn’t the only white supremacist jailed for a hate-driven killing. A state court jury in Charlottesville, Virginia, convicted Fields in December 2018 of murder and malicious wounding and other charges. Fields also pleaded guilty in federal court to 29 counts of hate crimes, including running down Heather Heyer, a 32-year-old paralegal, with his car in the hours after the racist “Unite the Right” rally on Aug. 12, 2017.

Others have been executed or are serving life prison sentences for attacks just as gruesome in other parts of the country.



The state of Texas executed John William King on April 24, 2019, for the murder of James Byrd Jr. After a trio of men offered Byrd a ride, they tied him to the back of a truck and dragged him for three miles on an asphalt road near Jasper, Texas, in 1998. Byrd’s death ultimately

led to the passage of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act. The law, signed by President Barack Obama on Oct. 28, 2009, allows the federal government greater latitude to step into hate crimes investigations when local authorities choose not to. It also added actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation or disability to areas protected under federal law. In 2011, Texas executed Lawrence Russell Brewer for Byrd’s murder. A third co-defendant, Shawn Allen Berry, is serving life in prison for his role in the killing.



James Harris Jackson, a self-described white supremacist from Baltimore, Maryland, was sentenced to life in prison Feb. 13, 2019, in New York after pleading guilty to terrorism charges. He admitted to attacking a black man with a sword in 2017 in what he described to the *New York Daily News* as “a practice run” in a mission to deter interracial relationships. The victim died.



Craig Hicks of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was sentenced June 12, 2019, for the 2015 shooting deaths of Deah Barakat, 23, his wife Yusor Abu-Salha, 21, and Yusor’s sister, Razan Abu-Salha, 19. He pleaded guilty to first-degree murder and was sentenced to life in prison. North Carolina does not have a hate crimes law that applies to first-degree murder.



# Spurned & Burned

Anti-Muslim Extremists Rebuff Prominent Chapter Leader

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF ILLUSTRATION BY JIM COOKE

**Brigitte Gabriel, ACT's founder and chairman, has claimed "terrorist attacks" are the "purest form" of Islam.**

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Images of the World Trade Center in flames exposed a schism between a notable hate group's activists and its aspirations, leading to a prominent member's resignation.

The conflict started when a high-profile member, Brenda Arthur, constructed a display in the West Virginia Capitol during a "Republicans Take the Rotunda" event.

Arthur was a chapter leader for the anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America. Her booth featured a poster of U.S. Rep. Ilhan Omar, D-Minn., and the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

The poster read: "Never forget — You said." It was juxtaposed with an image of Omar and the caption: "I am the proof you have forgotten."

Arthur's table featured ACT branding, and she wore an ACT T-shirt. But when the display caused a national uproar in March, ACT sprang into public relations mode. "This was NOT an ACT for America display," the national office said in a statement, adding that anyone claiming to be part of the group was "doing so without the permission" of ACT national.

However, the display aligned with statements made by ACT leadership. Brigitte Gabriel, ACT's founder and chairman, has claimed "terrorist attacks" are the "purest form" of Islam. The Southern Poverty Law Center designates ACT as a hate group because it pushes conspiracy theories

about Islam in America and operates a nationwide chapter network to lobby and pass anti-Muslim legislation across the country.

ACT's handling of the West Virginia incident illuminated its internal conflict between the veneer of respectability it must maintain to gain mainstream political acceptance and the bigotry that attracts members. Until the West Virginia event, ACT lauded Arthur as part of its organization. In 2018, Gabriel called her "one of our most influential activists." Arthur claimed to represent ACT in 2017 when she testified before her state's House of Delegates committee in opposition to refugees. ACT subsequently highlighted her testimony on its webpage.

For more than a decade, ACT has been pushing an anti-Muslim agenda. Since Donald Trump's election, the group claims to have a "direct line" to the president through U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, whom ACT calls a "steadfast ally." Pompeo's office did not return repeated calls for comment. In September 2018, Gabriel bragged about having a weekly "standing meeting" at the White House, though details about these meetings are uncertain. In 2017, Gabriel met with White House staffer Paul Teller to hand-deliver a petition supporting Trump's Muslim travel ban. ACT's newfound influence has come with



an increased level of scrutiny from the media and civil rights organizations.

It appears the group is trying to downplay its extremism to protect its public image. ACT did not return a phone call seeking comment.

The organization's disavowal spurred Arthur to resign as chapter leader in April. She wrote in a Facebook post that ACT does "not want me involved in this as they feel I have become the lightning [sic] rod" after the poster incident. Arthur did not return requests for comment.

Arthur's resignation from ACT brings the number of state defections to four within the last three years. In 2017 and 2018, chapter members in Idaho, Montana and Maine left the national organization, citing disapproval of the national leadership. ACT claims to have 1,000 chapters. However, that number is likely exaggerated as the Intelligence Project independently identified only 47 active chapters in 2018.

One former member, Warren Grover, who led Idaho's Treasure Valley chapter, wrote in his final email as chapter leader in 2018 that ACT is losing sight of its mission "to increase the awareness of Islam and its threat to our country." The leadership for the Lake County, Montana, ACT chapter, which disbanded in 2017, wrote in a newsletter that while it "continued to support the mission of"

ACT, it disagreed with some of the "methods and directions coming from" the national office. Former members of these chapters went on to form two new anti-Muslim groups, G416 Patriots Idaho and Last Chance Patriots.

Jared Bristol, who headed the Norway, Maine, chapter for nine years, quit ACT in 2018 after a series of events — similar to Arthur's case — led to the national office turning on him. In February 2018, Hatewatch revealed that Bristol's chapter was lobbying Maine State Rep. Heather Sirocki to introduce a controversial anti-female genital mutilation bill. In emails promoting the bill, Bristol's electronic signature stated, "Islam is evil."

ACT Norway's involvement in the bill garnered statewide media attention and condemnation from Maine Democratic lawmakers. ACT reportedly scolded Bristol. In an email to his chapter, Bristol claimed ACT was trying to "have me muzzled" and "didn't like" his signature.

As a result, Bristol announced he was leaving the group. "Too timid for me," he wrote of ACT in his departure email. ▲



Brenda Arthur stands in front of her controversial poster display at the "Republicans Take the Rotunda" event in West Virginia.



# Out of the Darkness

## Conversion Therapist Quits ‘Ex-Gay’ Movement

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF ILLUSTRATION BY DADU SHIN

After two decades of trying to “convert” gay men, David Matheson abandoned the conversion practice. And apologized. And decided to divorce his wife. And came out as gay.

According to Truth Wins Out, Matheson’s fellow ex-gay leader Rich Wyler announced his exit in a post to a private Facebook group. TWO “goes undercover to expose ‘ex-gay’ conversion leaders as hypocritical frauds that have not actually changed their sexual orientation,” its website states.

Wyler is director and founder of the ex-gay program, “Journey into Manhood,” which Matheson helped design. Truth Wins Out reported that Wyler informed the private group, “David ... says that living a single, celibate life just isn’t feasible for him, so he’s seeking a male partner. He has gone from bisexuality to exclusively gay.”

“Conversion” or “ex-gay” therapy is the harmful and pseudoscientific practice of attempting to make homosexual or bisexual people heterosexual and to keep trans people from affirming the gender with which they identify.

In a Facebook post earlier this year Matheson wrote, “A year ago I realized I had to make substantial changes in my life. I realized I couldn’t stay in my marriage [to a woman] any longer. And I realized that it was time for me to affirm myself as gay.”

He joins a growing list of prominent people who have left the ex-gay movement. They include:

- Michael Bussee, one of the founders of the well-known ex-gay group Exodus International, whose U.S. branch shut down in 2013;
- John Paulk, the poster-child for ex-gay group Love Won Out;
- John Smid, former director of the ex-gay group Love in Action;
- Tim Rymel, former outreach director at Love In Action.

Alan Chambers, former head of Exodus International, apologized to LGBTQ people for the pain and hurt the organization’s therapies had caused.

Matheson began his professional training in ex-gay therapy in the early 1990s when he worked in Utah with ex-gay Mormon organization Evergreen International. He opened a practice in the New York City area in 2002, then returned to Utah in 2007.

He also trained with the late Joseph Nicolosi Sr., a prominent ex-gay therapist who devoted his life

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**California** became the first state in the nation to ban conversion therapy for minors, passing its bill in 2012. An attempt to expand the ban that would have designated the sale of services to change sexual orientation as a “deceptive business practice” would have opened practitioners to lawsuits. That legislation was shelved in 2018.

**Washington, D.C.,** banned conversion therapy for adults this year. It has banned conversion therapy among minors in 2015.

**Puerto Rico,** a U.S. territory, banned conversion therapy for minors this year via executive order.

**Colorado** became the latest state to ban conversion therapy for minors.

## Judge Shuttters, Fines Conversion Therapy Group

A notorious conversion therapy group guilty of “unconscionable commercial practices” has been shut down for good.

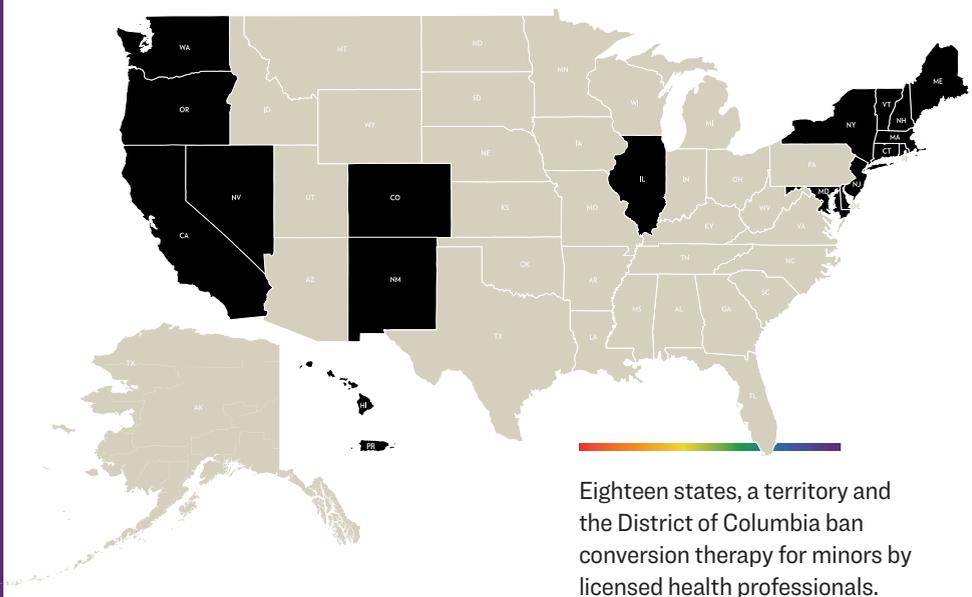
The group, originally called Jews Offering New Alternatives for Healing (JONAH), apparently thought it could fool the legal system by operating under a different name: the Jewish Institute for Global Awareness (JIFGA).

But New Jersey Superior Court Judge Peter F. Bariso Jr. saw through the ruse. He ordered JIFGA to cease operations within 30 days of his June 10 court order.

The Southern Poverty Law Center filed the original lawsuit in 2012 on behalf of three gay men who had undergone conversion therapy with JONAH. It was the first suit in the country to challenge conversion therapy on a consumer fraud basis. A jury found in favor of the plaintiffs in 2015, and the court filed a permanent injunction — ordering JONAH to shut down. But JONAH instead opened offices in Jersey City under the new name.

The SPLC asked the court to enforce the 2015 order and close JIFGA. The court earlier ruled as fraudulent JONAH’s claims that its therapy could make gay people straight.

Bariso ruled that JIFGA was simply JONAH under a different name and that the arrangement violated the permanent injunction. He barred JIFGA’s two co-directors, Arthur Goldberg and Elaine Berk, from serving as officers, directors or trustees of any nonprofit in New Jersey. The duo will also have to pay various plaintiffs’ fees.



to the practice. Matheson may be best known, however, as a co-creator of the “Journey into Manhood,” (now Brothers Road) program in 2002, which involves taking groups of men “struggling with same-sex attraction” on retreats into the woods.

Since his announcement, Matheson admitted in a Facebook post that the mindset that “homosexuality is evil” took him a long time to escape, and he inflicted it on others. “I was an unwitting agent of a belief system that dehumanizes and represses LGBTQ people,” he said. Now he would like to help change it.

He supported a conversion therapy ban in Utah, but the bill died in March after it was stripped of protection for gender identity. The bill would have outlawed conversion therapy for licensed therapists working with minors.

Eighteen states, Puerto Rico, the district of Columbia and several municipalities bar licensed medical and mental health professionals from providing conversion therapy to minors.

Regardless, the industry continues to rebrand and operate through a network of individual practitioners,

**“A year ago I realized I had to make substantial changes in my life. I realized I couldn’t stay in my marriage [to a woman] any longer. And I realized that it was time for me to affirm myself as gay.”**

—DAVID MATHESON

churches, ministries and pseudo-scientific organizations, such as the Alliance for Therapeutic Choice and Scientific Integrity.

A 2018 study estimates that nearly 700,000 LGBTQ adults in the U.S. have received conversion therapy during their lives, and nearly 80,000 LGBTQ youths will receive some form of it before they reach the age of 18. ▲

REVEALING IDENTITY DIXIE'S LEADERS

# Unmasked



A small Facebook campaign predicated on keeping Confederate monuments in place has morphed into a group of more than 200 ardent, secretive separatists planning to make the South a separate nation.

And Hatewatch has learned the identities of some of the group's leaders and members.

Identity Dixie (ID), a neo-Confederate propaganda group, was instrumental in organizing the deadly “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. Jason Kessler, who eventually joined Identity Dixie, secured the permit for the failed Aug. 12, 2017, event, a rally to protest the removal of a statue of Confederate commander Robert E. Lee. The group's growth is notable considering the tight controls for membership, a power struggle with its parent organization, The Right Stuff (TRS), and the bad press following the bloody and violent protests at Unite the Right.

The group's leadership holds diverse occupations. Two military veterans. A college student. An elementary school teacher. A government official. Hidden behind that cloak of normalcy lies a group that quickly has supplanted the League of the South (LOS) to become the country's preeminent neo-Confederate hate organization.

### The leadership

Identity Dixie goes to great lengths to hide its membership to avoid identification by antifascists and to prevent suspensions and bans infrequently doled out by Facebook for terms-of-service violations.

Still, the identities of the group's leaders, some of their members and their social media have emerged. Here's a look at the group's leadership.

**1 Bret Keylon Lynn**, 40, aka “Musonius Rufus” and “John Calhoun,” a Marine veteran from Cookeville, Tennessee. Putnam County Commission meetings show Lynn was named a part-time judicial commissioner in 2015. A 2013 photograph of Lynn in the Cookeville *Herald-Citizen* listed his occupation as a teacher. He's one of the main hosts of “Rebel Yell,” ID's flagship podcast and primary recruiting organ.

**2 Eric Christopher Field**, aka “Mencken's Ghost” and “Will McLean,” of Glen Allen, Virginia. Field is an Army veteran whose Facebook and LinkedIn pages tout a degree in strategic foresight from Regent University. Field is also a “Rebel Yell” host.

White nationalist demonstrators clash with anti-racist protesters in Charlottesville, Virginia, on Aug. 12, 2017.



AP IMAGES/STEVE FELDNER



**3 Russell Berry**, aka “Fulwar Skipwith” and “Fulton Skipworth,” of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. He graduated in 2015 with a degree from Louisiana State University’s College of Humanities and Social Sciences. Berry joined Identity Dixie after he was interviewed on “Rebel Yell” about his involvement with a far-right Facebook group, and he has since risen through the ranks to ID’s Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC), the group’s chief leadership circle.

**4 Michael Cushman**, aka “Michael O’Neil,” of Aiken, South Carolina. He was a dues-paying member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and a former League of the South state chairman. Cushman is also a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

**5 Lucas Gordon**, aka “Silas Reynolds” and “John Brigand,” of Ruther Glen, Virginia. Gordon maintains IdentityDixie.com and oversees the group’s various social media profiles. He helped organize the group’s second annual conference, the Asheville Forum.

**6 Tyler Thompson** and **7 Patrick Bishop** —who do not use aliases, — from Orlando, Florida. The two

25-year-olds host ID’s “Good Morning Weimerica” podcast. They are members of the Silvern Circle and administer a Florida group auxiliary’s Facebook.

**8 Phillip Lovelady**, aka “Bedford Lee Dabney,” of New Braunfels, Texas. He manages Blue Bonnet Patriots, the ID Texas chapter’s Facebook outreach page.

**9 Michael Mott**, aka “John Wang,” of Hernando, Mississippi. Mott recently began planning the group’s third conference.

**10 Brandal Thomas Payne**, aka “Tommy Payne,” of Germantown, North Carolina. In addition to belonging to ID, he is an officer in the Stokes County Militia, a paramilitary antigovernment group.

**11 William H. Coombs**, aka “Hans Johanssen,” of Memphis, Tennessee. He is a former member of the neo-Confederate League of the South (LOS), which coordinated with ID in planning the Unite the Right rally.

None of these men responded to *Intelligence Report* staff’s repeated requests for comment about their membership.

### Origins: Anger over the Confederate flag

Identity Dixie began as a Facebook page titled “Battle Flag the Fourth,” which encouraged people to post images of the Confederate battle flag on the Fourth of July. That campaign began in the immediate aftermath of the June 2015 massacre at the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina. White supremacist Dylann Roof, who murdered nine African American churchgoers, had posed with the Confederate battle flag and compared the removal of Confederate monuments to “white genocide.”

Following the church attack, officials in South Carolina removed the Confederate battle flag from the state house. In response, a TRS member using the alias “Ryan McMahon” created the Facebook page to encourage fans of the TRS podcast to blanket Facebook and other social media with images of the Confederate battle flag. That “Battle Flag the Fourth” page became the “Rebel Yell” page in 2016.

Bret Lynn, aka “Musonius Rufus,” the main host of Identity Dixie’s “Rebel Yell” podcast and the group’s leader, shared its history in a secret Facebook group:

*“ID was conceived during the darkest days. Obama issued an executive order to ban the [Confederate battle flag]. When the Republican Governor of South Carolina, the Sikh millionaire, and Methodist elder, Nikki Haley, declared it was time to remove the flag from the capitol grounds.”*

At its outset, ID’s core purpose was to generate and post pro-Confederate content. Lucas Gordon, aka “Silas Reynolds,” recently encouraged members to create content that would “focus

on the South, her history and culture, self-improvement for our people, strategies for secession and criticism of modernity and leftism.”

Identity Dixie has maintained a presence on Facebook in spite of the social platform’s promises to improve how it moderates hate speech and harassment. It takes advantage of Facebook’s “secret group” feature, which allows individuals to create invitation-only groups that aren’t visible to the general public. Facebook has received criticism for allowing groups espousing toxic rhetoric to stay on the platform by using the secret group feature.

The rhetoric within ID’s secret Facebook groups is emblematic of its origins in the “alt-right.” Members frequently use racist, bigoted and homophobic language to denigrate anyone who is not a white male Christian Southerner.

Identity Dixie launched its flagship podcast “Rebel Yell” in January 2016. The hosts of “Rebel Yell” have packed the guest list with names from across the reactionary right. Those guests usually discuss dominionist religious tenets — particularly Kinism, the belief that the Bible prohibits interracial marriage; distributism, which encourages the sharing of property rights; Reformed theology, or Calvinism; paleoconservatism, a radical strain of reactionary conservative politics that favors Christian culture; survivalism, which encourages the stockpiling of supplies and weapons in anticipation of a “race war”; and libertarianism, a right-wing belief in absolute individual sovereignty and complete rejection of any form of collective authority.

Brad Griffin, Michael Hill and Simon Roche each appeared on Identity Dixie’s “Rebel Yell” podcasts as guests.





William Fears (left) and Lucas Daggett, a member of TRS Confederates, experiment with public activism at Texas A&M University in December 2016.

Previous “Rebel Yell” guests included:

- Michael Hill and Brad Griffin of the League of the South;
- Simon Roche of the South African Suidlanders;
- Jim Goad, author of “The Redneck Manifesto”;
- Jason Kessler, ID member and Unite the Right rally organizer;
- Augustus Sol Invictus and Rick Tyler, a Holocaust denier and white nationalist politician;
- Tomislav Sunic, Croatian “new right” author;
- Lennart Svensson, Swedish reactionary author; and
- David Thibodeau, survivor of the Waco, Texas siege.

Although the organization is now known as Identity Dixie, that was not its original name. Having started as a Facebook page around the “Battle Flag the Fourth” campaign and after undergoing several iterations all tied to The Right Stuff in April 2016 the group began branding itself as the TRS Confederates (TRS-C). In Lynn’s history of the group, he stated that they “were happy to be the Southern subsidiarity [sic] of TRS” and that they coordinated with the “Reeeefugees,” a close-knit group of TRS members who spearheaded online white nationalist trolling campaigns.

The TRS Confederates eagerly participated in the “Great Meme War” of the 2016 election, frequently “raiding normies,” or descending on generic social media interest pages en masse and spamming them with pro-Trump, white nationalist and neo-Confederate content. “Normies” are people who are generally not engaged in far-right politics.

As the TRS Confederates, the group began experimenting with street activism. When white nationalist Richard Spencer spoke at Texas A&M University on Dec. 6, 2016, Lucas “Luke” Daggett was there. Daggett is an Identity Dixie member and former Texas LOS chairman. Daggett and white nationalist William Fears were photographed taunting members of the TAMU student body before the event.

But about this time, the relationship between TRS and TRS-C started to sour and eventually collapse, leading to Identity Dixie’s rise.

#### **Power struggle**

Although the “alt-right” was in its heyday, relations between TRS and TRS-Confederates began to take a turn shortly after the 2016 presidential election.

On Dec. 16, 2016, antifascist activists doxed American Vanguard (later Vanguard America) member and TRS member Cooper Ward, aka “Ghoul.” Ward was a frequent “death panelist”

on the TRS flagship podcast, “The Daily Shoah.” A follow-up post by antifascists showed messages from Ward offering to abandon TRS in exchange for a retraction of his outing. The antifascists declined that deal.

Subsequent outings by antifascists revealed the identities of TRS hosts Van Bryan II, aka “Bulbasaur,” and Jesse Dunstan, aka “Seventh Son” or “Sven.” Although these outings were damaging for morale among the TRS community, the outing of Mike “Enoch” Peinovich, the main host of “The Daily Shoah,” would have greater consequences.

Identity Dixie has two subgroups for special members: Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC) and Knights of the Silvern Circle (KSC). The requirements for admission into these groups are unknown; however, the KGC appears to outrank the KSC.

In addition to its public and secret Facebook pages and groups, ID is trying to move closer toward the mainstream. The group organizes conferences, seeks to expand its media presence and plans to create two tax-exempt corporations, a 501(c)(3) media group and a 501(c)(8) legal defense group.

## ID members used the group’s forum to laud participation in the event, to denigrate counterprotesters and to coordinate a response to the coming onslaught of legal scrutiny and media attention.

On Jan. 18, 2017, “Rebel Yell” published an episode titled “Rebel Shoah: Fashy Struggle Session.” The episode included Bret Lynn and Eric Field, using their handles “Musonius Rufus” and “Mencken’s Ghost.” They questioned Peinovich about the antifascist disclosure of his surname and his marriage to a Jewish woman.

During the “struggle session,” Peinovich encouraged the hosts of “Rebel Yell” to distance their organization from his tarnished reputation. Three days later, on Jan. 21, 2017, the TRS Confederate group registered a new site domain, IdentityDixie.com.

In April, Identity Dixie removed TRS members from its Facebook group following a post by Lynn questioning why “TRS are so salty when it comes to Southern Nationalism.” The Facebook thread amassed more than 700 comments and eventually led to a complete separation of the two groups amid accusations of intellectual property theft and counter-accusations of spying.

### How ID operates

Identity Dixie is primarily organized around a secret Facebook group. Members use pseudonymous “sock” accounts — digital alter egos — to share racist vitriol without compromising their true identities.

Identity Dixie hosted its first conference, the Atlanta Forum, on Jan. 28 2017, just one week after the group proclaimed its sovereignty from TRS. Speakers included white nationalist attorney Sam Dickson, League of the South public relations chief Brad Griffin, Traditionalist Worker Party head Matt Heimbach and Michael Cushman, formerly of the LOS. Antifascist activists in Marietta, Georgia, filmed a handful of attendees in the lobby of a local Hilton hotel but were unsuccessful in identifying the names of any members.

ID member Scott Terry, aka “Aaron Dale” and “ShotgunWildAtHeart,” wrote a description of the event titled “Knights of the Right Stuff”:

*“I was fortunate enough to be there — to be part of a small handful of the most notorious and passionate Southern nationalists left in Dixie. All the big names were present: Hunter Wallace, Michael Cushman, Musonius Rufus, and many others. That fortunate porch housed the virtual “who’s who” of the South. If any of the old spirit of Dixie remains — if any one [sic] is left to sing the Song of the South — it will be the men on that porch.”*

Following the forum, Identity Dixie instituted stricter vetting procedures to avoid the risk of outing members at in-person events. Potential members either are recruited online or receive

references for inclusion from existing members. All members must create a sock account that must pass through the group's vetting groups, known as The Smokehouse and The Farm.

Members are required to write an article for the group's website before they are interviewed and granted access to ID's secret Facebook group.

Access to ID's main Facebook group comes with privileges such as attending in-person meetups and conferences. Members and "vetted allies" who do not produce propaganda for IdentityDixie.com are sequestered to another Facebook group called The Magnolia Society, named for the group's affinity for a common Southern tree.

In a demonstration of uncharacteristic cooperation, more than a half dozen normally territorial and competitive organizations formed an "intel" Facebook group just before Richard Spencer's speech at Auburn University on April 18, 2017. The group formed in response to its members' paranoia about antifascist activity. The intel group consisted of Identity Dixie members and far-right activists from TRS, League of the South, Traditionalist Worker Party, Vanguard America and others. They scoured antifascist blogs and news updates and communicated any concerns to groups on the ground via secure messaging platforms. The groups also used that networking opportunity to pinch members from one another's rosters.

During the period of cooperation with rival groups, ID continued to work on establishing its brand and operational structure. In May 2017, Identity Dixie created and approved its official logo and symbol, consisting of a cartoon magnolia flower — designed by member "Chet Donnelly" — emblazoned over the "Southern Nationalist flag" designed by Michael Cushman. Members carried this flag at the Unite the Right rally.

The group previously had toyed with several designs and temporarily settled on a variant of the Confederate battle flag emblazoned with the "Black Sun," a popular white nationalist icon with ties to the Third Reich.

In that same month, Bret Lynn, aka "Musonius Rufus," posted a draft of "Identity Dixie's Mission, Rules, & Bylaws" for the group. Members subsequently approved them.



In May 2017, several ID members participated in the "Battle of New Orleans." That event was held at Lee Circle to protest plans to remove Confederate monuments. Identity Dixie members "JC Hinson," Brandon Richey and "William Agee" were there. During the event, a brawl broke out between the white nationalists and a group of counterprotesters during a scuffle over the flag of Identity Dixie member Gunther Rice.

#### **School principal ousted**

Before the Lee Circle event on May 7, 2017, Nicholas Dean Andrews, aka "Nicholas Dean," appeared on Augustus Invictus's "Battle of New Orleans" broadcast. Following the New Orleans event, Andrews, a New Orleans elementary school principal, joined Identity Dixie.

On May 13, Andrews, going by "Nick," also participated in a Red Ice TV panel broadcasting an event in Charlottesville hosted by Richard Spencer and Identity Evropa. "Nick" was joined by white nationalist James Edwards of "The Political Cesspool"; Eric Field, aka "Mencken's Ghost" of Identity Dixie; Tyler Thompson (soon to be an Identity Dixie podcast host but then operating under the banner of Right Source Media); and Michael Hill of the League of the South.

Andrews later was fired from his job when a local journalist publicized his involvement in the Lee Circle protest. Andrews ranted against

An altercation breaks out as a statue of Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee is removed from Lee Circle in New Orleans. The City Council voted to remove the monument and three other Confederate and white supremacy monuments.

his former employers, stating he would “exact a bloody revenge” on the media “if [he] had nothing to lose.”

### **ID gains members, focus after Unite the Right**

In the runup to the August 2017 Charlottesville event, “Rebel Yell” hosted future ID member Jason Kessler several times on its podcast. Kessler, who held the permit for the event, was considered a VIP by rally participants and therefore a probable target of antifascists. Consequently, several Identity Dixie members volunteered to serve as a personal security detail for Kessler.

“Rebel Yell” added an audio advertisement for the event as a bumper in episodes leading up to the Aug. 12 rally.

Identity Dixie members on the ground for Unite the Right were instructed to dress in khaki pants and blue golf shirts.

ID’s uniform and distinctive black-and-white flags bearing its magnolia logo increased its visibility in a column of white nationalists marching into Emancipation Park in Charlottesville.

Lucas Gordon, aka “Silas Reynolds,” exchanged pleasantries with Brad Griffin inside of Emancipation Park while Griffin livestreamed the event.

But the governor of Virginia declared a state of emergency and canceled the Unite the Right rally before it started. Members of Identity Dixie and other alt-right groups marched from Emancipation

Park to nearby McIntire Park, exchanging blows with counterprotesters the whole way. By the day’s end, one counterprotester was dead and dozens of others were injured. ID members used the group’s forum to laud participation in the event, to denigrate counterprotesters and to coordinate a response to the coming onslaught of legal scrutiny and media attention.

Identity Dixie emerged from Unite the Right relatively unscathed, with none of its members caught, outed by antifascists or arrested in the aftermath. However, antifascists photographed several participating in brawls during the day’s events. Lynn, aka “Musonius Rufus,” would later downplay the group’s involvement in Unite the Right, going as far as saying that the group didn’t “exist legal,” in spite of having drafted bylaws and a membership list.

Lynn, under his pseudonym, authored a piece titled “Imagine,” which blamed the rally’s disastrous outcome and the death of counterprotester Heather Heyer on city officials and other counterprotesters. The piece is a sterling example of alt-right apologia that began in earnest immediately after the event. The League of the South republished “Imagine” in its quarterly tabloid, *The Free Magnolia*.

Unite the Right spurred ID to abandon public activism explicitly, although some members still favored the tactic and continued to produce propaganda for subsequent public rallies.



A group of Identity Dixie members march into Charlottesville, Virginia, on Aug. 12, 2017.



Having exploited lax social media policies and savvy networking within the broader far-right community, they have strengthened their numbers. What remains to be seen is whether their goals will survive the scrutiny that comes with exposure.

Where Unite the Right proved disastrous for several prominent alt-right groups such as the Traditionalist Worker Party, League of the South, Identity Evropa, Vanguard America and others, Identity Dixie was able to make headway in its aftermath. Lynn, operating as “Musonius Rufus,” brokered truces between feuding groups and attempted to rehabilitate spurned movement figures, much as the Fashy Struggle Session paved the way for Mike Peinovich to stay at the helm of TRS.

Jason Kessler, the chief Unite the Right organizer, remained with Identity Dixie after the rally and appeared several times on “Rebel Yell.” During his first appearance, he disputed the far right’s conviction that he was to blame for the events of Unite the Right, and later returned to garner support for his follow-up rally.

Elliot Kline, aka “Eli Mosely,” the former head of Identity Evropa, was added to the secret ID Facebook group The Farm after a *New York Times* piece revealed that he had lied about his service record. Kline eventually quit the group.

Identity Dixie continued to gain new members, including former members of the League of the South. In August 2018, Robert Graf “R.G.” Miller emailed Hatewatch’s tip line stating that he was “no longer chairman of the Arkansas League of the South.” While Miller had indeed stepped down from his role in the League, he neglected to mention his participation in Identity Dixie in his email.

“William Agee,” a former League of the South member, also participates actively in Identity Dixie and appears to have become involved with leadership.

ID has drawn converts from outside the neo-Confederate movement, including Brandal Payne, aka “Tommy Payne,” and Phillip Lovelady, aka “Bedford Lee Dabney,” who are involved in the militia movement and the Texas Nationalist Movement, respectively.

Identity Dixie also strengthened its vetting process after Unite the Right. It developed a “Listeners Group” Facebook page to screen prospective members. Lucas Gordon and leadership made this change after an abortive attempt to onboard longtime neo-Confederate movement malcontent Tim Manning. Manning was blackballed from ID and the broader alt-right in summer 2017 after a news outlet used his posts on The Daily Stormer under the handle “SCNazi” to reveal that the far right was scheduling lodging for the Unite the Right event using Airbnb.

#### **The next chapter: Moving to the mainstream**

Identity Dixie has added a slate of podcasts to its site, including “The Paranormies,” hosted in part by former TRS member Ian Weber, aka “Zev Hund,” who sided with ID in its split with TRS. Tyler Thompson and Patrick Bishop have hosted a slew of podcasts for Identity Dixie, most recently settling on the banner “Good Morning Weimerica,” which held extensive interviews with Brandal Payne, under the name “Tommy Payne,” and another Forsyth County-area militia member, Brandon D. Hedrick, aka “Buddy.”

Identity Dixie also has expanded beyond its original Facebook page and runs a small constellation of pages designed to appeal to conservatives.

Elliot Kline, aka “Eli Mosely,” the former head of Identity Evropa, was added to “The Farm” of Identity Dixie. “The Farm” vetted people for membership in Identity Dixie.



Jason Kessler, a former Identity Dixie member, waits for protesters to quiet down before beginning a news conference in front of City Hall in Charlottesville, Virginia, the day after “Unite the Right.” Kessler secured the permit to hold the failed rally.

KSC member Michael Mott of Mississippi runs the Mississippi Grays page. Old Dominion Cavaliers was formerly run by Identity Evropa/Identity Dixie dual member Michael David Morsette.

When Hatewatch contacted Morsette about his membership in Identity Dixie, he replied with an email stating: “I am not a member and request you not publish false information. Thank you.” He did not respond to the query, “Were you ever a member of Identity Dixie?”

The Blue Bonnet Patriots page is run by Phillip Lovelady, aka “Bedford Lee Dabney,” and Matt “Paddy” Williams, from greater San Antonio, Texas. This page has garnered more than 1,000 Facebook “likes.”

The Palm Tree Populists page is administered by KSC members Tyler Thompson and Patrick Bishop of Orlando, Florida. Jim O’Brien, a former member of the Florida League of the South, syndicates his blog and Facebook page “Bacon, Books & Bullets” on the Identity Dixie website.

Identity Dixie has an active presence on social media platform Instagram, and several of its members have avoided bans on Twitter in spite of frequent race-baiting.

ID hosted its summer 2018 conference in Asheville, North Carolina, and is in the process of scheduling a follow-up conference for 2019.

The group designed a T-shirt, sold by Dixie Outfitters, a neo-Confederate retailer in South Carolina.

In the close of a post titled “St. Andrew Day Covenant,” Lynn, aka “Musonius Rufus,” outlined his plans for the future of Identity Dixie:

*We the members of Identity Dixie will form a covenant with the God of the Bible and with each other. The covenant shall take the form of a fraternal order. The purpose of this order is to gather the remnant of our nation, to provide for their common defence, and to hold wealth in common for the redemption of our kinsmen.*

Lynn, operating under his account “John Calhoun,” detailed the mechanics of this covenant in a post titled “The Plan, First Look 20180818,” which described the two “halves” of Identity Dixie’s organizational strategy, through the creation of two corporations which would “be legally separate for safety.”

“The Order” would be a 501(c)(8) fraternal organization whose purpose is to fund legal defenses for members accused of crimes and to assist financially doxed members who lost employment.

“The Medium,” a 501(c)(3) corporation, will oversee propaganda production and pay members as employees.

Religion is a central concern for Identity Dixie. Its membership claims to belong to an array of Christian denominations, including reformed variants of Primitive Baptists and Orthodox Presbyterians, traditional Catholics, British Israelites, Reformed Episcopalians and sedevacantists — who believe that there hasn’t been a pope since 1958. These disparate and seemingly incompatible faith traditions coexist in Identity Dixie through a common embrace of Christian Dominionism, a right-wing political ideology that seeks to impose on part or all of the global political structure its interpretation of “God’s law.” Identity Dixie has distilled the concept of militant dominionism into its slogan: “Retake Everything.”

In the long term, Identity Dixie hopes to fund the creation of intentional residential communities, complete with home schools and its much-desired Church of Dixie.

Identity Dixie’s leadership cadre has arrived at this point in their pursuit of a separatist dominionist community by operating on the periphery of explicitly violent white nationalist groups and hiding its broader ambitions.

Having exploited lax social media policies and savvy networking within the broader far-right community, they have strengthened their numbers. What remains to be seen is whether their goals will survive the scrutiny that comes with exposure. ▲

# RIFT EXPOSED

A desertion robbed League of the South of its longtime headquarters and hints that a member chose his real estate holdings over Southern culture

BY BRETT BARROQUERE

LEAGUE OF THE SOUTH (LOS), a neo-Confederate organization that advocates for Southern secession, has been roiled by a key defection that resulted in the group losing its headquarters in Wetumpka, Alabama, about 20 miles north of Montgomery.

Mike Whorton, the owner of the Wetumpka building that served as the group's headquarters and meeting place for seven years, opted not to rent the property to LOS. He also resigned as LOS Alabama state chairman in an apparent effort to distance himself from the group.

League of the South has found a new place to hold its national conference, but it remains without a permanent headquarters.

The group will hold its national conference in September 2019 in Pine Level, a small, unincorporated community in Autauga County, Alabama.

The group also lost one of its chapters. Whorton told *Hatewatch* that the William Lowndes Yancey chapter of LOS "has been dissolved."

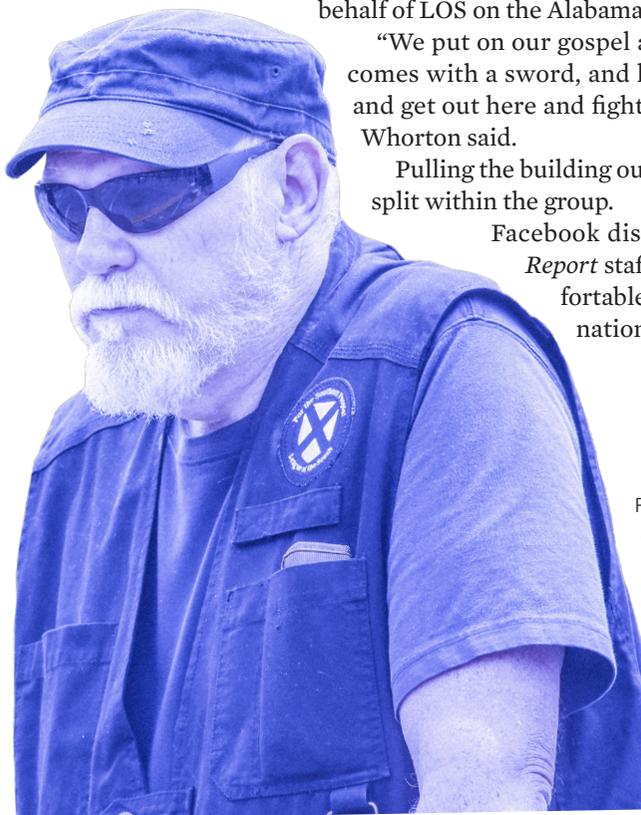
Whorton was a frequent speaker at LOS conventions and gave a fiery speech on behalf of LOS on the Alabama Capitol steps in 2015.

"We put on our gospel armor ... and when you fight, the Lord comes with a sword, and he expects us to be men and women and get out here and fight" in the face of "cultural genocide," Whorton said.

Pulling the building out from under LOS brought to light a split within the group.

Facebook discussions reviewed by *Intelligence Report* staff show Whorton becoming uncomfortable with LOS' militant direction. LOS national President Michael Hill said in a

Facebook discussions showed Mike Whorton (right), chairman of the Alabama chapter of the League of the South, became uncomfortable with the neo-Confederate group's militant direction. LOS national President Michael Hill (left) subsequently announced a new Alabama chapter president.



**“We support the culture, heritage and Christian values of the Southern people.”**



December 2018 Facebook post that Rayn Owens would be the new Alabama chapter president. Hill urged members to support Owens as “he begins the job of putting our State chapter back on sound footing.”

Owens has attended events involving street activism. He appeared in the league’s uniform of khaki pants and black polo shirt at most of the LOS street demonstrations throughout 2017, including the deadly “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Whorton’s move to distance himself from LOS comes as the group is under legal fire for its role in the events surrounding Unite the Right. LOS, along with Hill and other members, have been named defendants in a civil suit.

Whorton seems to believe that by resigning from LOS and not allowing the group to rent the building he can protect his real estate from becoming entangled in any possible damages awarded in the civil suit.

The Southern Cultural Center LLC, a non-profit organization Whorton incorporated, owns the building, which the Elmore County assessor’s office values at \$323,000. The center’s Facebook page proclaims, “We support the culture, heritage and Christian values of the Southern people.”

The building, not far from downtown Wetumpka, was used so frequently as a LOS gathering place it became known as “the League building.”

“For the last 7 or 8 years we have held the annual [League of the South] national conference at this building and have shown it off with great pride. But this has come to an end,” Hill wrote



Former League of the South Alabama state Chairman Mike Whorton owns the building (pictured) used for years by the neo-Confederate organization. That decision left LOS scrambling to find a place for its national convention. Whorton also resigned as LOS’ Alabama state chairman. Rayn Owens, pictured with the long white beard, replaced Whorton as the Alabama chapter leader.

in the Facebook post in December 2018. “I was not given a specific reason for this denial. I know many of you who have supported the building over the years will be very disappointed to hear of this sad development. We are currently looking for a replacement venue for our 2019 national conference. We intend to continue holding it, if possible, in Alabama because of our central location.”

For now, LOS hasn’t announced where in Pine Level it will hold its national conference, nor has it said where it will meet regularly in the future. ▲

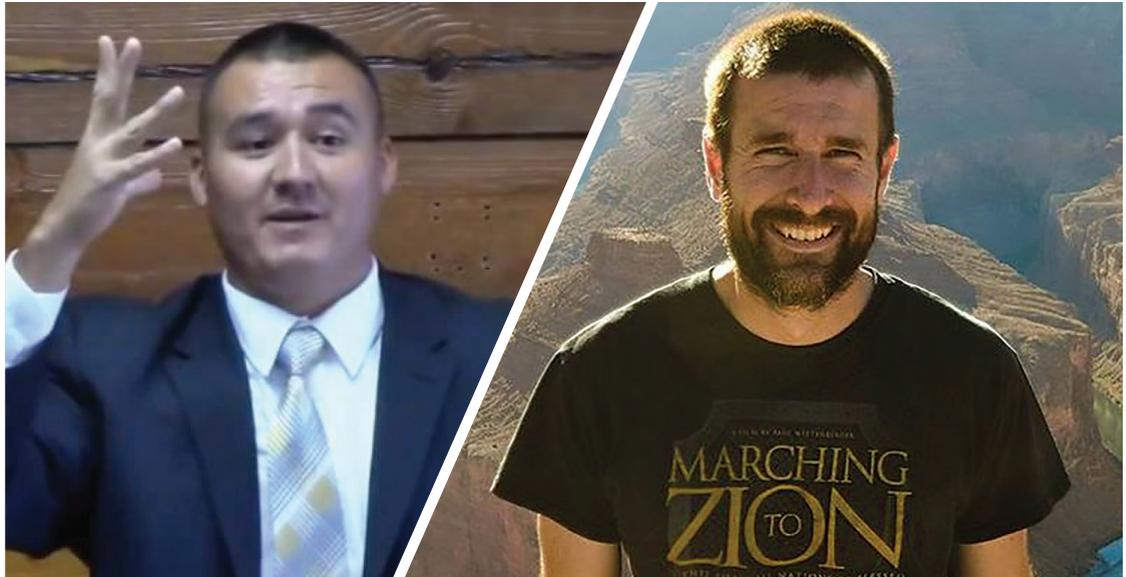


# **A Church Divided**

**Sex Worker Scandal Exposes Fault Lines  
in Anti-LGBTQ Church Network**

**BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF**

After Donnie Romero (left) resigned as pastor of Stedfast Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas, Steven Anderson selected a replacement that caused dissension in the church's network.



## AN ANTI-LGBTQ PASTOR'S

admission to “sins” that included prostitutes, marijuana and gambling set off a series of events that roiled his congregation and caused a split in a satellite church in another state.

Pastor Donnie Romero resigned from Stedfast Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas, an anti-LGBTQ hate group. In a video posted to YouTube in January, Romero disclosed to his Fort Worth congregation that he had “not been ruling his house well” and admitted he was a “terrible husband and father.” A week after his resignation, Romero posted a video in which he made several admissions. He said, “I went to a casino, and I was drinking, and there were girls there that were prostitutes, and I committed adultery on my wife multiple times. I drank and gambled multiple times. And I even smoked weed.”

More than two years earlier, Romero attracted widespread media attention when he said that God should “finish the job” and kill the survivors of the mass shooting at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, a place that catered primarily to LGBTQ clientele.

His resignation this year created a crisis at his Fort Worth church and led to a split in a Jacksonville congregation, a satellite church Romero also headed with the same name.

The crisis demonstrated an early division in a relatively new movement that includes a network of about 30 independent churches, including Stedfast Baptist Church.

The New Independent Fundamental Baptist Movement (New IFB) was spearheaded in part

by Steven Anderson, another well-known anti-LGBTQ pastor. He is pastor of Faithful Word Baptist Church, an anti-LGBTQ hate group in Tempe, Arizona. Romero was a former congregant of Anderson's church before going to start the Fort Worth church with his mentor's blessing.

The leaders of these congregations regularly depict people who are LGBTQ as dangers to society, and this summer half a dozen pastors from the New IFB network held a conference where they encouraged the execution of LGBTQ people. More than 30 countries have banned Anderson because of his anti-LGBTQ rhetoric.

Anderson's New IFB is a split from the older IFB movement. He has said it is not a denomination but “a revival of what the old IFB once represented.” IFB was founded in the 1940s to reclaim the fundamentalism of earlier decades. Like IFB congregations, New IFB churches use the King James Bible and interpret it literally.

Anderson revealed what prompted Romero to step down in another YouTube video posted Jan. 3. “Basically, the major sin was being with prostitutes. And then there was also marijuana and gambling that were also discovered,” he said, without going into specifics.

After Romero resigned, Anderson traveled to Fort Worth to ordain Jonathan Shelley as the new pastor of Stedfast Baptist, which includes the Jacksonville congregation and another Stedfast satellite in Oklahoma City. Shelley had been an anti-LGBTQ pastor at New IFB's Pure Words Baptist Church in Houston. Shelley's ordination triggered a split

Romero attracted widespread media attention when he said that God should “finish the job” and kill the survivors of the mass shooting at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida.

in the Stedfast Baptist congregation in Jacksonville between those who supported him and those who did not.

The head of Stedfast Baptist Church in Fort Worth is also the head of other Stedfast churches until he fully ordains their preachers. Adam Fannin, then the preacher in Jacksonville, refused to accept Shelley's pastoral authority. In the ensuing turmoil, accusations of financial wrongdoing and personal slights abounded as all three church leaders — Anderson, Shelley and Fannin — released videos on YouTube criticizing each other. Those videos amassed hundreds of comments in support of either Anderson, Shelley or Fannin.

Anderson expressed his frustration with Fannin, describing him as “duplicitous,” “selfish” and “disingenuous.”

Fannin disputed accusations from video commenters that the New IFB is a cult and complained about the handling of Romero's resignation. He asserted that Anderson intentionally withheld details about Romero's behavior and declared that there was a “conspiracy and a cover-up” in Fort Worth. Fannin also attacked Romero's leadership ability and said that as a pastor he had failed the Jacksonville church.

Fannin further declared he was the “only God-ordained leadership” in all three of the Stedfast churches. In a reference to Shelley, he accused people from “the outside” of taking control of local situations such as the Romero scandal in Fort Worth. Fannin's video included a number of complaints about New IFB founder Anderson as well. He said that Anderson fired him via text message, thus “usurping the authority” of a local church.

Fannin alleged that some activities in the New IFB Movement “are not biblical,” that a series of bad decisions in Arizona were creating “jerks in the movement” and that “Pastor Steven Anderson is not the sheriff of Stedfast Baptist Church.” And he accused the Fort Worth church of hiding information about its finances.

A few days later, Anderson acknowledged financial irregularities at the Fort Worth church, but he claimed that questionable accounting practices also plagued the Jacksonville congregation.

Within a week of his ordination, Shelley fired Fannin and barred him and his supporters from all Stedfast churches. Fannin and his followers refused to vacate the Jacksonville building, leaving the remaining congregants who supported Shelley without a church. Pro-Shelley congregants eventually moved to a new building with new preachers.

Fannin has since launched Law of Liberty, a Jacksonville church that continues to attract derision from pastors in the New IFB. Shelley warned the Fort Worth congregation in a video posted in May about Fannin's church and its “self-ordained pastor.”

Shelley's statements and the comments on that video reveal further discord over the split in the Jacksonville church and doctrine within the New IFB, demonstrating that this fight in the expanding movement known for its anti-LGBTQ rhetoric is far from over. ▲

# A TALE OF TWO MOVEMENTS

## IFB VS. NEW IFB

Steven Anderson has become the face of the New Independent Fundamental Baptist Movement. New IFB churches do not represent a distinct denomination. Instead, its website states, they represent a “new generation going back to the old paths.” Here's an overview on how the doctrines and beliefs between IFB and New IFB tend to differ since IFB churches are autonomous, doctrines can overlap between the “old” and “new” churches.

### IFB ADHERES TO THESE TENETS

The New Testament governs religious practices and faith issues.

The church consists of saved, baptized believers.

Strict separation of church and state.

Local churches function autonomously.

All believers are priests and can interact with God without an intermediary.

### THE NEW IFB LISTS THESE 11 DOCTRINES

**FAITH ALONE FOR SALVATION** Faith in the death and resurrection of Jesus is the only requirement for salvation.

**ONCE SAVED ALWAYS SAVED** People never lose salvation once they receive it.

**KING JAMES BIBLE ONLY** The King James Version of the Bible is the only accurate representation of God's words.

**TRINITY** God exists as a single entity composed of three distinct people: the Father, Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost.

**SOUL-WINNING** Engage in soul-winning, providing one-on-one Bible teaching to bring sinners to Christ.

**HARD PREACHING** Preach the entire Bible without apologizing for its content.

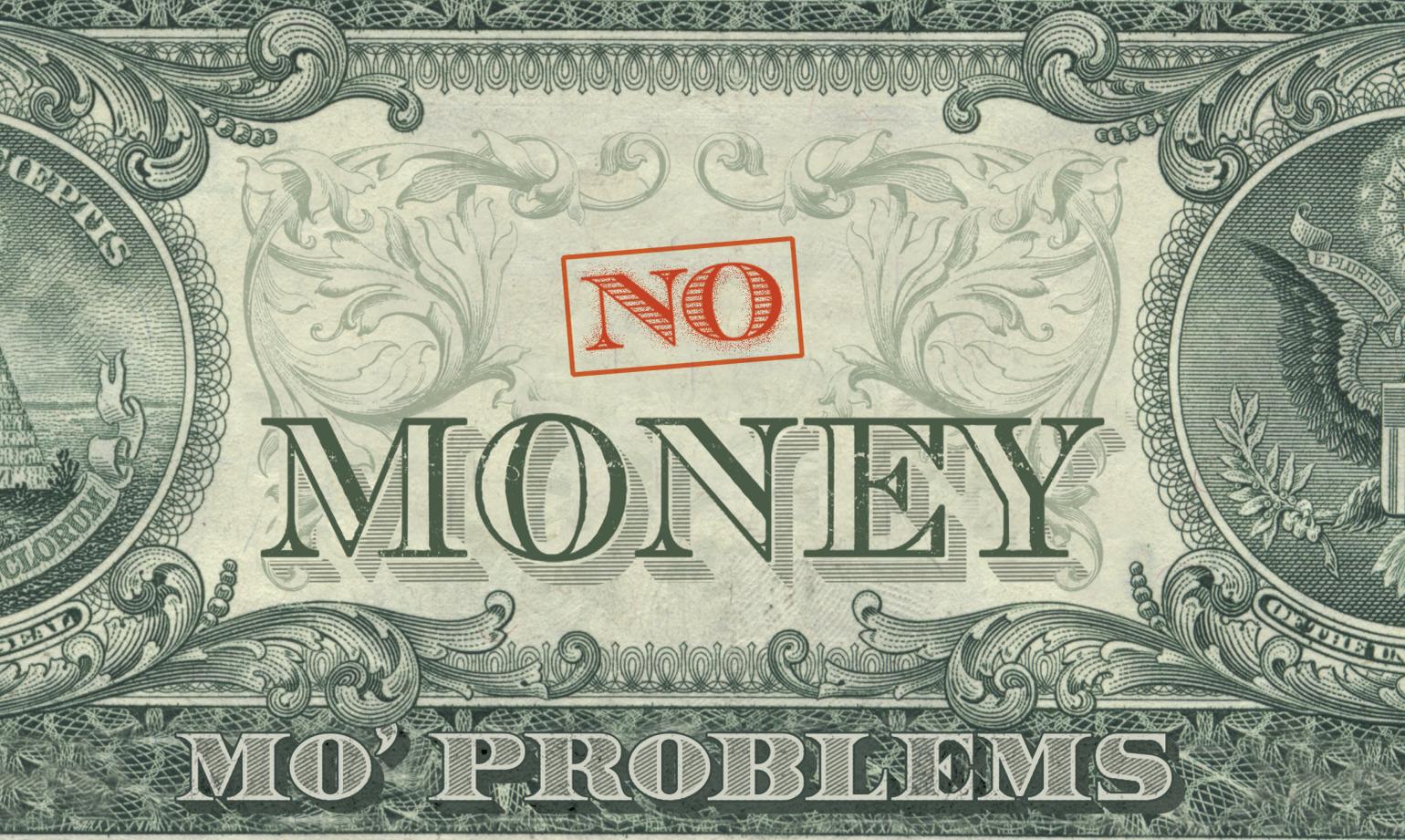
**ANTI-WORLDLINESS** Stay distant from worldly pleasures.

**ANTI-CALVINISM** Reject the five points of Calvinism: total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace and perseverance of the saints.

**ANTI-DISPENSATIONALISM** Salvation comes only by grace through faith.

**ANTI-ZIONISM** Recognize that modern Israel is a fraud, and believers in Christ are God's chosen people.

**POST-TRIB, PRE-WRATH RAPTURE** Rapture will occur after a period of tribulation, not before it.



## Militiaman's Fundraising Plea Devolves into Lawsuit and Mistrust

BY BRETT BARROQUERE

The jailed militiaman had an interesting fundraising appeal.

He called it his “cry for help.”

Now, there's crying all around as the money-raising attempt has descended into chaos, conflict and mistrust. In this case, Schaeffer Cox wanted the fundraising to stop, going as far as writing he was “wary” of the people who claimed to support him. As a result of his note, he received a scathing email from someone he once called a friend.

Money is at the heart of the battle. Members of the “Free Schaeffer Cox” movement hired Eberle Associates, a prominent conservative firm based in McLean, Virginia, to raise money for Cox's appeal.

But Cox, who claims he is a political prisoner, alleged in a lawsuit that he never received money raised on his behalf.

The conflict reached its nadir when Cox wrote to an Eberle copywriter and said he didn't want the company raising money for him anymore. That exchange prompted the sharp response.

On Feb. 11, 2016, Cox sent an email to Ryan Mobley, a copywriter with Eberle known for

handling conservative fundraising pitches. He told Mobley to stop the pledge campaign because he was wary of the Free Schaeffer Cox board members.

“I'm just saying I'm not going to ask people to donate to ME when in reality I have no idea at all where the money is actually going,” Cox wrote. “That's reasonable.”

But it apparently didn't seem reasonable to Maria Rensel. Rensel was a friend of Cox's from their days in Republican politics in Alaska. She replied in an email signed by the other board members:

“Perfect timing Schaeffer ... right when the work is ready to pay off, you self-destruct.”

### How did we get here?

Cox ran the Alaska Peacemakers Militia until he was sentenced in 2012 to 26 years in prison for engaging in a conspiracy to kill a state judge and police officer. That plot led to the latest dust-up.

Cox, a 35-year-old former Republican candidate for the Alaska Legislature, needed the money to appeal his conviction.

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“I’m just saying I’m not going to ask people to donate to ME when in reality I have no idea at all where the money is actually going.”

— SCHAEFFER COX

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Eberle counts prominent conservative clients such as the Koch Brothers-funded FreedomWorks among its customers. The company has also worked with the American Border Patrol, which the Southern Poverty Law Center designates as an antigovernment group.

The relationship between Cox, his supporters and Eberle quickly went south. Cox filed a civil lawsuit in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia in November 2018. The suit alleges Eberle embezzled more than \$100,000 raised to help Cox with his appeal. In court filings, Eberle and the other defendants have denied the accusations.

The lawsuit alleges Eberle promised to take a series of actions, including a direct mail campaign, follow-up calls and letters and a projected \$1.05 million first-year fundraising goal.

Cox seemed onboard at first. He allowed the use of his photo in fundraising requests. A draft fundraising letter, addressed to “Dear Patriotic American,” showed the urgency of his plea.

“This is my cry for help,” Cox wrote in a Sept. 1, 2014, draft fundraising letter. “Not just for me and my family, but for Americans like you who may be the government’s next target.”

The first fundraising mailer went out in early 2015 and raised \$38,000 from 1,500 people, according to court documents.

Eberle wrote a check to “Free Schaeffer Cox” on Feb. 23, 2015, although court filings do not indicate how much it gave Cox’s backers, and things seemed to be running smoothly. Mailings went out, and Cox penned more fundraising letters from his prison cell in Marion, Illinois.

Cox wrote in another fundraising draft that the Marion prison

had the nickname “Little Guantanamo” and that the Obama administration had an “enemies list.”

“And since I was the main organizer of the 2nd Amendment lobby in Alaska and represented thousands of conservative voters, I had to go and they didn’t care how,” Cox wrote.

The draft, dated Oct. 5, 2015, was included as an exhibit in the lawsuit.

The fundraising letter echoed a defense Cox used at trial – that he was a loudmouth who stood up for gun rights but was no danger to society.

But all was not well from Cox’s point of view.

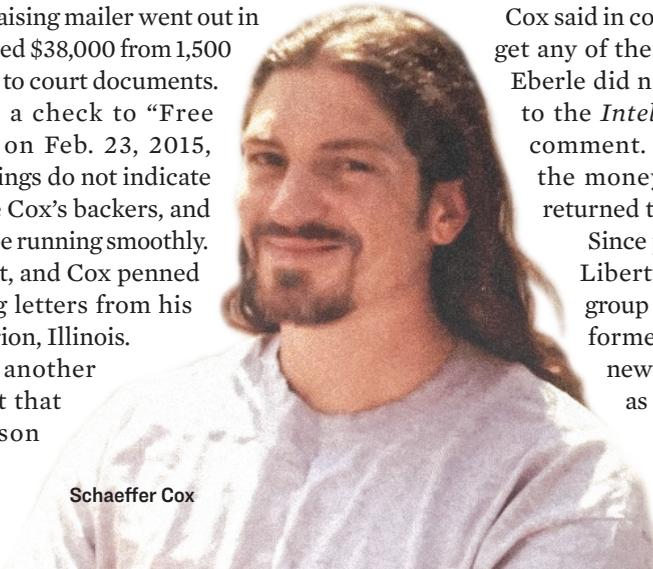
Various letters that were part of the lawsuit show Cox’s growing unease and mistrust of Eberle. Cox expressed concerns about where the money was going and whether the projections could be reached.

Emails in the court file show that Rensel and Cox stopped speaking, prompting the US Observer, an Oregon-based outfit that publishes stories about people it believes to be wrongly convicted, to stop researching the case. For its part, Eberle froze the “Free Schaeffer Cox” account.

“What a mess!” Eberle President Tammy Cali wrote Cox on Dec. 21, 2016.

Cox said in court records that he didn’t get any of the funds raised by Eberle. Eberle did not return a call or email to the *Intelligence Report* seeking comment. Court records indicate the money the group raised was returned to donors.

Since parting with Alaskans for Liberty, a right-wing political group made up of some of Cox’s former supporters, Cox has a new set of fundraisers known as “Schaeffer’s Angels.” ▲



Schaeffer Cox



# When Dollars Matter More Than Decency

BY KEEGAN HANKES ILLUSTRATION BY SÉBASTIEN THIBAUT

As America's technology and financial giants struggle, or refuse, to curb hate on their platforms, far-right extremists leverage them to build war chests that promote bigotry and violence.

Negligence comes with a price.

In 2018, the Southern Poverty Law Center recorded the largest number of hate groups in its history, including a 50 percent increase in white nationalist groups.

Money raised via online payment processors, credit card transactions and crowdfunding sites sustained this disturbing trend. Yet corporations that facilitated this fundraising show little interest in a solution. When companies such as PayPal, GoFundMe and Patreon terminate accounts, extremists turn to brands whose services allow them to bankroll hate.

This summer, Mastercard shareholders voted down SumOfUs, a resolution that proposed creating an internal committee to monitor payments made to far-right extremist groups.

The financial giant continues to process payments to hate groups including American Renaissance, a white nationalist publication dedicated to spreading the false narrative of an epidemic of black-on-white crime; Counter-Currents, the preeminent white nationalist publishing house in the United States; and the Proud Boys, an anti-Muslim and misogynistic organization of "western chauvinists" best known for street violence.

Mastercard's logo appears next to Visa, Discover and American Express on the website of The Right Stuff, a prolific white nationalist organization. The SPLC documented 34 active chapters of The Right Stuff in

2018. Its leaders were among scheduled speakers at the deadly "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017.

Technology executives are not limiting their ambitions. They have shown a systemic failure to prevent violence-minded white supremacists and the broader hate movement from leveraging their services for profit and recruitment. Facebook has announced Libra, a project to create a new cryptocurrency-based financial system. Early corporate backers and overseers include Visa, Spotify, eBay and PayPal. There is no indication that the project has been tested for civil rights concerns.

As Silicon Valley barrels forward, subordinating civil rights to profit-driven innovation, there are signs that the paradigm is shifting.

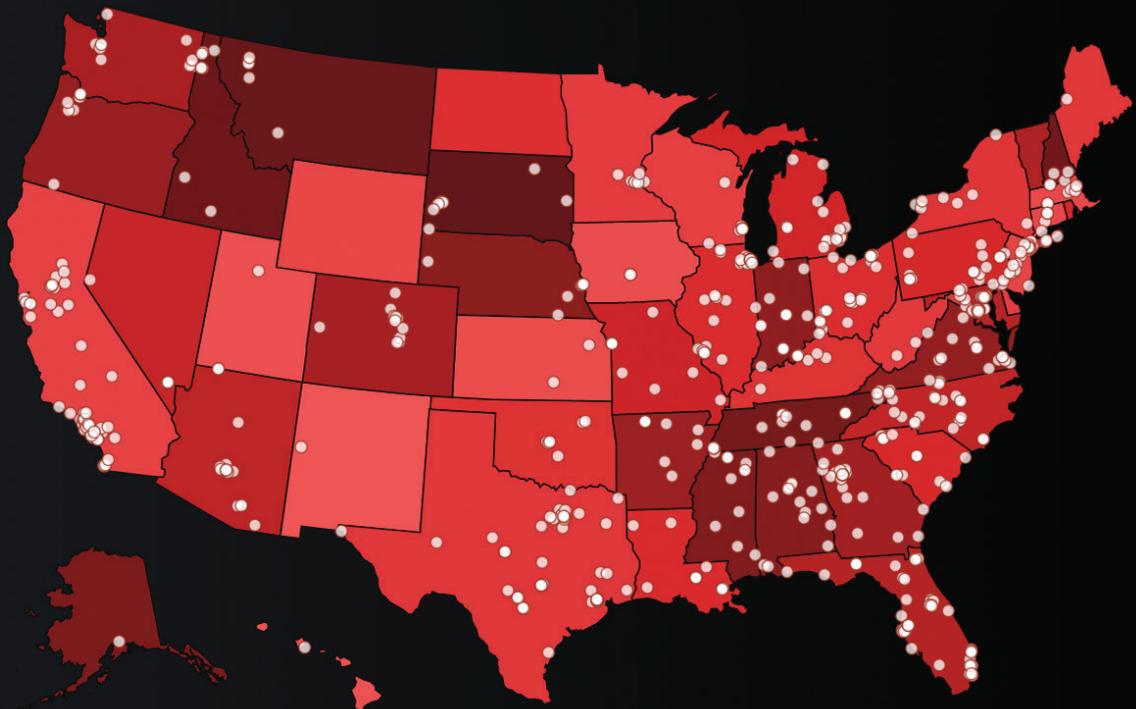
In a July 10 blog post, Ryan Hagemann, an IBM policy executive, advocated for reconsideration of Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, legislation that grants liability protection to internet companies for actions on their platforms. Hagemann argues for the adoption of a "reasonable care" standard that would require companies to take preventive measures against unlawful conduct to enjoy liability protection.

Reasonable care in preventing hate groups from financing their campaigns is precisely what's missing from technology and financial institutions. As long as far-right extremists can fill their coffers without objection from some of America's most prized corporate brands, society and its vulnerable populations will suffer from increasingly violent consequences. ▲

EXPLORE HATE ACROSS THE UNITED STATES

# FIND OUT WHICH HATE GROUPS ARE IN YOUR STATE

IN 2018, WE TRACKED 1,020 HATE GROUPS ACROSS THE U.S.



## EXPLORE THE MAP

In 2018, we recorded more hate groups than ever before. Check out the hate map online, updated to make it easier than ever to navigate the landscape of hate in the U.S. You can now view more details, including which states have the most hate groups per capita and how the number of hate groups has changed over time, in your state and across the country.

## NEW FEATURES

- View states' hate groups per capita
- See how hate group numbers have changed over time
- Find more in-depth information on your state
- Get the latest Hatewatch news

SEE THE MAP ONLINE AT  
[splcenter.org/hate-map](http://splcenter.org/hate-map)

# The Southern Poverty Law Center's Three-Point Strategy to Fight Hate and Extremism



Neo-Nazi Frazier Glenn Miller is arrested for the anti-Semitic shooting rampage that left three dead in Kansas.

## 1 Expose Potentially Violent Extremists

As the nation's pre-eminent monitor and analyst of American political extremism, the SPLC tracks thousands of extremist and racist hate groups and is often called on to counter mainstream hate through public information campaigns and academic forums.

## 2 Fight Hate in the Courtroom

The SPLC is internationally known for its legal work dismantling extremist groups. Most recently, we won the final round of a lawsuit against members of the Imperial Klans of America (IKA). The Kentucky Supreme Court upheld our crushing \$2.5 million verdict, which destroyed the group.



Klan "wizard" Ron Edwards urged his followers to violence, leading to their brutal attack on a Latino teen at a county fair.

## 3 Provide Free, Life-saving Training to Law Enforcement



The Intelligence Project provides the best and latest intelligence on the threats posed by the hate and extremist movement. We train thousands of law enforcement officials on recognizing and combating domestic terrorists each year, and our investigators support dozens of agencies as they solve or build cases against extremists.

Our video training series can be shown during officers' roll call and examines the dangers of the radical right.

"My greatest fear is that domestic extremists in this country will somehow ... [carry] out a mass-casualty attack."

— Daryl Johnson, former Homeland Security analyst

The SPLC "has cracked cases even the FBI couldn't solve."

— CBS News

"Thanks to the courageous folks at the SPLC and the innovative training tools they create, law enforcement agencies are far better equipped to fight the forces of hate and antigovernment extremism."

— Retired Police Chief, Arkansas

# Intelligence Report

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