

HATE GROUP MAP & LISTINGS INSIDE

Intelligence Report

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THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

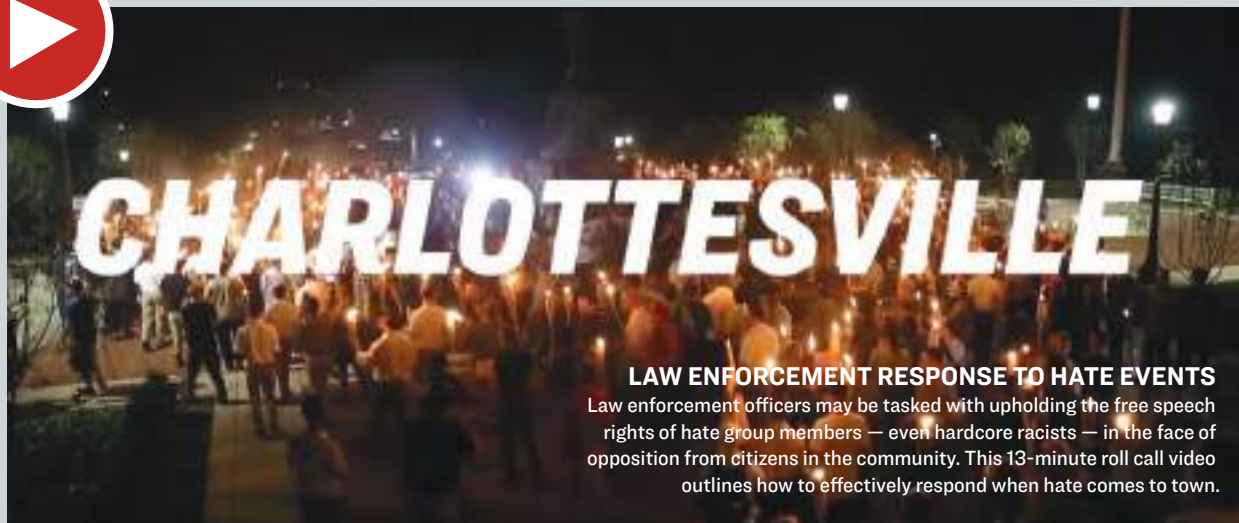
RAGE AGAINST CHANGE

White Supremacy Flourishes Amid
Fears of Immigration and Nation's
Shifting Demographics

UNDERSTANDING THE THREAT

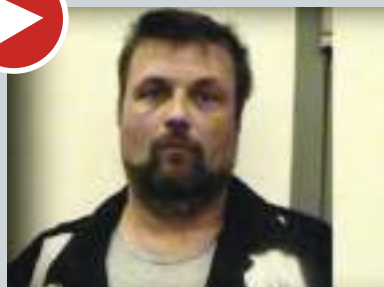
Law Enforcement Training Videos

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



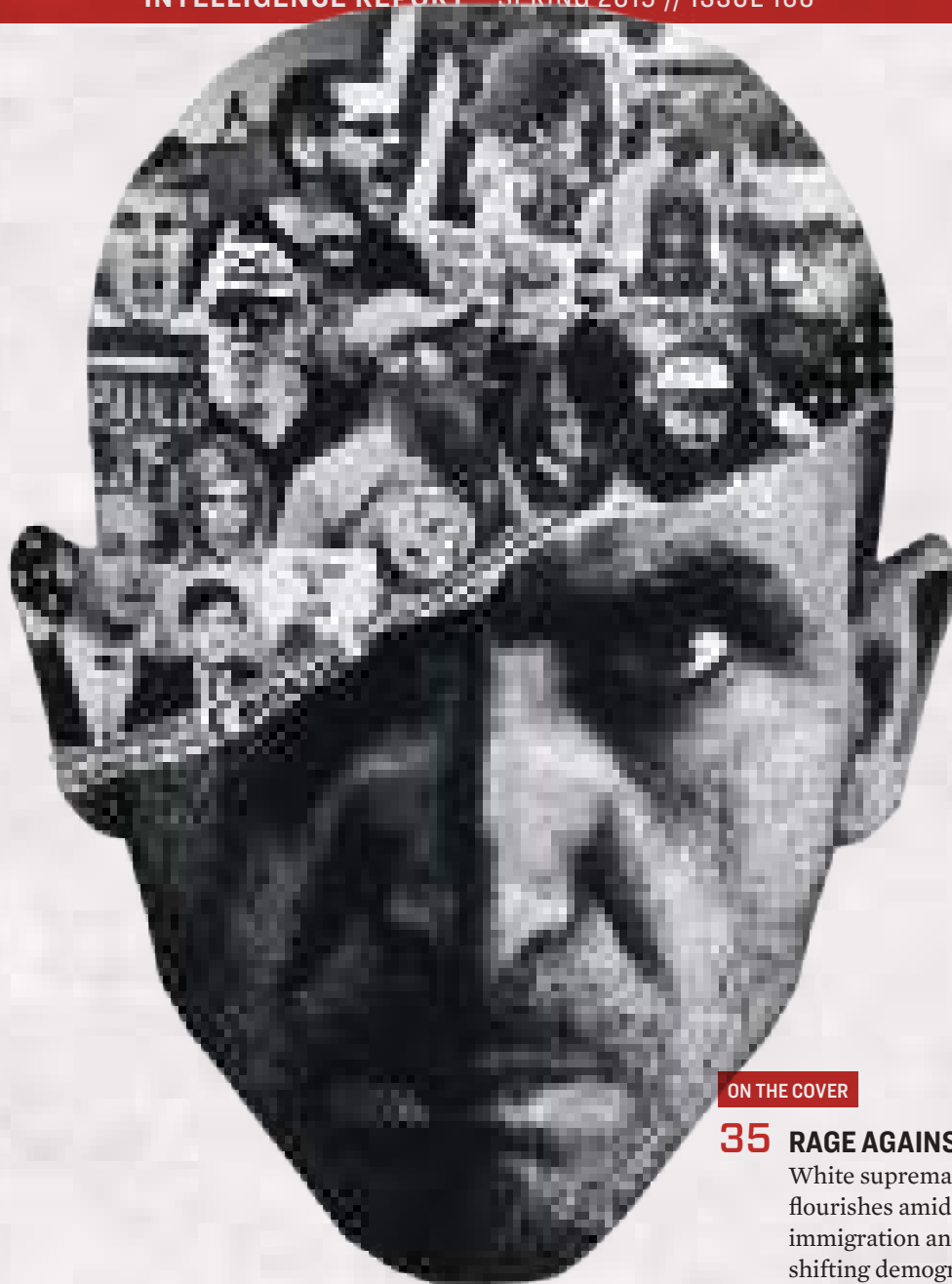
HATE CRIMES

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



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Intelligence Report

HEIDI BEIRICH Intelligence Project Director

SUSY BUCHANAN Intelligence Report Editor

RACHEL JANIK Assistant Editor

LAURIE WOOD Director of Investigations

ALEJANDRO J. BEUTEL, KEEGAN HANKES,
SWATHI SHANMUGASUNDARAM Analysts

BRETT BARROUQUERE, JOHN DOUGHERTY, MICHAEL EDISON HAYDEN,
RACHEL JANIK, NICK R. MARTIN Reporters

CHRIS HELLER Copy Editor

TRACEY GALE, RAVEN HODGES Information Specialists

KARLA GRIFFIN Administrative Assistant

DESIGN

RUSSELL ESTES Design Director

MICHELLE LELAND, SCOTT PHILLIPS,
KRISTINA TURNER Senior Designers

SHANNON ANDERSON, HILLARY ANDREWS, CIERRA BRINSON,
SUNNY PAULK, ALEX TROTT Designers

ANGELA GREER Design Assistant

PRODUCTION

REGINA COLLINS Accounting Operations Coordinator

KIMBERLY WEAVER Purchasing Production Coordinator

CONTRIBUTORS

LINCOLN AGNEW, COREY BRICKLEY, SARAH HANSON,
BRENDAN JOEL KELLEY, BILL MORLIN, DAVE NEIWERT,
ZÉ OTAVIO, ZOË VAN DIJK

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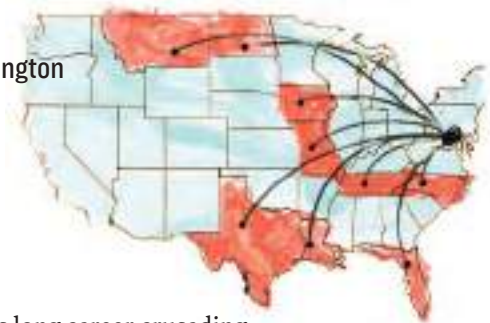
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Among America's border extremists, hucksters outshine the true believers.



Is Demography Really Destiny?

As the country rapidly diversifies, our history reveals two different paths Americans have taken in reaction to demographic change — one filled with hate, and one with hope.

BY HEIDI BEIRICH

One of the main reasons for the rise of Donald Trump, the electoral success of his bigotry and our country's rising white supremacy is this: Trump has activated a growing fear in many white Americans who view their power as threatened by our country's rapidly changing demographics. He is taking advantage of their *rage against change*. Trump tests us nearly daily with his racism, nativism and hateful policies. And as we explore in this issue of the *Intelligence Report*, the surge in white supremacy and hate-driven domestic terrorism is slowing our progress toward a vibrant, multicultural democracy.

The American population is moving toward a minority-majority future, a shift the Census Bureau predicts will occur sometime in the 2040s. Nativists, racists and our president are taking advantage of the browning of America, contrasting it with nostalgia for a perceived better, whiter past, and using that idea to activate citizens into white nationalist thinking.

This political path is not without historical precedent. Our country has been here before.

In the early 1900s, as German, Irish, Italian and Eastern European immigrants fled their countries for our shores, Americans turned on their new neighbors. And that immigration was accompanied by the migration of black people to the North, all of which roused the Ku Klux Klan from its post-Civil War slumber. The reinvigorated Klan warned that the nation was in great danger, describing immigrants as invaders practicing dangerous “foreign” religions, namely Catholicism and Judaism. The Klan's message of white supremacy and Protestant Christianity was a winning one, and by 1924, the KKK had nearly four million members.

Politicians at all levels joined the Klan's ranks, President Woodrow Wilson praised the group, Jim Crow flourished and with support from unabashed white supremacists, our nation passed despicable policies to stop demographic change in its tracks.

Most noxious was the Immigration Act of 1924, which cut immigrants sharply and restricted them mostly to northern Europeans. When President

Calvin Coolidge signed the bill into law, the Klan cheered its protection of America's “purity.”

It took more than 40 years for that racist immigration policy to come to an end. Finally, in 1965, a new immigration bill inspired by the civil rights movement was passed.

But there is another, more hopeful American story about immigration.

In the 1980s, California faced a new demographic shift. As the Latinx population grew, white voters upset by these changes reacted in much the same way anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim Trump voters do today. Californians elected rabidly anti-immigrant Pete Wilson as governor in 1990. He railed against immigrants, who he painted with a large brush as being costly and criminal. He also vocally supported the punishing anti-immigrant Proposition 187, which passed by a wide majority in 1994. White Californians voted in huge numbers for the bill.

But a handful of years later, by the end of the 1990s, as California was approaching a minority-majority population, nativism dissipated. In 1999, Prop 187 died in the courts when Gov. Gray Davis refused to defend it. Since then, Californians have moved away from anti-immigrant politicking and the GOP has paid a steep price for its anti-immigrant past. Today, California is one of America's most prosperous and diverse states.

Californians didn't wait half a century to make a change — they forced out hate in just half a decade.

These two scenarios, America in the 1920s and California more recently, show that demography is not necessarily a white nationalist destiny, driven by forces beyond our control.

Is our future to be marked by rising white nationalism and its sidekicks, domestic terrorism and racist policies? Or can we build a peaceful, robust and multicultural democracy? Our country has reacted to demographic changes in different ways in the past, and it's up to us to determine what our future holds. ▲





Justice Served

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — On Dec. 11, 2018, a Charlottesville jury recommended that 21-year-old James Alex Fields Jr. serve life plus 419 years in prison for plowing his car into a group of counterprotesters after the “Unite the Right” rally. The same jury on Dec. 7 convicted Fields of first-degree murder and nine other felonies.

A photographer captured the moment Fields drove his 2010 Dodge Challenger into the crowd, injuring at least eight people and killing 32-year-old paralegal Heather Heyer on Aug. 12, 2017.

During Fields’ trial, survivors and victims of the attack testified about their injuries and what will be lifelong struggles to recover.

Fields ran over Jeanne “Star” Peterson, mangling her right leg, resulting in doctors putting a metal plate into it.

“A lot of crushed bones,” Peterson said. “They threw out anything that actually came out of my skin because of infection.”

Attorneys for Fields told jurors at the trial it was a case of self-defense, that he thought counterprotesters were attacking him when he drove the car into the crowd. Witnesses to the incident and video showed no one behind Fields’ car before the attack.

Fields faces a federal trial on 30 charges, including committing a hate crime resulting in death. The case, which could result in a death sentence if Fields is convicted, is expected to go to trial sometime in 2019.

Follow all of our coverage at splcenter.org/UTR



ON THE COVER

2018 was a year of competing ideas: change, in the form of diversity and progress for human rights, and rage, the bitter backlash of hate and fear against it. Read more inside about how resentment is fueling the future of the radical right.

ILLUSTRATION BY LINCOLN AGNEW

WHITE ANXIETY

“No nation, no society has ever changed this much, this fast. Now, before you start calling anyone bigoted, consider — and be honest — how would you feel if that happened in your neighborhood? Doesn’t matter how nice the immigrants are, they probably are nice ... That’s not the point. The point is, this is more change than human beings are designed to digest. This pace of change makes societies volatile, really volatile, just as ours has become volatile.”

Tucker Carlson on
“Tucker Carlson Tonight”
on March 19, 2019

EXTREMIST FILES



View our Extremist Files database online to learn more about the people and groups you read about in the pages of the *Intelligence Report*. For biographies, timelines, videos and more, check out splcenter.org/extremist-files

NEW HATE MAP ONLINE

Explore our new hate map online today to view hate groups by state, ideology and over time.

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

For subscription requests, contact Karla Griffin.
Southern Poverty Law Center
400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104
(334) 956-8200 splcenter.org/intelligence-report

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LAW ENFORCEMENT INQUIRIES WELCOMED

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





On Oct. 27, 2018, a gunman burst into a Pittsburgh synagogue during Shabbat services, shouting "All Jews must die!" He killed 11 people.

ON OUR RADAR

VIOLENCE AND THE MOVEMENT

Each issue, the *Intelligence Report's* Hatewatch section will expose the most disturbing corners of the radical right. In this issue, we investigate how violence that has traditionally been in the shadows of racist extremism is increasingly taking to the streets.

You can always get the latest on this topic and more at splcenter.org/hatewatch.



The ‘Alt-Right’ Is Still Killing People

BY BILL MORLIN

It shouldn't come as a surprise.

The racist “alt-right” is still killing people, and 2018 was the deadliest year yet.

In 2018, at least 40 people in the U.S. and Canada were killed by individuals who were either motivated by or attracted to far-right ideologies, embracing ideas and philosophies that are cornerstones of the alt-right.

The alt-right homicides in 2018 were a continuation of a violent, unpredictable trend that first emerged in 2014 with Elliot Rodger's horrific murders.

Rodger went on a killing spree on May 23, 2014, in Isla Vista, California, killing six people. He left behind a manifesto detailing his hatred of women and interracial couples — misogynistic and racist themes that were, at the time, coalescing among online subcultures that would become the alt-right.

The 22-year-old fatally stabbed three men in his apartment before driving to a sorority at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he shot three women, killing two and seriously wounding the third. He killed six people total and wounded 14 with his vehicle and gunfire before taking his own life during a gun battle with police.

Rodger became an inspiration for alt-right killers to come, and his image was eventually added to the banner of the neo-Nazi website the Daily Stormer.

In the ensuing four-year period, according to numbers tabulated by the Southern Poverty Law Center and first documented in an extensive report released last year, at least 81 people have been killed at the hands of someone steeped in or influenced by alt-right beliefs.

An additional 104 people have been wounded or injured in these sporadic events, which include mass shootings, unprovoked attacks and other violent assaults.

The SPLC report details the alt-right's success in popularizing dangerous racist and misogynistic ideas that resonate with one group in particular — disaffected white men, generally in their mid-20s, some with hidden fantasies about violence and firearms.

There were multiple killings in the U.S. and Canada in 2018 — a van attack in Toronto; a deadly shooting at a Florida high school; a massacre at a synagogue; and a brutal stabbing outside a Pittsburgh nightclub.

“In 2018, at least 40 people were killed by those motivated by or attracted to far-right ideologies, embracing ideas that are cornerstones of the alt-right.”

The alt-right's influence was traceable across all four events.

The first occurred on Valentine's Day with a deadly rampage at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida.

While the shooter's suspected connections with the alt-right may be tangential, media accounts suggest Nikolas Cruz was fascinated by racist iconography and language, along with guns, knives and violence.

The former Parkland student, who had a Nazi symbol on his backpack, used a semiautomatic assault rifle to fatally gun down 14 students and three educators before walking away. Bulletproof glass kept him from shooting fleeing students. Police also found swastikas etched onto the ammunition magazines that Cruz used.

Before the shooting, Cruz made social media posts about buying body armor and shooting up a school. In a private chat group, CNN reported, he also "repeatedly espoused racist, homophobic and antisemitic views and displayed an obsession with violence and guns."

In April, Alek Minassian, who admired Rodger for his deadly act in 2014, is accused of intentionally driving a rental van into pedestrians on a crowded walkway in Toronto, Canada.

A post on Minassian's Facebook page the same day of the killings suggested he carried out the attack to further the "Incel Rebellion" — an apparent reference to "involuntary celibates," a misogynistic and violent online subculture.

Incels frequently align with alt-right issues while primarily focusing on denigrating and dehumanizing women, sometimes even advocating physical and sexual violence.

After the van attack that killed 10 people and injured 14, mostly women, other incels took to social media to applaud Minassian for killing more people than Rodger, who they dubbed the "Supreme Gentleman."

In August, another suspect with a trail of alt-right online activity struck. Joden Rocco, 25, is accused of fatally stabbing a black man outside a Pittsburgh North Shore bar.

On Facebook, Rocco "liked" approximately 50 pages trafficking in memes and slang favored by the alt-right and the white nationalist movement.

He also subscribed to neo-Confederate hate group Identity Dixie's page and expressed a liking for videos featuring speeches from neo-Nazi William Pierce, the late leader of the once-influential National Alliance. Activists are calling for Rocco to be charged with a hate crime.

ALT-RIGHT KILLERS (2014–2018)

NAME	INCIDENT DATE	INJURED	KILLED
Elliot Rodger	5/23/2014	14	6
Dylann Storm Roof	6/17/2015	1	9
Christopher Sean "Chris" Harper-Mercer	10/1/2015	9	9
Alexandre Bissonnette	1/29/2017	19	6
James Harris Jackson	3/20/2017	0	1
Sean Urbanski	5/10/2017	0	1
Jeremy Joseph Christian	5/26/2017	0	2
Lane Maurice Davis	7/14/2017	0	1
James Alex Fields	8/12/2017	19	1
William Edward Atchison	12/7/2017	0	2
Nicholas Giampa	12/22/2017	1	2
Matthew Riehl	12/31/2017	4	1
Samuel Woodward	1/2/2018	0	1
Nikolas Cruz	2/14/2018	17	17
Alek Minassian	4/23/2018	14	10
Joden Rocco	8/19/2018	0	1
Robert Bowers	10/27/2018	6	11

Then, in October, a gunman went on a rampage at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, killing 11 and seriously wounding six others. The suspect, Robert Bowers, has been charged by police for the hate-fueled murder spree, the deadliest attack on the Jewish community in U.S. history.

Before the Oct. 27 mass killing, the 46-year-old suspect's social media footprints showed he frequently reposted content from influential alt-right accounts on the social media platform Gab, an alternative to Twitter that caters to racists.

He made numerous antisemitic remarks on Gab. He called Jews "the children of satan" and appeared to support the conspiracy theory that the U.S. is controlled by the "Zionist Occupied Government." The accused gunman also seemed to buy into another conspiracy theory that Jewish forces are scheming to dilute the white race by importing refugees and immigrants.

Bowers, who lived in Baldwin, Pennsylvania, was armed with three .357 Glock handguns, and a Colt AR-15 assault-style semiautomatic rifle.

In February 2018, the SPLC wrote in its report on alt-right killers, "After a year of escalating alt-right violence, we are probably in for more." That 2018 became the deadliest yet confirms the danger posed by alt-right propaganda and its widespread circulation enabled by social media platforms.



TAKING IT TO THE STREETS

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF

Last summer, as melees and riots broke out at so-called free speech rallies around the country, the white nationalist movement's top brass found themselves — somewhat reluctantly — heaping praise on the Proud Boys, an all-male hate group founded by far-right media personality Gavin McInnes. The “alt-lite” group that white nationalists previously sneered at was now doing what they couldn't since the deadly “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia: namely, bringing men to the streets to square off against their left-wing enemies.

“I'm never makin fun of the proudboys again,” Jesse Dunstan, co-host of “The Daily Shoah” podcast, which is popular with the racist “alt-right,” tweeted in response to one of the group's rallies this summer.

The moment when the Proud Boys seemed to win over the more hardcore elements of the white nationalist movement came on June 30, when roughly 200 members of the Proud Boys and their West Coast partner group, Patriot Prayer, clashed

with counterprotesters at a march through downtown Portland. During the melee, which police eventually declared a riot, Proud Boy Ethan Nordean knocked out an opposing demonstrator with a single punch.

“It's so much fun to see that guy get fucking clocked,” Mike Peinovich said on “The Daily Shoah” as he watched the hit in slow motion. “This is the fucking enemy,” his co-host added. “I hope they all drop dead.”

The rally in Charlottesville left the alt-right hamstrung. Rallies, marches and other forms of street activism became too risky for the movement as it became burdened by lawsuits and intense public scrutiny. But since its founding in 2016, the Proud Boys has worked to avoid that same public relations trap, conveniently sidestepping the issue of race by painting themselves as ultranationalist “Western chauvinists” who celebrate capitalism, praise traditional gender roles and embrace

The Proud Boys' street violence caught the attention and praise of the white nationalist movement in 2018.

the views of McInnes, their self-proclaimed “Islamophobic” founder. They prefer to talk about differences in “culture” rather than race, and they accept nonwhite members. As a result, they often elude the “racist” label.

Though they might not look like the alt-right’s ideal army, the Proud Boys accomplish the movement’s goals by battling anti-fascists in the streets and pushing the narrative that the left is violent and unhinged. White nationalists hope the increasing political tension fomented by the Proud Boys will help steer Trump supporters closer to their side and, in turn, accelerate an eventual showdown between themselves and those on the left.

“Don’t be fooled — these are /ourguyz/,” Daily Stormer founder Andrew Anglin and Luis Castillo wrote after the Proud Boys and Patriot Prayer rallied in Portland on Aug. 4. One commenter on the site referred to them as “Our own Indische Legion,” a Nazi military unit made up of Indian soldiers.

Others on the site praised the Proud Boys for “exposing antifa to normies as the true scum” and creating visuals seeking to radicalize those already on the right. “Antifa will take the bait and come and engage in violence which can be shared on social media, Fox News and Republican attack ads in the midterm elections,” Brad Griffin, an alt-right Southern nationalist, wrote on his blog, *Occidental Dissent*, in August.



Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes addresses the crowd at the “A Night for Freedom” event organized by Mike Cernovich on Jan. 20, 2018.

“I think an important seismic shift in conservative circles is underway now,” Roy Batty wrote in a Daily Stormer article about the June 30 Portland riot, which he argued would help convince people on the right that institutions — including the police — were not on their side.

“Historian[s] will examine this period as the build-up to an inevitable blood-letting,” he wrote.

For now, white nationalists seem content to let the Proud Boys act as their foot soldiers. But watching men like Nordean brawl against their shared political enemies has gotten them riled up, too. “Up until a year or two ago, I was anti-violence and hated conflict,” a commenter wrote in response to Batty. “Now, I’m ready to go.”

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“It’s such a rape culture with these immigrants, I don’t even think these women see it as rape. They see it as just like having a teeth [sic] pulled. ‘It’s a Monday. I don’t really enjoy it,’ but that’s what you do. I wouldn’t be surprised if it doesn’t have the same trauma as it would for a middle-class white girl in the suburbs because it’s so entrenched into their culture.”

Gavin McInnes, *Get Off My Lawn*, June 19, 2018



ILLUSTRATION BY CIERRA BRINSON



Violent Nostalgia

BY DAVE NEIWERT

The photo of three men posing in front of an ordinary apartment's parking area would normally be so nondescript as to barely warrant any notice, until the members of Atomwaffen Division explained, when they posted it on social media, where it was taken: at the site of Alan Berg's murder. Berg, a Denver radio talk-show host, was assassinated outside his home in 1984 by members of the neo-Nazi gang The Order. The photo spoke volumes about the nature of Atomwaffen Division and its brand of white supremacy.

Though its origins lie on the internet and the now-defunct white supremacist Iron March forum, Atomwaffen is rather different in its outlook from most of its racist "alt-right" brethren. Unlike most such groups, it is very backward-looking, positively nostalgic for the terroristic brands of neo-Nazism promoted by white supremacists from years gone

by. Their icons are ideologues like the American Nazi Party's George Lincoln Rockwell (who died in 1967), "Turner Diaries" author William Pierce, 1970s neo-Nazi activist James Mason, even 1960s mass killer Charles Manson, who advocated a war between races. Their heroes are terroristic thugs like The Order leader Robert Mathews and Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh.

Atomwaffen Division is proof that such ideologies continue to prevail even after their original progenitors have passed away. Central to the group's action plan is the belief, drawn from these older sources, that the old, established version of Western civilization has to be destroyed utterly and rebuilt entirely free of Jewish and nonwhite influences, reinstituting the totalizing order of National Socialism.

Thus, Atomwaffen's propaganda posters promote the idea of National Socialism — in the

The neo-Nazi terrorist group Atomwaffen Division draws inspiration from the writings of white supremacist James Mason and serial killer Charles Manson.

form of a swastika — rising from the ruins of an utterly destroyed America, declaring: “A New Order Will Rise From the Ashes of the Kike System.”

Their strategy is also drawn from these older sources: Form discrete action cells, much like The Order, and embark on campaigns of terrorism that will eventually inspire an American race war and a Nazi-like “purification” of the nation’s racial landscape. So places like the site of Berg’s assassination hold special meaning for them: Berg, who had verbally humiliated neo-Nazi leaders on his talk show, was gunned down by Mathews’ gang in the summer of 1984 as Berg arrived home.

Such a violent worldview has violent real-world outcomes: Atomwaffen Division members are associated with as many as five known killings, including the murder of a gay Jewish man in California. A ProPublica exposé published in February 2018 showed how members engage in tactical weapons training in the woods, called “hate camps,” during which the shooters shout, “Gas the kikes!”

This violent and vicious ideology is almost entirely enabled by the internet and its ability to connect people with fringe ideologies across large distances. Atomwaffen claims it has about 20 cells scattered around the U.S., with membership in each cell estimated between three and five people each. That means the group may have about 80 members altogether nationally.

The victims of The Order’s 1984 rampage certainly can recall how easily only a handful of people can terrorize communities through murder and violence. That, more than anything, may have been the point of taking a selfie outside Alan Berg’s parking spot.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

“The frail whites
will serve as
prey to the
aryan predator.”

atomwaffendivision.org

Read more about Atomwaffen Division at splcenter.org/AWD

PATRIOT FRONT

A Year After ‘Unite the Right’

BY BRENDAN JOEL KELLEY

In Washington, D.C., during the first week of December, about three dozen men with their faces covered just short of their eyes marched on the U.S. Capitol, parading behind a banner reading “Reclaim America.” It was a brazen display by a group of racists who describe themselves as “American fascists.” The spectacle was courtesy of a white nationalist group called Patriot Front, which was born in the aftermath of the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. Since its inception, Patriot Front has been honing its brand of militant street action to cultivate fear and draw in new recruits.

After all of the near-eulogies written for the racist “alt-right,” it may seem to some that the alt-right has disintegrated, or at least fallen into massive disarray. That is particularly true after the colossal failure of “Unite the Right” rally organizer Jason Kessler’s Washington, D.C., “Unite the Right 2” rally in August 2018, plus the striking decline of white nationalist leaders like Matthew Heimbach, Richard Spencer, Nathan Damigo and Elliott Kline (aka Eli Mosley).

But in reality, some groups have centralized and consolidated their membership, and while certain groups like Identity Evropa have sought to mainstream themselves, others are seeking confrontation off the radar of media attention.

Identity Evropa, founded by Damigo and previously led by Kline, came under new leadership in 2017. Its members are a khaki-and-white-polo-clad group of young white nationalists, fond of plastering flyers with Greco-Roman motifs at college campuses. At the helm is Patrick Casey, who has attempted to distance the “identitarian” hate group from the larger alt-right, as evidenced by his controversial appearance on NBC’s “Today” show in October 2018.

Patriot Front, born from the chaos of the first “Unite the Right” rally and also fond of flyering, would rather indulge in violent intimidation and confrontation than make the morning show rounds.

Patriot Front is a direct descendant of the neo-Nazi group Vanguard America (VA), which figured prominently at the Charlottesville rally. James Alex Fields, who is facing federal hate crime charges after being convicted of the murder of counterprotester Heather Heyer, marched at the “Unite the

Right” rally with Vanguard America. The group disavowed Fields and his actions afterward, denying that Fields was a member.

After the rally in Charlottesville, Vanguard America dissolved into chaos after a leadership feud. Texan Thomas Rousseau, who also marched with Vanguard America in Charlottesville and was then just 18 years old, formed his own breakaway group, Patriot Front. He requisitioned Vanguard America’s old website, bloodandsoil.org. “Blood and soil” is the English translation of a Nazi chant, which was ubiquitous at the first “Unite the Right” rally.

While Vanguard America denied any affiliation with Fields, Rousseau posted to a Vanguard America Discord server, telling members on Aug. 14, 2017, “The statement [issued by Vanguard America about Fields] never said that what he did was wrong, just clarified that he wasn’t a member.”

On Aug. 30, 2017, Rousseau announced the formation of Patriot Front on a Vanguard America Discord server. Patriot Front’s ideology wasn’t departing from VA’s, but instead Rousseau was attempting an aesthetic rebranding of VA’s blatant neo-Nazism to “American fascism.”

While Patriot Front has been fond of posting flyers like one with an image of the U.S. and the words “Not Stolen Conquered,” the group has taken to street activism marked by violent intimidation tactics as well.

On Sept. 24, 2017, Patriot Front members joined other neo-Nazis in Houston at an anarchist book fair featuring a seminar on refusing fascism titled “Punching Nazis.” The attendees barricaded themselves inside the building while Patriot Front members lit flares and chanted outside, trying to get those inside to come out and fight.

Around 8 a.m. on July 28, 2018, about a dozen Patriot Front members descended on a makeshift camp of protesters outside of an Immigration and Customs Enforcement processing facility in San Antonio, Texas. Wearing American flag kerchiefs as masks, T-shirts reading “Reclaim America,” and carrying flags featuring a fasces, an Italian fascist symbol, the Patriot Front members chanted “Strong borders! Strong nation!” while attacking the protesters’ camp. Patriot Front members pushed over a tent, threw and kicked chairs, tore down posters and appeared to set off smoke bombs.

While the fallout from the Charlottesville rally crippled some white nationalist groups, it birthed Patriot Front, whose membership is increasing while its tactics are becoming more violent and confrontational.

VIOLENCE RISES ABOVE

BY DAVE NEIWERT

From the get-go, the Rise Above Movement (RAM) was an all-white men’s fight club, with a political twist: When they weren’t sparring for sport, what they really wanted to do was beat up “leftists” and Donald Trump critics.

The organization first announced its presence in March 2017 at a pro-Trump rally near Huntington Beach, California. Described in the local media as a “South Bay-based white supremacist fight club DIY [do-it-yourself] Division,” its members descended on the sandy beach where the rally was held and assaulted not only members of the counter-protesting contingent of anti-fascists, but local journalists as well. Four people were arrested, mostly for using pepper spray and for assault, after the scene devolved into a running melee in which several participants suffered minor injuries. Police broke up the rally.

The skirmish occurred in the context of a number of similar pro-Trump rallies held at various locales around the nation that day, but the Huntington Beach brawl was noteworthy for its violence, which appeared to shape RAM into what it is now: a street-brawling hate group dedicated to fomenting violence in confrontations with its perceived political enemies.

Its image is clean-cut and well-dressed, muscular young men with clean-shaven faces, in the fashion of European street-fighting gangs. But in the streets, they are renowned for donning death’s head kerchief masks and American flag bandanas. Its members claim they are not racist, but on social media it is common for them to post the neo-Nazi credo “the 14 words” (“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children”), as well as a broad range of hateful racist and antisemitic memes.

Among RAM’s core members are individuals with criminal records for charges related to violence, making them prime recruits for a hate group bent on violent extremism. As a ProPublica exposé detailed, they all shared a taste for fighting and for the right-wing politics of Donald Trump, though many felt he didn’t go far enough. Most of all, they were dedicated to physically attacking the enemies of the far right.

These origins include the darkest corners of the radical right: Some of RAM’s founding members came from the ranks of the racist skinhead crew Hammerskin Nation, of which domestic terrorist Wade Michael Page was a member.



Rise Above Movement member Benjamin Daley (center) attacks an unidentified person at the Unite the Right rally on Aug. 12, 2017 in Charlottesville, Virginia. Daley is facing charges for his actions.

Some of RAM's members stepped up their activism after the Huntington Beach rally, traveling to Berkeley to participate in the massive street riot on April 15, 2017, in which multiple people were injured and nearly a dozen were arrested. RAM then played a leading role in creating violence at a "March Against Sharia" event (part of a nationwide series of protests organized by anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America) in San Bernardino, California, in mid-June 2017; some of its Hammerskin members were key participants in both rallies.

Some of the same RAM leaders — particularly Benjamin Drake Daley, 25, Walter Gillen, 34, Michael Paul Miselis, 29, and Cole Evan White, 24, all from California — traveled to Charlottesville, Virginia, for the Aug. 11-12, 2017 "Unite the Right" rally that descended into violence, chaos and death. Those four were arrested in October 2018 and face

federal charges for crossing state lines to riot. The men not only participated in multiple assaults that weekend, they boasted about it on social media.

Their legal troubles seem to have forced the group underground. An inside source told ProPublica that the group is withdrawing from the street-fighting scene for now, but says it will be making its ongoing presence known through other means. In the meantime, its members remain violent individuals interested in manifesting their violent ideals.

RAM is future-facing in its monetizing and recruiting. Like other such groups, it offers a clothing line that sells members a limited variety of uniforms to wear for street events. And it attracts new members by explicitly promoting its ethos of embracing violence — although, with its most active members and leaders behind bars, recruiting efforts may be down, at least temporarily. ▲

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"We had them completely surrounded. I hit like five people."

RAM member **Benjamin Daley**, 25, of Redondo Beach, California, referring to the Tiki torch rally the night before the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.





HATE IN THE WHITE HOUSE

President Trump has opened the White House doors to extremism, not only consulting with hate groups on policies that erode our country's civil rights protections, but also enabling the infiltration of extremist ideas into the administration's rhetoric and agenda.

Once relegated to the fringes, the radical right now has a foothold in the White House.

President Trump, Jeff Sessions, Thomas Homan and other immigration hardliners meet on March 20, 2018 to discuss cracking down on sanctuary cities, a target the administration shares with anti-immigrant hate groups FAIR and CIS.

MARCH 7

Federation for American Immigration Reform

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Robert Law, the lobbying director of FAIR, becomes a senior policy adviser at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.

MARCH 28

Center for Immigration Studies

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Trump administration proposes to penalize immigrants who use public assistance of almost any form, including popular tax deductions, a policy long on the wish list of anti-immigrant hate group CIS.

APRIL 18

Federation for American Immigration Reform

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

President Trump tweets that "sanctuary areas" are a "crime infested & breeding concept," a talking point of the president of anti-immigrant hate group FAIR, Dan Stein.

APRIL 26

ACT for America

ANTI-MUSLIM

Former CIA Director Mike Pompeo, who has ties to anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America, is confirmed as secretary of state.

MAY 15

Family Research Council

ANTI-LGBT

Tony Perkins, head of the ANTI-LGBT hate group Family Research Council, appointed to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

MAY 24

Center for Immigration Studies

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Trump nominates Ronald W. Mortensen, a fellow with CIS, for assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.

MAY 29

Center for Security Policy

ANTI-MUSLIM

John Bolton taps Fred Fleitz, senior vice president of the anti-Muslim hate group CSP, to be his chief of staff at the National Security Council.

JUNE 5

Center for Immigration Studies

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Acting Immigration and Customs Enforcement Director Thomas Homan participates in a National Press Club event hosted by CIS.



JUNE 20

ProEnglish

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

ProEnglish hosts a congressional briefing with Rep. Steve King, R-Iowa, on H.R. 997, the English Language Unity Act, which would establish English as the official language of the U.S.

AUG. 8

Alliance Defending Freedom

ANTI-LGBT

Attorney General Jeff Sessions delivers remarks at ANTI-LGBT hate group ADF's summit on "religious liberty."

AUG. 15

Center for Immigration Studies

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Francis Cissna, head of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, delivers keynote at an event hosted by CIS.

AUG. 17

VDARE

WHITE NATIONALIST

Trump speechwriter Darren Beattie fired after revelations that he spoke at the 2016 annual conference of the white nationalist hate group the H.L. Mencken Club alongside white nationalist and VDARE founder Peter Brimelow.

AUG. 18

VDARE

WHITE NATIONALIST

Top Trump economic adviser Larry Kudlow hosts white nationalist and VDARE founder Peter Brimelow at his home. Kudlow denounced Brimelow and his views three days later.

SEPT. 4

ACT for America

ANTI-MUSLIM

Brigitte Gabriel, founder of anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America, brags about "standing meeting at the White House once a week" and "a president that likes us, President Trump."



Vice President Mike Pence and Tony Perkins at the "Values Voter Summit."

SEPT. 5

Federation for American Immigration Reform

ANTI-IMMIGRANT

Acting Immigration and Customs Enforcement Director Ron Vitiello attends FAIR's annual media event "Hold Their Feet to the Fire."

SEPT. 22

Family Research Council

ANTI-LGBT

Vice President Mike Pence speaks at annual "Values Voter Summit" hosted by hate group Family Research Council.

OCT. 16

Center for Security Policy

ANTI-MUSLIM

National Security Council chief of staff Fred Fleitz announces he will leave the Trump administration to return to the anti-Muslim hate group CSP.

OCT. 29

Alliance Defending Freedom

ANTI-LGBT

Attorney General Jeff Sessions defends Trump administration's ANTI-LGBT policies at an event where an attorney for the ANTI-LGBT hate group ADF also spoke.

KEY PLAYERS



Mike Pompeo
Secretary of State



Jeff Sessions
Former Attorney General



John Bolton
National Security Adviser



Fred Fleitz
Former National Security Council Staffer



Thomas Homan
Former Acting Director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement



Ronald Vitiello
Acting Director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement

HATE GOES TO WASHINGTON

Meet the Members of Congress Who Traffic in Hate and Extremism

The era of Donald Trump unleashed an onslaught of candidates in the 2018 midterm elections who court hate and extremism. A number of candidates with open white supremacist, nativist, anti-LGBT or antigovernment ties won seats in the U.S. House and Senate last



MATT GAETZ

Florida | **H**

WON WITH
67.1%

Matt Gaetz was elected to his second term in the U.S. House of Representatives. He previously served in the Florida state House of Representatives. Gaetz invited Chuck Johnson, a white nationalist "Trump Troll," to Trump's State of the Union address in January 2018. Johnson is a Holocaust denier who developed WeSearchr, a payment platform for racist "alt-right" crowdfunding.



CLAY HIGGINS

Louisiana | **H**

WON WITH
55.7%

Clay Higgins was elected to his second term in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 2017, Higgins attended an event hosted by the antigovernment extremist group Oath Keepers whose founder Stewart Rhodes boasted of Higgins' attendance, writing, "you will be among thousands of like-minded American patriots from many groups and many states, with some excellent speakers."



KEVIN CRAMER

North Dakota | **S**

WON WITH
55.4%

Kevin Cramer, endorsed by the anti-LGBT hate group Public Advocate of the United States, filled out the group's survey and received a 100 percent rating. The survey included questions like, "Should public schools be prevented from brainwashing elementary school children with the Homosexual Agenda?"



MARSHA BLACKBURN

Tennessee | **S**

WON WITH
54.7%

Marsha Blackburn was elected to her first term in the U.S. Senate. Blackburn has received an award from the anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America. In 2017, she celebrated Trump's inauguration with Iowa Rep. Steve King, who has well-documented sympathies with racist ideas.



JOSH HAWLEY

Missouri | **S**

WON WITH
51.5%

Josh Hawley was elected to his first term in the U.S. Senate. Since 2017, Hawley has served as Missouri's attorney general. While a professor at the University of Missouri, Hawley spoke at a leadership conference hosted by anti-LGBT hate group Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF). Since 2013, Hawley and his wife have earned \$8,700 from ADF.



GREG GIANFORTE

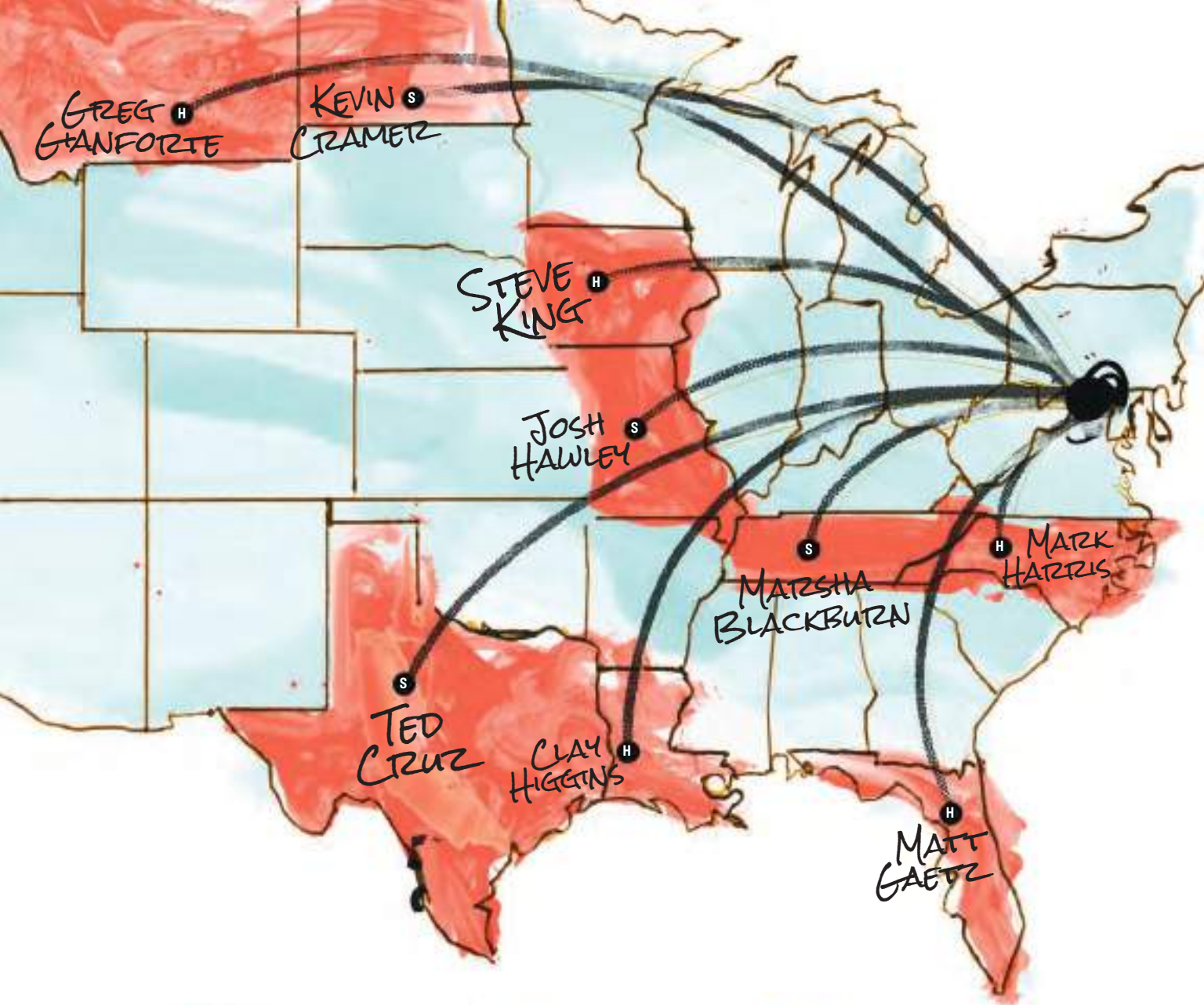
Montana | **H**

WON WITH
50.9%

Greg Gianforte is serving his first full term in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was previously elected to the position in a 2017 special election to replace former Rep. Ryan Zinke. Gianforte's family trust has given more than \$1 million to anti-LGBT groups, including the hate group Family Research Council.

KEY

- S** U.S. Senate
- H** U.S. House of Representatives



TED CRUZ

Texas | **S**

WON WITH
50.9%

Ted Cruz was elected to his second term in the U.S. Senate. During his failed 2016 campaign for the presidency, Cruz dog-whistled to the antigovernment extremist movement when he released an ad vowing to remove federal stewardship of all public lands in Nevada, the state where the Bundy family's now-infamous Bunkerville standoff took place.



STEVE KING

Iowa | **H**

WON WITH
50.4%

Steve King was elected to his ninth term in the U.S. House of Representatives. King is a white nationalist with ties to neo-Nazi movements and nativist groups. King has virulently pushed anti-immigrant rhetoric and has been a frequent participant in events hosted by the hate group Federation for American Immigration Reform. He displayed a Confederate flag on his desk.



MARK HARRIS

North Carolina | **H**

WON WITH
49.4%

Mark Harris was elected to his first term in the U.S. House of Representatives. Harris is a member of Watchmen on the Wall, a program of the anti-LGBT hate group FRC. He has a history of fighting LGBT equality in his home state. His church gave \$50,000 to the campaign against same-sex marriage in the state, and he has said being gay is a "choice."

THE PENCE PROBLEM

Vice President Mike Pence pitches himself as a “cheerful partisan” and a “happy warrior.” The Man Who Would Be President is certainly a partisan and a warrior, but how happy and cheerful he is may be in the eye of the beholder. In six terms in Congress and one as governor of Indiana, Pence has taken stands and made comments that have drawn criticism from women, minorities, the LGBT community and others. “I’m a Christian, a conservative and a Republican, in that order,” Pence said as he accepted the vice presidential nomination in July 2016.

Here’s a look at some of Pence’s comments on a variety of issues over the years:

“Harvard sociologist Pitirim Sorokin found that throughout history, societal collapse was always brought about following an advent of the deterioration of marriage and family.”

— 2006 SPEECH ON THE FLOOR OF THE U.S. HOUSE

“Congress should oppose any effort to recognize homosexuals as a ‘discreet and insular minority’ entitled to the protection of anti-discrimination laws similar to those extended to women and ethnic minorities.”

— 2001 HOUSE CAMPAIGN WEBSITE

“We ought not to use the American military as a backdrop for social experimentation or debating domestic policy issues.”

— SPEAKING TO CNN IN 2010 ON THE REPEAL OF THE “DON’T ASK, DON’T TELL” POLICY REGARDING GAY PEOPLE IN THE MILITARY

“The timeless values of abstinence and marital faithfulness before condom distribution are the cure for what ails the families of Africa. It is important that we not just send them money, but we must send them values that work.”

— IN A 2003 SPEECH TO CONGRESS ABOUT THEN-PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH’S RESPONSE TO THE AIDS EPIDEMIC IN AFRICA

“Many young women find many young men to be attractive sexually. Put them together in close quarters for long periods of time, and things will get interesting. Just like they eventually did for young Mulan. Moral of story: women in military, bad idea.”

— AN OP-ED IN 1999 ON WOMEN SERVING IN THE MILITARY

“In the state of Indiana, marriage is recognized as between a man and a woman, and I think that’s how it should remain.”

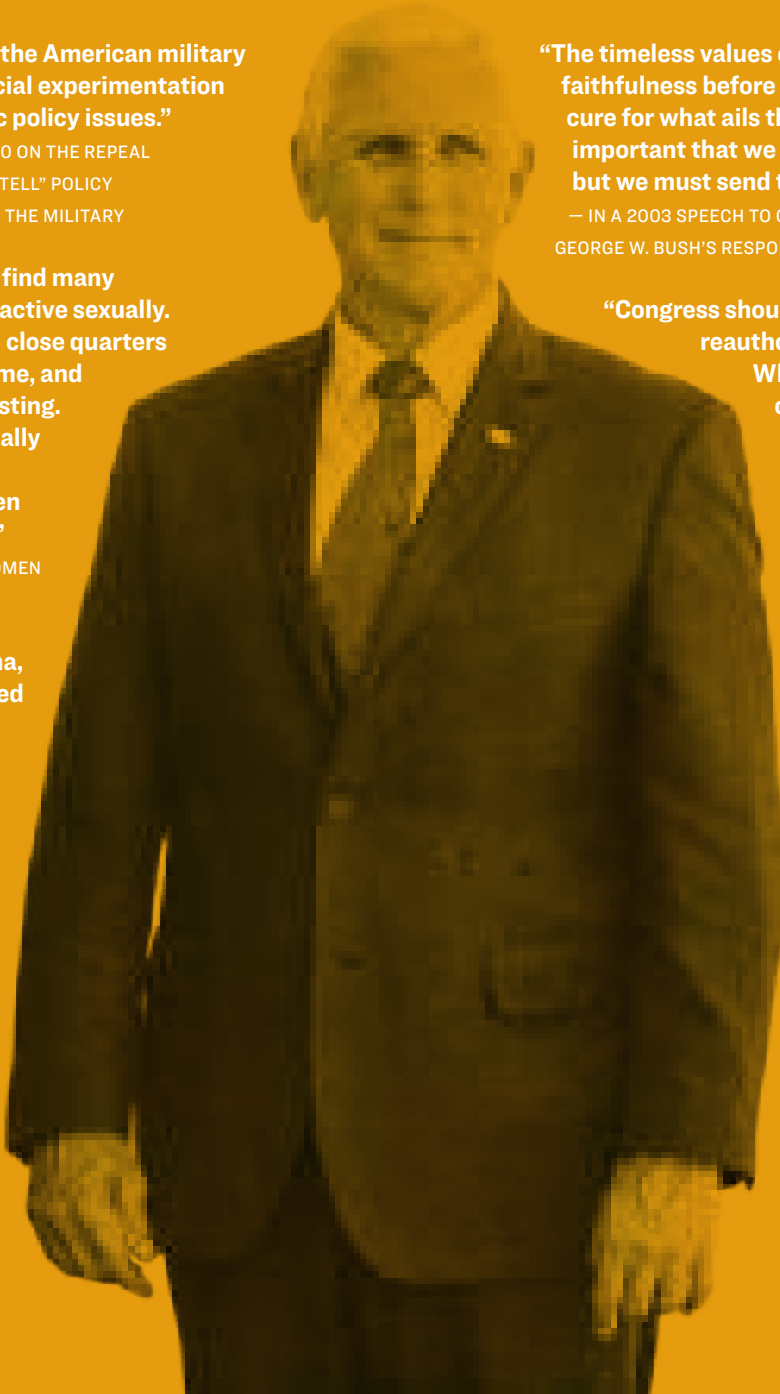
— SPEAKING TO MSNBC’S CHUCK TODD IN 2014

“Homosexuality is incompatible with military service because the presence of homosexuals in the ranks weakens unit cohesion.”

— 2001 HOUSE CAMPAIGN WEBSITE

“Congress should support the reauthorization of the Ryan White CARE Act only after completion of an audit to ensure that federal dollars were no longer being given to organizations that celebrate and encourage the types of behaviors that facilitate the spreading of the HIV virus. Resources should be directed toward those institutions which provide assistance to those seeking to change their sexual behavior.”

— 2001 HOUSE CAMPAIGN WEBSITE. THE RYAN WHITE CARE ACT WAS THE LARGEST FEDERALLY FUNDED PROGRAM FOR PEOPLE LIVING WITH HIV/AIDS





UNDER ATTACK

BY BRETT BARROUQUERE ILLUSTRATION BY COREY BRICKLEY

As trans and gender nonconforming people are violently killed,
a community struggles to trust law enforcement



ANTASH'A ENGLISH

Antash'a English fell to the ground in a desolate place, her body riddled with bullets.

Police found the 38-year-old transgender nightclub performer between two abandoned houses in Jacksonville, Florida, on June 3, 2018.

She was injured in a drive-by shooting.

She could draw a crowd to the InCahoots Night Club. English lived for more than 20 years as a transgender woman.

A friend of English told First Coast News in Jacksonville that English won pageants for her performances.

"She was an unapologetic, bold and loyal person," Taliyah Smith told First Coast News. "We met years ago while at a gay pageant. We both were entertainers."

English died at a Jacksonville hospital on June 3, 2018.

HER BODY CAME TO REST in a second-rate motel room in a less than glamorous part of Jacksonville, Florida, 11 miles and a world away from the sand and waves of Jacksonville Beach. ¶ There were no dramatic goodbyes, no last moment with family, just the life and blood seeping out of 36-year-old Celine Walker. ¶ A single gunshot ended Walker's life the night of the Super Bowl on Feb. 4, 2018. ¶ Walker was one of six trans women and gender nonconforming people killed in Florida in 2018 and among at least 26 in the United States whose lives were brought to a violent end. ¶ In Florida alone, along with Walker, the following were killed: **Antash'a English** of Jacksonville. **Cathalina Christina James** of Jacksonville. **Sasha Garden** of Orlando. **Jessie Sumlar** of Jacksonville. **Londonn Moore** of North Port.

Each died from gunshots or trauma.

Many of the victims were also black or Latinx — an estimated 82 percent of trans people murdered in 2018 were people of color, according to the Human Rights Campaign, which tracks slayings in the trans community.

That number follows a chillingly consistent trend in recent years. At least 29 transgender people were murdered in 2017, 23 in 2016 and 21 in 2015.

Since 2003, 117 transgender people died in violent attacks. Of those 67, 57 percent were killed with guns, the Human Rights Campaign reports. But those numbers are low.

"The statistics undercut the number of victims," said Sarah McBride, the organization's national press secretary. "It's disappointing."

When a transgender person is killed, a multitude of issues arise for the community and the law enforcement agency investigating the death, including how to properly identify a person who was born male, but identifies as female. Can the transgender community trust law enforcement agencies, some

of which misgender the deceased? And how do investigators break through to a community that does not trust them?

A Complicated History

The LGBT community has a long and complicated history with law enforcement. It's a fraught relationship exemplified throughout the twentieth century by all-too-common police raids of gay-friendly establishments. Same-sex relationships were illegal in many states, and at one point, the U.S. State Department listed LGBT people as "un-American" along with communists, anarchists and others who officials thought may be susceptible to blackmail and a risk to security.

The mistrust between police and the LGBT community came to an infamous breaking point in the early morning hours of June 28, 1969, when four undercover officers raided the Stonewall Inn in New York City, a bar popular with LGBT patrons.

The raid and subsequent riots are considered a hallmark in the gay rights movement, but also in the uneasy

relationship between the community and police. It's a legacy that continues today as law enforcement departments struggle to connect with marginalized communities and overcome long-standing biases and mistrust.

Some of the mistrust comes from traditionally conservative police departments either being unwilling to engage with the transgender community or having a lack of experience with it, said Gina Duncan of Equality Florida.

Police officers generally don't regularly meet with transgender people outside of making arrests, so they don't understand the issues surrounding transgender life, Duncan said.

And because transgender people mainly interact with police during an arrest, the encounters tend to be something less than cordial.

"There still remains a real gap relative to trust," Duncan said. "There's still a lot of work to be done there."

A New Life

Transgender women, particularly black and Latina women, are among the most marginalized in American society, and they are often in search of a new life, trying to escape rejection from family and friends and possible violence or other threats.

Transgender women may thus set out looking for new communities, stable employment and a chance to live as their true selves. However, a lack of legal documentation of their identities as women is a major hurdle to accessing resources that include employment and housing.

On social media and in interviews with newspapers and television stations,

family and friends of the women who were killed described them as "gorgeous," "beautiful" and "full of life."

Naomi Michaels, a friend of 36-year-old Celine Walker of Jacksonville, Florida, remembered someone simply trying to make a life for herself in a conservative city of 892,000 people in northeast Florida.

"Celine was not a pageant girl. She didn't even enjoy going to gay clubs or events," Michaels wrote on Facebook as part of a plea for tips to solve Walker's slaying. "She lived a low key life where she did whatever needed to be done in order for her to survive."

And survival for marginalized transgender women often means going further to the margins of society, where the only kind of work they might be able to find is illegal and unregulated sex work, which can be dangerous.

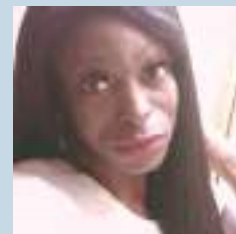
The four women killed in Jacksonville were all sex workers, Duncan said, who for the most part had disconnected from their past lives.

It's a world filled with transphobic people, where being a black transgender woman can be deadly.

"They are pushed into circumstances where they are likely to face violence," said McBride, who made national headlines when she came out as transgender while serving as student body president at American University in 2012.

But each woman had pressed on in life, making new friends and creating a world to live in.

"I will no longer be a victim of discrimination. #Trans rights," English wrote on Facebook on May 15, two weeks before she was killed.



CATHALINA CHRISTINA JAMES

Two people went into the Quality Inn motel near Interstate 95 in Jacksonville, Florida, on June 24, 2018. An unknown man, later described as slim, black and with facial hair on his chin, met up with Cathalina Christina James that day at the motel, about seven miles west of where Celine Walker died earlier in the year.

Before long, only the man, who police believe drove a white Buick, left.

James, a 24-year-old originally from Bishopville, South Carolina, was shot to death and left behind in the motel.

She died from a gunshot wound, but police have released little other information about her death.

Deandra James described her sister as someone who "always found a way to steal the show."

"All eyes was always on Cathalina basically," Deandra James told WLTX-TV in Columbia, South Carolina.

Transgender women, particularly black and Latina women, are among the most marginalized in American society, and they are often in search of a new life, trying to escape rejection from family and friends and possible violence or other threats.



SASHA GARDEN

Being beaten to death is a slow way to die.

Most of the time, there isn't one quick blow that ends a person's life. Instead, a series of strikes leads to internal bleeding and trauma.

It appears that 27-year-old Sasha Garden's life ended this way.

Police found Garden, a sex worker in Orlando, Florida, behind an apartment building on July 19, 2018.

Friends said Garden had been striving for a better life.

Garden, a Milwaukee, Wisconsin, native, traveled, living off and on in Orlando for two years, trying to find the right place.

Garden was an aspiring hairdresser who had been saving money for transition-related health expenses, Mulan Montrese Williams, a friend of Garden, told the Orlando Weekly.

"She was a firecracker," said Williams, an advocate for transgender women and an outreach coordinator for the HIV/AIDS organization Miracle of Love. "She didn't hold her tongue for anyone or anybody."

Police initially identified her as a man wearing a wig.



Deadnaming

Sometimes, a name no longer fits the person.

For a transgender person, changing their name — either with legal paperwork or just among friends and associates — is a tremendous step away from a life they are choosing to leave behind.

It is also a way to establish dignity and a new sense of self.

"It's a big step," Duncan said.

Once a new name is established, many people don't know the "deadname." Respectful friends and family no longer use it, and others, also out of respect, don't ask what it was.

So when police released the name of an 18-year-old man who was shot to death in Shreveport, Louisiana, on Aug. 30, those who knew Vontashia Bell may not have known the report was about her.

Police had misgendered Bell, a black transgender woman living in northwestern Louisiana, as the victim, and used her deadname in a press release picked up by local newspapers and television stations, further confusing and, ultimately, alienating friends and associates who might have had information that could have helped law enforcement find her killer.

Jacksonville investigators did the same with Walker, initially releasing her deadname to the public.

Jacksonville Sheriff's Office spokesperson Chris Hancock told Mic: "He was a he per legal documents. ... A lot of people are upset that we haven't identified her as female when she wasn't a female."

The misgendering of Bell and Walker is part of a disturbing trend among law enforcement agencies handling the murders of transgender people. Between January and October 2018, a deadname was released in 11 of the 23 reported killings of trans people, demonstrating a lack of regard for transgender people and their communities. It also cements the long-standing mistrust of law enforcement from LGBT communities, which ultimately hinders effective investigations.

The deadnaming of a victim complicates the investigation, Duncan said. Many people know the victim only by their current name and may not realize a friend has been killed.

In Florida, where six of the transgender killings have taken place, police initially misgendered three of the victims.

For a transgender person, changing their name — either with legal paperwork or just among friends and associates — is a tremendous step away from a life they are choosing to leave behind. It is also a way to establish dignity and a new sense of self.

“It is an indignity on top of the ultimate injustice,” McBride said. “It just breeds mistrust.”

In another high-profile case, local and federal officials misgendered 28-year-old Nikki “Janelle” Enriquez of Laredo, Texas, a victim of U.S. Customs and Border Patrol supervisor Juan David Ortiz.

Local District Attorney Isidro Alaniz has called Ortiz a serial killer who targeted sex workers. Ortiz has been charged with killing Enriquez and three other women in what authorities describe as a “serial killing spree,” targeting sex workers along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Complicating matters in the case of Enriquez was her family’s choice to use her deadname in the obituary, which may have delayed action from those who knew her as Nikki or Janelle.

“The deadnaming of victims ... is totally against protocol,” Duncan said.

Monica Roberts, a writer and human rights activist in Texas, expressed frustrations with law enforcement misidentifying Enriquez in her blog, *TransGriot*.

“Been aware that we lost a trans woman since Saturday, but took me this long to confirm it because in large part of her being deadnamed and misgendered by Webb County law enforcement officials before they corrected it,” she wrote on Sept. 18. “Her life and the lives of the other cis feminine people ... he callously took from all who loved them deserve justice.”

A Matter of Policy

Law enforcement agencies across the country have adopted policies regarding transgender communities. From St. Paul, Minnesota, to Jacksonville,

Florida, departments in recent years are adjusting long-standing regulations and training officers to better understand and interact with transgender people and their communities.

The guidelines employed by multiple agencies are similar. They require police officers to use a person’s preferred pronoun; allow someone to request an officer of a specific gender to conduct body searches; require police to leave appearance-related items such as wigs or prosthetics in place unless safety is an issue; and they require departments to provide appropriate restrooms.

St. Paul police spokesperson Steve Linders told the Minneapolis *Star Tribune* that the department’s draft policy came about after dozens of similar policies from around the country were reviewed, including the U.S. Department of Justice’s guidelines on 21st century policing.

The Jacksonville Sheriff’s Office created a team dedicated to navigating LGBT issues and put a public outreach number on its website. The sheriff’s office did not return a message from the *Intelligence Report* seeking an interview.

Jacksonville Sheriff Mike Williams told television station WJCT News in August that a group of officers agreed to serve as liaisons to the transgender community.

“Quite frankly there was hesitancy on my part because how many teams are we going to have to establish?” Williams said. “However, it shouldn’t take a crisis like this, but because of this crisis, I think the team is an absolute necessity today.”

Even well-meaning law enforcement organizations struggle with best practices when victims are trans or gender nonconforming.



JESSIE SUMLAR

Standing in the doorway of his apartment holding a gun, 30-year-old Jessie Sumlar bled to death from stab wounds.

Sumlar’s wallet and car were gone from his Jacksonville, Florida, home, on July 16, 2018.

Sumlar, who performed regularly as a drag queen, identified as a man when not on stage but friends said he was gender nonconforming.

Twenty-six-year-old Omar Lewis, has been charged with murder in Sumlar’s death. As of November, Lewis was the only person charged for killing a trans or gender nonconforming person in Jacksonville in 2018.

On Facebook, where Sumlar, a cosmetologist at a salon, is pictured with long, braided hair, friends mourned his loss with crying emojis and disbelief.

“Rest in peace, beautiful,” Seth Nicholas King wrote on Sumlar’s Facebook page.



LONDONN MOORE

Londonn Moore left the world face down in a grassy area on the side of a heavily wooded road in North Port in southwest Florida.

Moore, 20, died after being shot multiple times. Her body was found Sept. 8, 2018.

Moore had been to Tampa and Fort Myers in the days before the shooting.

But police, while offering a reward, have released little information about Moore's death.

While family members and police referred to Moore by her deadname, friends at work and on social media knew Moore as a woman.

Patricia Jagels was her supervisor at PGT, a company that makes hurricane-proof windows. Jagels described Moore as "sweet and nice" and "very outgoing."

"She loved life, to say the least," Jagels told the *North Port Sun* newspaper. "She really, really was eager to work."

In the National Missing and Unidentified Persons System, for example, a person is often listed by their birth gender, which may not be recognized by those who were closest to a transgender person prior to their death.

"Genetically, you cannot alter your sex," said J. Todd Matthews, director of case management and communications for the federally funded organization.

Investigators handling a missing person or a case of an unidentified body can consider that the outward appearance might not align with the person's sex at birth, Matthews said. And a note can always be appended to the file that can be seen when searching the agency's database, he added.

"It's a big consideration for sure," Matthews told the *Intelligence Report*. "Same as race. Often people will identify as a race that is accurate, but not outwardly visible."

Despite efforts of various agencies to adopt policies and work with the transgender community, the administration of President Donald Trump and Vice President Mike Pence has sought to impose new rules that would emphasize a strict sex/gender binary in legal and policy matters and eliminate any language that doesn't fit a rigid male/female definition. This would further marginalize the more than 1 million Americans who identify as transgender.

The New York Times reported in October that the administration directed the departments of Education, Justice, Health and Human Services and Labor to adopt one definition of gender based on "immutable biological traits identifiable by or before birth."

"The sex listed on a person's birth certificate, as originally issued, shall constitute definitive proof of a person's sex unless rebutted by reliable genetic evidence," the memo stated.

If this policy change is tied to funding, it could be even more difficult for local and federal agencies to work with trans communities.

Slowing down the adoption of inclusive policies by local law enforcement

only increases the chances of violence against those in the transgender community and the chance that crimes against them go unsolved. Transgender people already feel law enforcement "just does not get it," Duncan said.

"All that stokes this kind of violence," Duncan said.

Pursuit of Justice

While task forces and policies are a sign of progress, Duncan wants to see more done to solve the six slayings in Florida and prevent more in the future.

She helped convene multiple groups in a conference call over the summer to discuss the issues and has met with law enforcement officials in Jacksonville and Orlando in an effort to have the transgender and law enforcement communities collaborate.

"We need transgender women of color at the table," Duncan said. "We need more voices speaking."

Activists in the Sunshine State have called on then-Gov. Rick Scott to employ more resources to help find the killers, but according to Duncan, this has not happened. Scott's office did not return a message from the *Intelligence Report* seeking comment.

The Florida Department of Law Enforcement has handled the forensic work on the six murders in that state. But Jessica Cary, a spokesperson for the agency, referred all questions about the killings and policies for working with the transgender community to local law enforcement.

"How can we disconnect from this cycle of violence?" Duncan asked.

Until she can answer that question, Duncan and others will continue to push for more investigations into the slayings.

And, they'll keep working to keep the victims in the public eye. ▲

IN MEMORY

Celine Walker, Antash'a English,
Cathalina Christina James,
Sasha Garden, Jessie Sumlar
and Londonn Moore

HATE TRAVELS

A few years ago in Japan, a group of ultranationalists marched through city streets across the country, screaming, “Kill both good and bad Koreans!” Now, that group has formed a political party to cripple minority rights. Last year, their leader crossed an ocean to meet with white supremacists in America. Once back in Japan, the party marketed its ties to fringe U.S. white nationalists to appear more established. Networking pays off.

Through international networks of influence, Americans are helping hateful allies make concrete gains across the globe. When it's not Japan, it's Europe, where the American anti-LGBT Christian right has built up an infrastructure of influence with deep ties inside the halls of power. As a result, dangerous anti-LGBT legislation and campaigns crop up on the continent, all with American support. Meanwhile, junk science equating homosexuality to pedophilia and conspiratorial calls to fight “gender ideology” are replicated from one country to the next.

Hate is by no means an exclusively American business, but American hate groups have a lot to teach and a lot to appropriate. And they are traveling the world.

EUROPE

EXTREMISM CROSSES THE POND

WHEN THE U.S. SUPREME COURT legalized marriage equality in 2015, American right-wing extremists ramped up their fight against LGBT people and reproductive rights overseas.

In Europe, American anti-LGBT groups are replicating the three-pronged approach that made them so powerful in the U.S.: litigation, legislation and activism. In a coordinated fashion, they flood European countries and institutions with legal cases, petitions, lobbying, trainings and campaigns to advance a vision steeped in regressive traditionalism.

In Romania, for instance, four U.S. religious right groups pushed for a referendum to amend the constitution to redefine families as based on the marriage between a man and a woman. Such an amendment would add a significant obstacle to the legalization of same-sex marriage, which is already illegal in the country but not constitutionally banned.

To lobby for the referendum, anti-LGBT hate group and legal powerhouse Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) used its international arm to submit briefs to the Romanian Constitutional Court. So did the European arm (ECLJ) of the American Center for Law and Justice, which made its name by advocating for the criminalization of homosexuality abroad. Also stepping into the fray was anti-LGBT hate



Women dressed as handmaids protested in Rome on Nov. 10, 2018, against legislation that would eliminate child support and make divorce harder. The Italian senator who introduced the bill has worked with American anti-LGBT hate groups to fight what he calls “the gay lobby.”

Romanians showed up to vote in early October. Though they voted overwhelmingly in favor of the ban, turnout fell short of the 30 percent necessary for the constitutional change to take effect.

In Italy, the far-right anti-immigrant party Lega, a WCF ally, sailed into power in March 2018 as the most popular party of the country’s leading center-right coalition. Its head, Matteo Salvini, became the country’s deputy prime minister and opened the country’s doors wider to far-right American “traditionalists.” On top of frequently meeting with former Trump adviser and far-right media mogul Steve Bannon and sending statements to be read at the WCF, Salvini invited the WCF to hold its 2019 annual congress in Verona.

Regressive legislation tends to follow where the WCF treads. At its annual congresses, anti-LGBT activists and politicians from around the world confer on potential strategies to roll back LGBT and reproductive rights.

In September 2018, the WCF gathered in Moldova, a small country, formerly part of Romania, that shares a border with Ukraine and is fiercely divided between pro-Russian and pro-EU forces. At the event, Igor Dodon, the country’s embattled pro-Russian president, promised attendees that he would outlaw “immoral” (LGBT) festivals and events in the country.

Planned shortly after the Moldova congress, the Verona WCF will likely incorporate its usual anti-LGBT and anti-choice strategizing, being in a city where far-right groups have a stronghold. After the upcoming congress was announced in Verona, regressive legislation began to pass in an ominous prelude.

Americans and allies of Americans had been involved in Italy long before the Verona WCF, in particular through a platform close to WCF, CitizenGO. Based in Spain, CitizenGO is headed by a member of WCF’s board of directors. Brown and another WCF staffer also sit on CitizenGO’s board. In 2013, when the popular anti-LGBT Italian activist group Generazione Famiglia was launched, it had a number of close ties to CitizenGO. Throughout the years, it shared a number of staff members with CitizenGO’s Italian branch, and the two would collaborate on campaigns.

Alongside members of CitizenGO Italy and WCF partner and anti-abortion group ProVita,



Clockwise from top: Italian Interior Minister Matteo Salvini, far-right Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and Moldovan President Igor Dodon. All three politicians have worked with American anti-LGBT hate group the World Congress of Families (WCF).

group Liberty Counsel, which describes same-sex marriage in its brief as “grounded in fraudulent ‘research’ based on skewed demographics and the sexual abuse of hundreds of infants and children.”

Meanwhile, the U.S.-based anti-LGBT hate group World Congress of Families (WCF), headed by career right-wing activist Brian Brown, delivered a petition to the Romanian Parliament in favor of the referendum that was signed by many American anti-LGBT leaders.

In parallel, ADF International lobbied members of the European Parliament.

Then, there was the activism: ADF International worked alongside a Romanian coalition — including a Christian nationalist operating a website with ties to white supremacist David Duke — to gather 3 million signatures on a petition in support of the referendum.

This onslaught of American involvement was not coincidental. As a report by the European Parliamentary Forum on Population and Development revealed in 2018, three of the aforementioned groups were part of Agenda Europe, a secretive coalition through which conservative right-wing religious activists and politicians work together to try to erode LGBT and reproductive rights in Europe.

In September 2018, the Romanian Constitutional Court allowed the referendum to go through, but the effort failed when only 20 percent of

GETTY IMAGES/ANDREA RONGHINI (DADDARIO); REUTERS/LEONARDO PEGGERI (MATTIO); GETTY IMAGES/VALERY SHARIFULIN (VIZULINA); GETTY IMAGES/JOCK MACDON (ORBÁN); GETTY IMAGES/ANDOLU KADROV (DODON)

Generazione Famiglia organized prominent anti-LGBT rallies in Italy in 2015 and in 2016. The two “Family Days” gathered tens of thousands to oppose same-sex civil unions. One organizer of the 2015 “Family Day,” attorney Gianfranco Amato, was an allied attorney for the anti-LGBT hate group, ADF.

CitizenGO remained involved in the country even as a watered-down bill legalizing same-sex civil unions was passed. They organized a four-day training in Rome in July 2018 to help local anti-LGBT and anti-abortion activist groups best support “the natural family, life and liberty.” It was specifically focused on “gender ideology, attacks against marriage and the family, the persecution of Christians in the East and the violation of freedom of opinion in the West.” Generazione Famiglia and CitizenGO Italy members Filippo Savarese and Jacopo Coghe were present at the training.

Representatives from the most influential anti-LGBT groups flew in from the U.S. for the training to join a powerful consortium of European and American allies, including Travis Weber from the anti-LGBT hate group Family Research Council.

The Leadership Institute, an American conservative powerhouse forming “future conservative leaders,” facilitated most of the training as part of its increasing effort to train anti-LGBT and anti-reproductive rights activists in Europe.

WCF harbors a number of ties to the far right and known fascists and monarchists on the continent, some so extreme that they openly call themselves fascist.

WCF repeatedly cheers on Hungarian strongman, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who spoke at the WCF in Hungary in 2017. On the heels of the public congress but behind closed doors, the WCF then facilitated a Global Forum for Political Leaders in Budapest at the Hungarian Parliament. The forum brought together dozens of politicians and activists.

As Brown repeatedly traveled to Hungary, the legislation in the country started to reflect the so-called family values prized

by the Christian right, for which Orbán claims to be the standard-bearer. In October 2018, Orbán’s party passed a law banning gender studies programs from universities.

The American influence on anti-LGBT activism in Europe is hard to ignore. Similar campaigns to stop so-called gender ideology (a right-wing rallying cry based on a conspiracy theory) in schools have cropped up in Italy, Spain and France and are conducted by WCF allies. Seasoned anti-LGBT activists from the U.S. are training people across the continent. In the process, they are birthing a professional anti-LGBT infrastructure to pump out legislation that will further marginalize LGBT people and limit access to reproductive health care.

BY INTELLIGENCE REPORT STAFF

JAPAN

BRIDGES TO BIGOTRY

ON OCT. 12, 1960, IN TOKYO, JAPAN, a young radical belonging to the country’s *uyoku dantai*, or far right, brought a sword to a political debate. Otoya Yamaguchi, just 17 years old and still wearing his school uniform, rushed the stage and drove his *yoroi-doshi* into the chest of Inejiro Asanuma, an influential leader in Japan’s Socialist Party. Asanuma was dead before he could reach a hospital, and just a few weeks later, so was his adolescent assassin.

Yamaguchi, who *The New York Times* described as a “right-wing fanatic” “nurturing fascistic ideology,” had already been “arrested several times for violent attacks on left-wing demonstrators.” On Nov. 2, 1960, he scrawled his last words in toothpaste on the wall of his cell in juvenile detention and hanged himself.

Today, Japan remembers the murder, which was televised, as a tragic eruption of political violence.

But in the U.S., the radical right lauds the killing as nothing short of heroic.



Gavin McInnes called a 1960 murder by a political extremist “inspiring.” The night he praised the assassination his followers were filmed assaulting people in Manhattan.

Japanese far-right organizer Makoto Sakurai founded a group to oppose the rights of ethnic Koreans in Japan. He now heads a political party of his own making, the Japan First Party.



“What a great icon, what a great hero!” hailed Gavin McInnes, the founder of the far-right fight club the Proud Boys.

McInnes “re-enacted” the assassination at an event in New York City last October, in a theatrical bit that he played mostly for laughs. It featured a pair of glasses with slanted eyes drawn over them in a racist caricature (McInnes is vocal about his disdain for “political correctness”) and even a plastic samurai sword. The Canadian internet talk show host, once known for being a pioneer of the hipster aesthetic and now infamous for his misogynist and anti-Muslim screeds and the violent behavior of his polo-clad followers, concluded his skit on a serious note.

“Never let evil take root,” he said. His audience cheered. Later that night, a mob of McInnes’ acolytes were filmed assaulting protesters in the streets of Manhattan.

McInnes was parroting a far-right meme that had been circulating on internet boards for years. It features the Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph that captured the scene of Asanuma’s assassination at the moment Yamaguchi pulled his sword out of the man’s rib cage. The grisly image has been retouched in the racist “alt-right’s” popular retro-futurist “fashwave” aesthetic, and superimposed over it is the same phrase, “Never let evil take root.”

The Yamaguchi meme is perhaps the most visible example of American radicals taking cues from the Japanese far-right. But more direct and insidious ties have been growing between radical-right figures in the U.S. and Japan over the past few years.

The Radical Right in Japan

On its own, the ultranationalist far right in Japan is thriving. In 1960, the far-right of Otoya Yamaguchi pinned for a return to imperial rule, denied accounts of wartime atrocities by the Imperial Japanese Army and fixated on the threat of the perceived post-World War II communist menace. While those pillars still remain somewhat important (historical denial in particular), it has shifted in the 21st century. Now, some of its most vocal factions stoke nativist animosity, fear of foreigners and hatred of Japan’s ethnic Korean and Chinese minorities.

In 2007, a far-right organization emerged called Zaitokukai, which translates to “Civic Group Against Privileges of Koreans in Japan.” The group was dedicated to demonizing the ethnic Koreans who have resided in Japan for generations (an ethnic group called “Zainichi” Koreans). In the late 2000s, hundreds of representatives of Zaitokukai marched through the streets in cities across Japan, chanting “Kill both good and bad Koreans!”

On the Zaitokukai phenomenon, Japanese scholar Naoto Higuchi writes, “Unlike its predecessors, the group Zaitokukai ... seems quite similar to European radical-right groups in the sense that it targets ethnic minorities with violent attacks.”

The leader and founder of Zaitokukai is a right-wing agitator named Makoto Sakurai. One of his chief advisers, Hiroyuki Seto, is well-known in Japan as a neo-Nazi. In 1993, Seto published a book called *Recommendation of Hitler’s Idea — Remedy to Nature and Human Kind, 120% affirmation of Nazi and Hitler*.

EUROPE

STEVE BANNON'S (LONELY) EUROPEAN VACATION

2018 was another bad year for Steve Bannon. After being booted from the White House and departing as executive chairperson of Breitbart News, which he turned into a platform for the racist “alt-right,” Bannon struggled to remain relevant by traveling overseas. In Europe, his ventures failed time and again as he was rejected by most European far-right parties.

JULY 15, 2018 Bannon was caught on tape insulting a radio host and clashing with former United Kingdom Independence Party leader Nigel Farage over Bannon's support for then-jailed anti-Muslim activist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, known under his pseudonym, Tommy Robinson. “You guys hate Tommy Robinson. You hate him because he's a working class guy. You're one of these fucking elites that hate him,” Bannon told a radio station. “Tommy Robinson is the fucking backbone of this country.”

JULY 20, 2018 Steve Bannon announced he would appropriate a foundation based in Brussels, called The Movement, to bolster far-right anti-European Union parties ahead of the EU parliamentary elections. The announcement was largely met with skepticism: The ruling party Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice party, PiS) in Poland rejected the offer to work with Bannon, saying this was “an offer for those who want to break the union,” and, “this is not for us.” Gerolf Annemans, from Belgium's far-right Vlaams Belang party, said the project appeared “poorly organized” and worried Bannon would use it to employ his friends. In France, a Rassemblement National member declared: “Bannon is American and has no place in a European political party.”

JULY 23, 2018 Bannon's offer of support to European far-right parties prompted the party secretary of the far-right Finns Party to say she would decline his help. “I can't think of what kind of added value this type of support would bring,” the Finnish politician said.

JULY 24, 2018 The representative of Sweden Democrats told a Danish newspaper: “We aren't following Steve Bannon's political work. He as a person ... is of no interest to us.”

AUG. 11, 2018 Alexander Gauland of the far-right German party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD, Alternative for Germany) said of Bannon, “We're not in America. The interests of the anti-establishment parties in Europe are quite divergent.” Another party member previously declared, “coaching from outside the EU — we basically do not need.”

OCT. 8, 2018 Marine Le Pen, leader of the French Rassemblement National (National Rally), emphasized at a press conference: “Bannon is not from any European country, he is American.” She added: “It will be us, only us, who will structure the political force that will result from the elections in Europe.”

NOV. 21, 2018 *The Guardian* reported Bannon will be prevented from financing campaigns in nine of the 13 countries he is targeting, due to existing laws. Even Bannon's business partner cannot receive money from The Movement, an experience he described as “a bit frustrating.” Given a lack of allies and legal restrictions, Italy and the Netherlands are the only two countries where The Movement could potentially do work. When confronted with the research, Bannon said he is seeking legal advice.

French far-right leader Marine Le Pen criticized Steve Bannon's attempts to meddle in Europe. “Bannon is not from any European country, he is American,” she said.



Zaitokukai capitalized on ethnic prejudice that had long lurked in Japan's history. In 1923, following a devastating earthquake in the Kanto region, police, soldiers and vigilante civilians massacred 6,000 Zainichi Koreans after rumors circulated that Koreans were poisoning wells and sabotaging Japanese citizens in the disaster's aftermath.

After his success mobilizing people on the streets, Sakurai turned to the new frontier of the worldwide radical right: the internet. Japan's equivalent of the Western phenomenon of the primarily online-incubated racist "alt-right" is called *netto uyoku* (sometimes shortened to *netouyo*), or "internet right." Like the noxious stew of conspiracy and race hate that characterize online alt-right forums, netto uyo likewise trafficks in fake news and ethnic bigotry. The Anti-Racism Information Center (ARIC) tracks the activities of the radical right and netto uyoku in Japan and advocates for laws protecting minorities from discrimination. ARIC's founder, Ryang Yong-Song, said in an interview with the *Intelligence Report* that he and his team have observed denizens of netto uyoku indulging the same dangerous lies that led to the slaughter of thousands of Koreans nearly 100 years ago. "You will see many hate speeches that say 'Korean minority throw toxin in the well,'" Yong-Song said.

Sakurai has positioned himself as an influencer in netto uyoku, and in 2016, he launched a new far-right political enterprise. Emulating the populist nationalism that had gripped the U.S., embodied by the presidential campaign of Donald Trump, Sakurai called his new project the Japan First Party (JFP).

East Meets West

The JFP has chapters across the country, and its members participate in elections in addition to the anti-immigrant street demonstrations that characterized Zaitokukai. And to bolster his new venture, Sakurai has been soliciting relationships with far-right groups in the U.S. and around the world.

In June last year, Sakurai traveled to the U.S. to be a featured guest speaker at

Organizations that traffic in hate are capitalizing on globalization (and the global trend of populist nationalism) to build connections, relationships and resources.

the annual conference of the American Freedom Party (AFP), a collection of old-school white nationalists and antisemites with long-shot political aspirations.

At that event, which Sakurai later called an "International Alliance" meeting, he rubbed elbows with AFP leaders like longtime racist William Daniel Johnson and antisemitic author Kevin MacDonald. But he wasn't the only international visitor. He also networked with Dominic Luthard of the far-right Swiss Nationalist Party, which denounces "the multicultural society" as a "perversion of natural coexistence."

Exploiting Globalization

Organizations that traffic in hate, despite being generally isolationist by definition, are capitalizing on globalization (and the global trend of populist nationalism) to build connections, relationships and resources. And why wouldn't they? They can learn from one another. For Sakurai's part, he has used his recent U.S. visits to legitimize his movement.

But ARIC's representatives worry the influence of the Japanese far-right could have even darker consequences for the U.S., especially when it comes to one of their movement's pillars: historical revisionism. The sociologist Higuchi explains, "In the Japanese context, historical revisionism seeks to justify and glorify war and aggression against other countries by the Japanese Empire (1868–1945)." In particular, far-right agitators and radical politicians deny war crimes committed during the empire, chief among them the use of so-called comfort women – kidnapped Korean and Chinese women who were forced into sexual slavery – and incidents like the infamous massacre called the Rape of Nanjing.

Far-right activist Satoshi Katsurada, who was active in Zaitokukai, was arrested in February for being involved in a drive-by shooting at a Korean embassy. According to ARIC's database tracking hate speech in Japan, his daughter, who is also active in the ultranationalist right, once declared in a speech, "You (Koreans in Japan) had better stop ... otherwise we will carry out not the Nanjing massacre, but the 'Tsuruhashi massacre!'" (Tsuruhashi is a neighborhood in Japan known for its high population of Zainichi Koreans).

Yong-Song cautioned that Japan's tradition of historical revisionism would embolden bigots in the West seeking to erase the history of the Holocaust or minimize the brutality of American slavery. "If you can deny comfort women, you can deny the Holocaust, you can deny anything," he said.

Historical revisionism has had traction as a political tool in Japan. Even school textbooks have been successfully censored to downplay the worst chapters of the nation's past.

And let's not forget Yamaguchi's lasting impact in the West. Lacking any historical or cultural context, violent extremist groups like the Proud Boys characterize Asanuma as an evil, radical leftist who would have taken Japan down the path of communist, authoritarian China. When Yong-Song heard this, he was astounded. "That is fake news!" he said.

But why sweat the details or the truth? When far-right street fighters like the Proud Boys misrepresent figures like Asanuma as an existential threat, they justify political violence as a moral imperative. ▲

BY RACHEL JANIK



SILICON VALLEY'S YEAR IN HATE

Move Slow and Break Everything

BY KEEGAN HANKES ILLUSTRATION BY ZOË VAN DIJK

On Oct. 26, 2018, authorities arrested 56-year-old Cesar Sayoc in South Florida after he mailed 14 crudely constructed pipe bombs to outspoken critics of President Trump over the span of five days.

Before mailing the bombs, Sayoc trafficked in hate and conspiracy online.

His social media accounts were dedicated to extreme right-wing conspiracy theories attacking prominent liberals, such as philanthropist George Soros and Bill and Hillary Clinton. He also regularly circulated conspiratorial content about undocumented immigrants and Islamic terrorism, and he reportedly told a former co-worker, "Everybody that wasn't white and wasn't a white supremacist didn't belong in the world."

One subject of Sayoc's harassment, Rochelle Ritchie, a regular Fox News panelist, reported one of Sayoc's threats to Twitter's Trust and Safety team.

"So you like make threats," Sayoc wrote to Ritchie from his account @hardrock2016. "We Unconquered Seminole Tribe will answer your threats. We have nice silent Air boat ride for u here on our land Everglades Swamp. We will see you 4 sure. Hug your loved ones real close every time you leave you home."

Twitter responded on Oct. 11, 2018, informing Ritchie that Sayoc's threat did not violate the company's policies on abusive behavior. Eleven days later, pipe bombs began arriving at the homes of Sayoc's enemies.

It took five days and Sayoc's arrest on charges including "illegal mailing of explosives, threats against former presidents and others and assaulting current and former federal officers" for Twitter to acknowledge that it had made an error. Only then did the company delete Sayoc's account.

This episode is merely a single, recent example highlighting Silicon Valley's inability — and unwillingness — to address rampant abuse of social media platforms by extremists and the increasingly violent consequences.

There is a disconnect between the point of view of tech company leaders and the toxicity the users on their platforms have to endure. It was on plain display in July 2018 when Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, told Recode that those who deny the Holocaust weren't "intentionally getting it wrong." This stunning moment of myopia received swift criticism.

Deborah Lipstadt, the Dorot Professor of Holocaust Studies at Emory University and a world-renowned expert on denialism, called Zuckerberg's comments "breathhtakingly irresponsible." The German Justice Ministry rebuked the CEO, reminding the company that Holocaust denial is punishable by law in Germany and that Facebook is presently liable for such content.

Zuckerberg's remarks on Holocaust denial — which he later clarified, stating, "I personally find Holocaust denial deeply offensive, and I absolutely didn't intend to defend the intent of people

Jon Kyl of Arizona. That Facebook would make an equivalency between civil rights and possible censoring of conservatives, and then choose Sen. Kyl, who has a history of appearing with anti-Muslim extremists, was an astounding move.

Highly motivated hate groups are metastasizing on the internet and social media despite warnings from civil rights organizations, victims of harassment and bigotry online, and those involved in increasingly deadly tragedies. Tech companies do not fully understand hate groups and how they affect users. And their actions remain insufficient.

How Hate Groups Really Use Social Media

Tech companies fail to take seriously the hate brewing on their platforms, waiting until hate-inspired violence claims its next victim before taking meaningful enforcement action. This was the case after Dylann Roof murdered nine black parishioners in 2015 and after the riot that left one dead and nearly 20 injured in Charlottesville, Virginia, at the "Unite the Right" rally in 2017.

Energized by the racist "alt-right" and emboldened by the Trump administration, the rally was the largest public demonstration of white supremacists in a generation. The rally was organized on Facebook, as was, for a period of time, its sequel in August 2018. Despite several crackdowns, tech companies struggle to understand and address how hate groups use online space to organize, propagandize and grow.

Most of the white nationalist and neo-Nazi groups operating today are no longer traditionally structured organizations led by known figures. Instead, hate groups are now mainly loosely organized local chapters formed around propaganda hubs, operating almost entirely online. These local-level chapters — such as the neo-Nazi Daily Stormer's "Book Clubs," the white nationalist The Right Stuff's "Pool Parties," or even the violent neo-

Nazi Atomwaffen Division's regional cells — imbibe propaganda and trade in violent, hate-laden content and rhetoric meant to dehumanize their targets and desensitize online consumers.

The increase in white nationalist and neo-Nazi hate group chapters in 2018, as well as the uptick in their propaganda campaigns and violence, shows that these digitally savvy groups are flourishing in spite of Silicon Valley's promises to police them.

It took five days and Sayoc's arrest on charges including "illegal mailing of explosives, threats against former presidents and others and assaulting current and former federal officers" for Twitter to acknowledge that it had made an error. Only then did the company delete Sayoc's account.

who deny that" — came 77 days after the company consented to an independent civil rights audit to assess its impact on underrepresented communities and communities of color.

Showing its total misunderstanding of the gravity of the situation, Facebook announced its civil rights audit at the same time it announced a separate audit into whether the company censors conservative voices, to be led by Republican Sen.

Another Year of Inconsistent Enforcement

As user growth accelerated on social media platforms, so, too, did the presence of hate groups and their leaders, finally able to transcend geographic boundaries and enjoy unprecedented audiences for their carefully tuned propaganda.

While official groups and pages for hate organizations and some of their leaders have been deplatformed, tech companies have allowed countless unofficial groups, led by the very same figures and populated by the same devotees, to prosper despite repeated warnings.

For example, when the Southern Poverty Law Center presented Facebook with examples of outwardly violent images and rhetoric targeting vulnerable communities — such as Muslims and immigrants — produced by both anonymous and known leaders in the hate movement, the company largely declined to take action.

The consequences of inaction were on full display when Facebook declined to ban the Proud Boys — a hate group most notable for its history as an early waypoint for extremists who later join overtly white supremacist organizations — in August. The company allowed the group to continue operating recruitment and new member vetting pages on the platform even after the Proud Boys led a violent protest in Portland last June that police ultimately declared a riot. When provided documentation of the Proud Boys' use of the platform, Facebook ruled that the group did not violate their community standards, which include provisions against “potential real-world harm that may be related to content on Facebook.” Despite open glorification of violence, as well as a multitude of videos documenting beatings by Proud Boys, Facebook allowed the group to remain on the site.

Two months later, nine members of the Proud Boys were sought by authorities in New York on charges of rioting, assault and attempted assault after a brawl outside the Metropolitan Republican Club, where the group's leader at the time, Gavin McInnes, was speaking.

Twitter opted to suspend McInnes' account a week after the New York incident under a policy “prohibiting violent extremist groups,” the precise policy that Facebook did not find sufficient evidence to enforce after the Portland riot.

In August, Jack Dorsey, CEO and co-founder of Twitter, announced that the company would not ban the account of far-right conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, despite action being taken against



Accused mail bomber Cesar Sayoc and murderer Dylann Roof (top) were both influenced by social media. Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg and Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey (below) have failed to quash the hate on their platforms.



Jones by other major companies including Apple, Spotify, Facebook and YouTube, because Jones hadn't violated the platform's rules. While defending his decision, Dorsey acknowledged Twitter's shortcomings in communicating its policies and declared, “We're going to hold Jones to the same standard we hold to every account, not taking one-off actions to make us feel good in the short term, and adding fuel to new conspiracy theories.”

The next day, Dorsey called into right-wing media personality Sean Hannity's radio show to assure listeners that Twitter wasn't censoring conservative voices.

One month later, Twitter banned Jones for violating its policies on abusive behavior after Jones harassed a CNN journalist outside of a congressional hearing at which Dorsey was testifying.

This lack of consistency across platforms is glaring. Social media companies are typically the first to point out that each platform is unique and involves different sets of considerations when assessing policy violations. But this keeps the door open for hate groups to slide back onto platforms or avoid enforcement altogether.

Jones and Infowars still have a presence on Facebook, including a personal page, a public page for streaming content and a closed group with more than 100,000 members. While Facebook banned several of his most prominent pages, Jones was allowed to continue peddling his conspiracies on the site. And while Twitter banned Jones, as well as the Proud Boys and McInnes, former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and white nationalist Richard Spencer inexplicably remain on the platform. Given that both Duke and Spencer have received international travel bans from European countries with legal protections around inciting hatred, it's clear that enforcement is inconsistent.

Similar scenes have repeatedly played out on a number of platforms this year.

Discord is a chat platform designed for video game communities and a persistent and indispensable tool for white supremacist organizing. In early October, a journalist from Slate presented the company with a list of servers designed for denigrating minorities, indoctrinating individuals into white supremacy and doxing perceived enemies. Discord declined to take meaningful action or comment on its decision. Its terms of service state, “[Discord] has no obligation to monitor these communication channels but it may do so in connection with providing the Service.”

An even stranger scenario played out when a support specialist at Steam, a video game distribution platform, rescinded a disciplinary action taken against Andrew Auernheimer, a well-known and violence-minded white supremacist affiliated with the neo-Nazi Daily Stormer. Auernheimer, who was openly displaying two lightning bolts in his username, a reference to the Schutzstaffel of

or disinformation, a small number of people have a massive impact,” Singer said. “Sadly, many of these toxic superspreaders are not just still active but rewarded with everything from more followers to media quotes to actual invitations to the White House.”

The Network Contagion Research Institute (NCRI) also embraces approaching online hate as a public health crisis. Organized last May, the group conducted a large-scale analysis of 4chan and Gab data and examined how extremist online communities succeeded in spreading hateful ideas and conspiracies to larger, mainstream platforms like Twitter and Reddit.

Like Singer, NCRI director Joel Finkelstein told The Washington Post, “You can’t fight the disease if you don’t know what it’s made of and how it spreads.”

Their research shows spikes in the use of anti-semitic and racist terms around President Donald Trump’s inauguration in 2017 and then later that year around the violence at the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. The NCRI report describes a “worrying trend of real-world action mirroring online rhetoric.”

Gab, which was founded as an alternative to Twitter and has become an accepting home base for much of the alt-right, responded to the study in a now-deleted tweet saying, “hate is a normal part of the human experience. It is a strong dislike of another. Humans are tribal. This is natural. Get over it.”

On Saturday, Oct. 27, a 46-year-old white man, Robert Bowers, walked into a Pittsburgh synagogue armed with semiautomatic weapons. He has been charged with the murders of 11 congregants. He was an active Gab user, and his posts showed a deep engagement with white nationalist ideas and antisemitic conspiracy theories — including those surrounding Soros that led Sayoc to mail the philanthropist a pipe bomb in late October.

Bowers is far from the first killer to have left a trail of online radicalization on platforms large and small. The reactive pattern of tech companies arranging policy after real-world violence only to allow enforcement to lag as time passes remains woefully inadequate.

Tech companies need to understand and take measures that address the proliferation of hate online, both as a public health issue and as a societal emergency. ▲

Tech companies fail to take seriously the hate brewing on their platforms, waiting until hate-inspired violence claims its next victim before taking meaningful enforcement action.

Nazi Germany, successfully lobbied for his sanction to be reversed over a flimsy claim that the symbols were meant as support for Vice President Mike Pence.

Auernheimer’s victory immediately became propaganda for the Daily Stormer.

Meanwhile, platforms such as Stripe continue to process monthly subscription payments for organizations like The Right Stuff, one of the white supremacist movement’s most popular and effective propaganda hubs specializing in radio programming. PayPal has taken a more aggressive line, but continues to struggle to keep up with the agility of cash-starved extremists who rapidly establish and publicize new accounts to continue receiving financial support.

YouTube had problems this year after a CNN investigation found that the company was running ads for more than 300 major brands — including Under Armour, Hilton, Adidas and Hershey’s — on channels peddling extremism.

It’s a Public Health Problem

In an interview with the *Intelligence Report*, political scientist P.W. Singer compared the colonization of conspiracy and extremist content on social media platforms to a public health issue that requires a “whole-of-society effort” to address.

But tech companies must do a lot more. Singer described the need for “creating firebreaks to misinformation and spreads of attacks that target their customers” as well as “‘deplatforming’ proven ‘superspreaders’ of harassment.”

“Superspreaders are another parallel to public health, that in the spread of both disease and hate



THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM

RAGE AGAINST CHANGE

WHITE SUPREMACY FLOURISHES AMID FEARS
OF IMMIGRATION AND NATION'S SHIFTING DEMOGRAPHICS

BY HEIDI BEIRICH ILLUSTRATION BY LINCOLN AGNEW

SURGING

numbers of hate groups. Rising right-wing populism and antisemitism. Mounting acts of deadly domestic terrorism. Increasing hate crimes. Exploding street violence.

That was the landscape of the radical right in 2018.

In the U.S., white supremacist anger reached a fever pitch last year as hysteria over losing a white-majority nation to demographic change — and a presumed lack of political will to stop it — engulfed the movement. White supremacists getting pushed off mainstream web platforms, President Donald Trump's willingness to pass a tax cut for the rich but failure to build a wall and a turn to the left in the midterm elections drove deep-seated fears of an accelerating, state- and Silicon Valley-orchestrated "white genocide."

Even Trump's opportunistic November attacks on a caravan of migrants moving slowly north through Mexico were seen as all talk and no action by the white supremacist and anti-immigrant movements.

"Starting to feel swindled by @realDonaldTrump," influential antisemitic writer Kevin MacDonald tweeted on Nov. 15. "He will get slaughtered in 2020 unless he does something serious for his base on immigration." White nationalist Richard Spencer, who infamously led a crowd of fellow racists at a Washington, D.C., meeting in Nov. 2016 with a toast and raised stiff-armed chant of "Hail Trump," was more blunt. Spencer took to Twitter in November to proclaim, "The Trump moment is over, and it's time for us to move on."

These fears and frustrations, heightened by U.S. Census Bureau projections that white people will no longer be a majority by 2044, helped propel hate to a new high last year. The total number of hate groups rose to 1,020 in 2018, up about 7 percent from 2017. White nationalist groups alone surged by nearly 50 percent last year, growing from 100 chapters in 2017 to 148 in 2018. But at the same time, Trump has energized black nationalist hate groups — typically antisemitic and anti-LGBT organizations — with an increase to 264 from 233 in 2017. Overall, though, the great majority of hate groups are those that despise racial, ethnic or religious minorities and they, unlike black nationalist groups, have a firm foothold in the mainstream.

The previous all-time high number of hate groups the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) counted was 1,018 in 2011, when rage against the

first black president was roiling. Amid the era of Trump, hate groups have increased once again, rising 30 percent over the past four years. And last year marked the fourth year in a row that hate group numbers increased after a short period of decline. In the previous four-year period, the number of groups fell by 23 percent.

When Anger Turns Into Action

White supremacists' angry energy metastasized in the two weeks leading up to the midterm elections, when three radical right terrorist attacks and one failed attempt at a mail-bombing spree shook the country, leaving 15 dead. The overall death toll tied to the radical right rose in 2018 as well, as white supremacists in Canada and the U.S. killed at least 40 people, up from 17 in 2017.

Among these killings was the Oct. 24 murder of two black people in a Kroger supermarket by a white man who first attempted to attack a Louisville-area black church, but couldn't get in. Then, on Oct. 27, an immigrant-hating antisemite killed 11 at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh 10 days before the election. Radicalized online, Robert Bowers, who like Spencer had soured on Trump, imbibed a popular white supremacist conspiracy that Jews are bringing nonwhite immigrants and refugees into the U.S. to accelerate "white genocide." Bowers voiced these lies on the social media forum Gab, a refuge for deplatformed haters. Also in the run-up to the election, a thankfully incompetent Facebook-using mail bomber who wanted to go "back to the Hitler days," targeted Trump critics and set the country on edge.

The violence was so shocking that CNN's exit polls found that three-quarters of voters said it was an important factor in their vote.

The midterms tended to validate hate groups' fears for the future. Many extremist candidates lost, including prominent anti-immigrant and anti-LGBT candidates. Even more angering to hate groups were the dozens of women — who an increasingly misogynistic hate movement sees as allies to "white genocide" — elected to the new U.S. Congress, including two Muslims and a senator from Arizona who is openly bisexual. For white supremacists, these newly elected officials symbolize the country's changing demographics — the future that white supremacists loathe and fear.

For white supremacists, these newly elected officials symbolize the country's changing demographics — the future that white supremacists loathe and fear.

There were, however, some bright spots for extremists. Republican Ron DeSantis, who has a history of consorting with anti-Muslim groups and making racist statements, is Florida's new governor. Republican Brian Kemp, Georgia's new governor, ran on a hostile anti-immigrant platform. And Rep. Steve King, R-Iowa, who has repeatedly regurgitated white supremacist ideas, was re-elected. But in all cases the margins were narrow, and some in the GOP seemed to have finally acknowledged that racism and bigotry might not be good campaign fodder. King, for example, was rebuked by Rep. Steve Stivers, R-Ohio, the National Republican Congressional Committee chair, for racist tweets and comments a week before the election. "We must stand up against white supremacy and hate in all forms, and I strongly condemn this behavior," Stivers tweeted.

Trump Still Mainstreaming Hate

The organized hate movement may be showing signs of disappointment with Donald Trump, but the president, aided and abetted by Fox News, continues to push his noxious anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim ideas into the public consciousness — fueling fears of a forthcoming white-minority country.

A couple of weeks after the midterms, Trump reignited his rant against the migrant caravan, raging on Twitter: "There are a lot of CRIMINALS in the Caravan." It was just the latest in the president's long history of denigrating people of color from other countries. Trump has repeatedly made

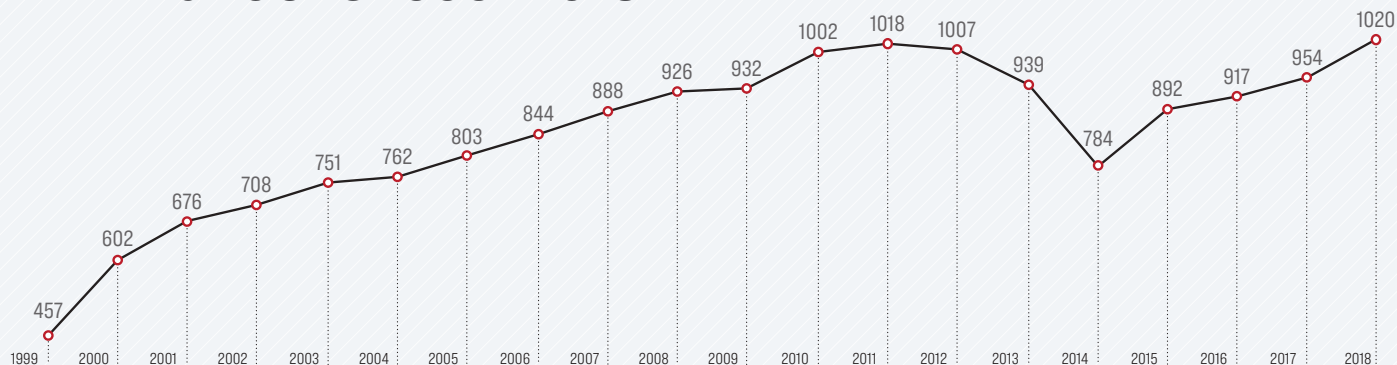
racist comments about Latinos, starting with his first day of campaigning when he referred to Mexicans as "rapists." In January 2018 Trump reportedly referred to Haiti and other black-majority countries as "shitholes." Longtime prominent white supremacist David Duke called those comments the "PERFECT TRUTH" on his Twitter feed. And Trump's earlier attacks on the migrant caravan, which included calling Central American refugees from violence "gang members" and part of an "invasion" of the U.S. aided and abetted by the Democratic party, were straight out of the hate playbook.

In August, Trump tweeted in support of white South African farmers who extremists falsely argue are enduring a racist murder spree by black people, and he ordered a State Department inquiry into the matter. This propaganda is used by white supremacists as a "canary in the coal mine" scenario for white people. Three years ago, it was white supremacist Dylann Roof, wearing patches of apartheid governments, who cited the "white genocide" fantasy to justify his mass murder of African Americans in a Charleston church, and in October it was Robert Bowers using the same logic to justify his mass murder at a Pittsburgh synagogue.

The mainstreaming of harmful and poisonous ideas has spread to Trump's allies, particularly those at Fox News. Tucker Carlson was the source of Trump's South African tweet. He gave wildly incorrect information on the issue on his show the night before the president's tweet, and he also hosted an apartheid apologist on his nightly

In 2018 the number of hate groups surged to 1,020, an all-time high.

HATE GROUPS 1999–2018



program in May to discuss the so-called war on white farmers in that country. Carlson has used his program to engage in tirades against diversity, transgender people and, especially, immigrants.

Like white supremacists, Carlson has tied these bogeymen directly to demographic change. In July, Carlson said, “Latin American countries are changing election outcomes here by forcing demographic change on this country.” Then in November, he said, “It is never true that diversity is your strength.” In another broadcast, he told his viewers, “this is more change than human beings are designed to digest.”

Carlson’s Fox News colleague Laura Ingraham echoed this theme. In August, she said, “The America we know and love doesn’t exist anymore. ... Massive demographic changes have been foisted on the American people, and they are changes that none of us ever voted for and most of us don’t like.” No wonder Carlson is beloved by white supremacists such as Spencer as well as Andrew Anglin, who runs the neo-Nazi website the Daily Stormer. In May, Anglin called Carlson’s show “Tucker Carlson AKA Daily Stormer TV,” and wrote, “wow, someone important is reading my articles.”

Fox News is Trump’s megaphone as well as the source of many of his ideas. And his on-air allies Carlson and Ingraham, whom Trump watches religiously, have audiences between 2.5 million and 3 million viewers.

Most Americans are now fully aware that Trump is emboldening white supremacists and helping to grow their ranks. An October poll by the Public Religion Research Institute shows a majority believe Trump has “encouraged white supremacist groups.”

But he’s done more than that. He has installed people with extremist views into his administration, and their views are affecting policy.

The Anti-Immigrant and Anti-Muslim Movements Wield Real Power

Trump showed now former Attorney General Jeff Sessions the door immediately after the midterm elections, but not before Sessions had left an indelible mark on administration policy. During his time in office, Sessions led the charge against immigrants, speeding up the immigration court system to make it harder for people to remain in the U.S., referring to himself cases that used to be resolved by the Board of Immigration Appeals, ordering the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to refer all illegal border crossers to the Department of Justice for prosecution,



and ending a policy that granted asylum to most victims of domestic abuse and gang violence in their home countries.

Sessions, like others still in the administration, has a close relationship with anti-immigrant hate groups, including the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). A number of FAIR’s former staffers have gone into the administration. Former FAIR leader Julie Kirchner is now ombudsman for DHS Citizenship and Immigration Services. John Zadrozny, another ex-FAIR employee, is now with the State Department. Ian Smith, formerly employed with FAIR’s legal arm, resigned his position in August at DHS, but only after leaked emails linked him to white nationalists Spencer and Jared Taylor.

Other appointees and staffers have ties to the anti-immigrant hate group Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) and the anti-Muslim hate group Center for Security Policy. During his confirmation hearing, current Secretary of State Mike Pompeo faced questions about his connections to anti-Muslim figures like Frank Gaffney and Brigitte Gabriel. Gabriel’s hate group, ACT for America, lauded Pompeo’s confirmation, stating he “understands the threats our country faces.” The group had earlier awarded Pompeo its “National Security Eagle Award.” Gabriel has claimed that ACT for America has been granted standing weekly meetings with the White House.

Particularly devastating are Trump’s immigration policies, pushed by his senior adviser Stephen Miller and copied from FAIR and CIS. Miller, who

Echoing the anti-immigrant rhetoric of Donald Trump, nativist hate groups smeared the migrants who sought asylum in the U.S. last year as terrorists and criminals who carry diseases.

HATE BY THE NUMBERS

A SNAPSHOT FROM THE 2018 HATE GROUP LISTING

White Nationalists, Neo-Nazis and the KKK

Much of the energy on the radical right this year was concentrated in the white supremacist milieu. After a lull that followed the violence in Charlottesville, which brought criminal charges and civil suits that temporarily dampened the radical right's activism and organizing, newer groups gathered momentum.

White supremacist groups birthed in the age of Trump, meaning after he announced his run for the presidency in June 2015, have thrived. Identity Evropa — a white nationalist group that tries to dress up its racism under the label “identitarianism” — saw its chapter count rise for the third year in a row, from one in 2016 to 15 in 2017 to 38 in 2018. The white nationalist blog and podcasting site The Right Stuff (TRS) started with four chapters in 2016 and now has 34. And the TRS offshoot focused on creating an independent South, Identity Dixie, which only began in 2017, has seven chapters now.

The violent neo-Nazi organization Atomwaffen Division, whose members are allegedly associated with as many as five known killings since May 2017, grew from one chapter in 2017 to 27 in 2018. SPLC was able to document that growth, in part because of the reporting efforts of ProPublica and *Rolling Stone*, which helped push the secretive, small group of young men further into public view.

The number of Ku Klux Klan (KKK) chapters continued to fall for the third year in a row, down to 51 chapters in 2018 from 130 in 2016. The KKK has not been able to appeal to younger racists, with its antiquated traditions, odd dress and lack of digital savvy. Younger extremists prefer Fred Perry polo shirts and khakis to Klan robes. It may be that the KKK, having somehow endured since 1866, is finally on its last legs.

Black Nationalists

Black nationalist hate groups make up about a quarter of the total number of hate group chapters in 2018. This sector has been growing for several years, and continued to do so last year, with an increase from 233 chapters in 2017 to 264 in 2018. Even with the growth, black nationalist groups lagged far behind the more than 700 groups that adhere to some form of white supremacist ideology.

Typically antisemitic, anti-LGBT and anti-white, these groups have been expanding in reaction to rising white supremacy, Trump's emboldening of racists and the administration's sharp turn away from police reform and civil rights. Trump calling African nations “shitholes” and attacking NFL players added more fuel to the fire. To capitalize on these events, the New Black Panther Party held a rally in Houston last year against the KKK and Trump. And the group's 2018

conference included a rally in front of the White House praising Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, denouncing Trump and calling for their own territory. In November, Farrakhan compared Trump to Satan.

Regardless, the environment for black nationalist groups is categorically different than it is for white hate groups. Unlike white hate groups, whose champions found themselves in influential White House positions over the past two years, black nationalists have little or no impact on mainstream politics and no defenders in high office.

Antigovernment Movement

The antigovernment “Patriot” movement saw its numbers decline in 2018, likely due to a friendly federal government that still serves its traditional role as the movement's sworn enemy. The number of such groups fell by about 10 percent, from 689 chapters in 2017 to 622 in 2018. Militias, which are the paramilitary wing of the antigovernment movement, were down from 273 in 2017 to 216 in 2018.

Unlike in prior years, the antigovernment movement had few politicized events to capitalize on, such as the 2014 Bundy ranch standoff and the 2016 takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge. With the administration acting as a fierce defender of gun rights and undermining federal land protections out West, antigovernment activists finally have an administration they can believe in — and less anger to tap into to build their ranks.

Civil war remains a common rallying cry, but the militia movement has shifted into predicting and readying for war against those who oppose President Trump, who they often lump into the categories of communists, socialists or antifa.

The militia movement spent much of 2018 readying for a supposed “invasion,” hyped by Trump and his allies, at the U.S.-Mexico border. Despite the simpatico rhetoric between Trump and the “anti-invasion” border militia subculture, when active duty U.S. military units deployed to the Southern border in November, intelligence briefings warned U.S. troops about these “patriot soldiers,” who have a history of stealing military equipment from locally deployed military units.

Some antigovernment extremists continued to radicalize offline, latching onto far-right rallies, such as those hosted by Patriot Prayer or the hate group the Proud Boys. This collaboration placed militia members, usually those identifying as Three Percenters (a loose network of gun rights extremists who subscribe to hardcore antigovernment conspiracy theories), in close proximity to hate groups — as was the case during the 2017 Charlottesville “Unite the Right” rally.

was the main advocate of the Muslim ban and family separation policy, was close to Spencer when he was in college and has long-standing links to anti-Muslim leader David Horowitz, dating back to when Miller was in high school.

Whether it is unending ICE raids, abolishing temporary protected status, calling for the end of birthright citizenship, separating families, increasing the number of detentions or sending troops to the border, the administration's willingness to enact vicious anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim policies is a travesty of American values.

Anti-LGBT Movement Embedded in the Administration

Anti-LGBT hate groups also now enjoy access never afforded to extremist groups by a modern administration. Groups like the Family Research Council (FRC) and Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) meet regularly with high-level administration officials to further their bigoted policy positions.

Former Attorney General Jeff Sessions spoke in private early in his term to ADF, setting off a firestorm of Freedom of Information Act requests for his remarks from advocacy groups. And high-level staffers from ADF have been hired by the DOJ since. ADF is a legal powerhouse that pursues litigation to restrict the civil rights of LGBT people and has pushed to criminalize gay sex in other countries.

Earlier in the year, Trump tried to reinstate a ban on transgender people in the military, releasing a memo based on a pseudoscientific report created by a "panel of experts" that included FRC President Tony Perkins and on which Vice President Mike Pence played a leading role.

Trump and his administration, influenced by these anti-LGBT organizations, have made additional moves against the trans community. *The New York Times* revealed in October that the Department of Health and Human Services is attempting to further marginalize trans people by spearheading an effort to establish a legal definition of gender under Title IX, the federal civil rights law



that bans gender discrimination in federally funded programs. *The Times* noted that the new definition would eradicate federal recognition of around 1.4 million Americans who identify as a gender other than the one they were assigned at birth.

Trump also nominated to the judiciary individuals with racist or anti-LGBT track records, including Andrew Oldham (confirmed) and Allison Rushing (awaiting confirmation), both of whom have worked with ADF, and Thomas Farr, who had ties to a eugenicist organization and only failed to be confirmed by one vote in the Senate. Under Sessions, the DOJ prepared amicus briefs in support of ADF lawsuits that seek to allow discrimination against LGBT people.

Data Shows Extremism Gaining Ground

Most Americans, including almost half of all white people, have come to see Trump as a racist, according to a March 2018 AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research poll. And a majority disapproved of the comments Trump made after the Charlottesville "Unite the Right" racist and deadly riot, when he said there were "good people on both sides."

But at the same time, Trump's words and actions are giving sanction to hateful views among millions who increasingly don't have a problem with racism and white supremacy. The University of Alabama's George Hawley, an expert on the modern day white supremacists who refer to themselves as "alt-right," estimated in 2018 that nearly 6 percent of America's approximately 198

While Donald Trump has so far failed to build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border, his administration's hardline anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim views have had devastating consequences for vulnerable populations. Nativist hate groups enjoy unprecedented access to the levers of power.

million non-Latino white people have beliefs consistent with the racist alt-right worldview, meaning that they broadly believe that politics should promote white interests above those of other racial groups.

And this isn't just an American problem. Right-wing populism, fueled by anti-immigrant fervor, is exploding across the world, with extremist candidates gaining or in power in countries such as Hungary, Poland, Austria, Italy and Brazil. Research conducted by *The Guardian* in partnership with more than 30 political scientists shows that 1 in 4 Europeans now votes for populist parties.

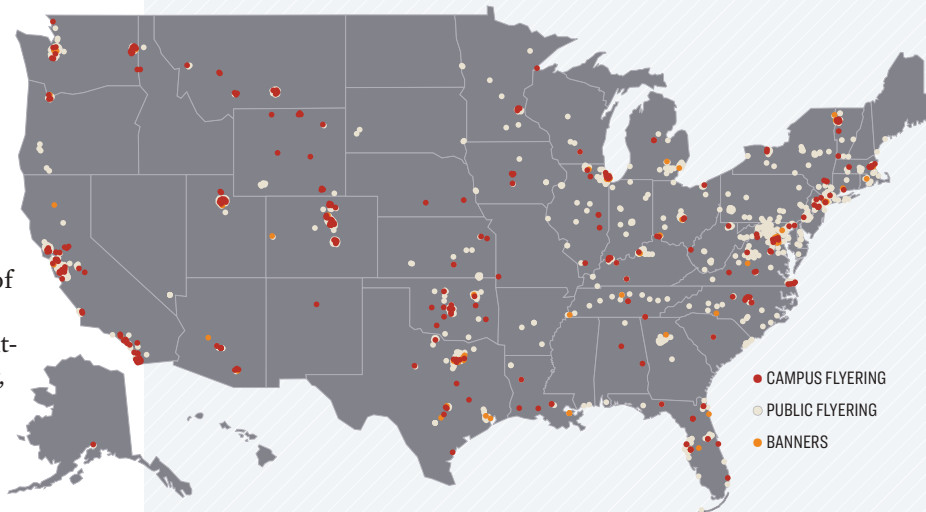
Back in the U.S., immigration is where Trump's rhetoric is particularly toxic. A Reuters/Ipsos poll from October revealed that immigration is now seen as the top issue for people likely to vote Republican, especially among those who are older and lack a college degree. Twenty-three percent of Republicans in that same poll said immigration was the "most important problem" facing the country, up from 4 percent in January 2012. Just five years ago, the issue wasn't nearly so divisive. In 2013, the Senate passed an immigration bill with bipartisan support, something that is unlikely today.

Increasing racial polarization, which is an important element of America's growing partisan divide, was reflected in the midterm elections. House Republicans elected in 2018 represent districts that are more white, less affluent and less well-educated than the national average, as well as more evangelical, rural and blue-collar. The Democratic coalition centers on minorities, young people and college-educated white voters — a growing demographic alliance that is seen as pushing the multicultural worldview that enrages white supremacists and roils their fears of "white genocide."

Web Still a Handmaiden to Hate, Helping it Spread

Social media and the web continue to be a powerful tool to accelerate the spread of hate to the mainstream. But confusion still reigns across tech companies over how to police hateful content — and Silicon Valley, though it now realizes it must tackle the problem, is still failing to invest enough in removing hate from their platforms.

This industry-wide befuddlement over where to draw lines on deplatforming was highlighted by the mixed messages from different companies over removing infamous conspiracy theorist Alex



HATEFUL FLYER DISTRIBUTION HITS UNPRECEDENTED LEVELS

As the number of white nationalist groups climbed this year, so too did their flyering efforts. Unlike 2017, racist flyering this year was not mainly confined to college campuses, but spread largely to the public domain, with 263 and 746 reported incidents, respectively. While campus flyering ebbed and flowed with the collegiate calendar, public flyering climbed steadily over the course of 2018.

Identity Evropa remained the most active group in terms of flyering across the country, with Patriot Front coming in second. As both groups gained chapters, they were emboldened to move off college campuses and into the public sphere with their hateful messages. Encouraged by the potential for more media coverage and First Amendment free speech protections, the move proved that the vast majority of flyers posted on campuses were in fact not associated with members of the student body. Likewise, the number of banner drops has increased in 2018.

The content of these flyers took on a dynamic quality in 2018, as some groups distributed them in response to political events. Most notably, amidst national turmoil over the confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, The Daily Stormer posted flyers blaming Jewish people for sexual assault allegations against Kavanaugh. Identity Evropa also disseminated flyers lamenting their alleged lack of free speech in response to Gov. Andrew Cuomo's probe into the posting of Identity Evropa flyers in New York.

Klan flyering in 2018 experienced only a slight increase. Concentrated predominantly in the Mid-Atlantic states, the content of these flyers remained unchanged, a reflection of the Klan's inadaptability. As the most prominent group spreading Klan propaganda, the Loyal White Knights rely on a few members to get their messaging out due to the relatively small area in which the majority of flyers have been found.

The substantial increase in white nationalist flyering this year begs the questions of sustainability for 2019. As the energy of new recruits inevitably declines, so too should the number of flyering incidents. However, given flyers' importance to many groups' agendas, this tactic will certainly continue.

Jones. Only after Apple CEO Tim Cook took the lead did others follow and remove Jones from their services (Cook has been a leader in ending hate online). Other groups, such as the self-described “Western chauvinist” Proud Boys — a hate group known for anti-Muslim and misogynistic rhetoric — were able to stay on social media while engaging in violent street battles in West Coast cities. Only after the Proud Boys was involved in a widely covered street brawl in New York City in mid-October did the group lose its Facebook and PayPal accounts. But that was too late — the Proud Boys had already grown to 47 chapters by the end of 2018.

Certain tech leaders don’t seem to understand the seriousness of the hate on their platforms even in the face of domestic terrorist attacks perpetrated by white supremacists radicalized online. Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg this year claimed that Holocaust deniers weren’t intentionally getting their facts wrong. (Holocaust denial is perpetrated by a highly coordinated network of practitioners. Rehabilitating the Nazi regime’s legacy is just one crucial part of their larger goal to justify and perpetuate antisemitism.) Facebook itself even hired a PR firm that linked its critics to anti-George Soros conspiracy theories, which meld antisemitism with other forms of hate. (Soros, a billionaire who funds liberal causes, was one of the recipients of a mail bomb just before the midterm elections.)

As tech companies continue to try to clean up their platforms, other sites have popped up to pick up the deplatformed. Gab is the largest of these alternative sites, with about 800,000 members and 5 million page views a month. The site has very loose terms of service and is home to countless neo-Nazis and other extremists. It was on Gab that Robert Bowers posted his antisemitic hatred and interacted with others who agreed with him. There are other realms as well for those who want to hate: 4chan, 8chan, Discord chat rooms, some Reddit threads and more.

Hate groups themselves still run websites and forums with massive audiences. According to Alexa web traffic analytics, the neo-Nazi Daily Stormer site has about 4.3 million page views a month, and the oldest hate site, Stormfront, grabs 2.2 million a month.

The Rage Will Continue in 2019

Trump has fueled and exploited the backlash to the country’s changing diversity, but he did not create



it. For more than a decade, hate groups have been angered and motivated by increasing numbers of nonwhite immigrants.

In the absence of major policy shifts to the hard right, such as the building of a border wall, the radical right is poised to continue seething over its fears of “white genocide” as it fearfully anticipates a multicultural wave washing it out.

This anger is heightened as tech companies deplatform extremists, which further frustrates those convinced they are being driven to extinction. As Spencer said last year, “At one point, say two years ago, Silicon Valley really was our friend ... what has happened in terms of the Silicon Valley attacks on us are, just, really bad.” As extremists are pushed further to the margins online, their rage will likely grow.

Given these trends, there are no signs that the violence, which has been all too common over the past two decades, will let up. In fact, if the hate movement abandons politics as a solution to demographic change, as recent denunciations of Trump by prominent white supremacists seem to indicate, more angry lone wolves like Bowers may see violence as a solution.

Regardless of Trump’s future political fortunes, Trumpism — a form of race-based populism — is likely to be with us for many years to come as the nation continues to come to terms with its changing demographics and the impact of globalism. ▲

Thanks in part to social media, the Proud Boys grew to 47 chapters in 2018.

ACTIVE HATE GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES // 2018

This list of 1,020 active hate groups (see map, p. 43), up from 954 in 2017, is based on information gathered by the Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources, web postings and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2018, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature or criminal acts, among other activities, were counted in this list. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be web publishers falsely portraying themselves as powerful, organized groups. This list also does not document activism that takes place only online by individuals or groups, whether on Facebook, VK, or similar online forums. Major online web forums have in recent years seen their comment sections and registered users grow, but such activity does not occur in real life and thus is not reflected in this count. If the group has a known headquarters, it appears first in the listing of the group's chapters and, if there are multiple chapters of the group, is marked with an asterisk (*).



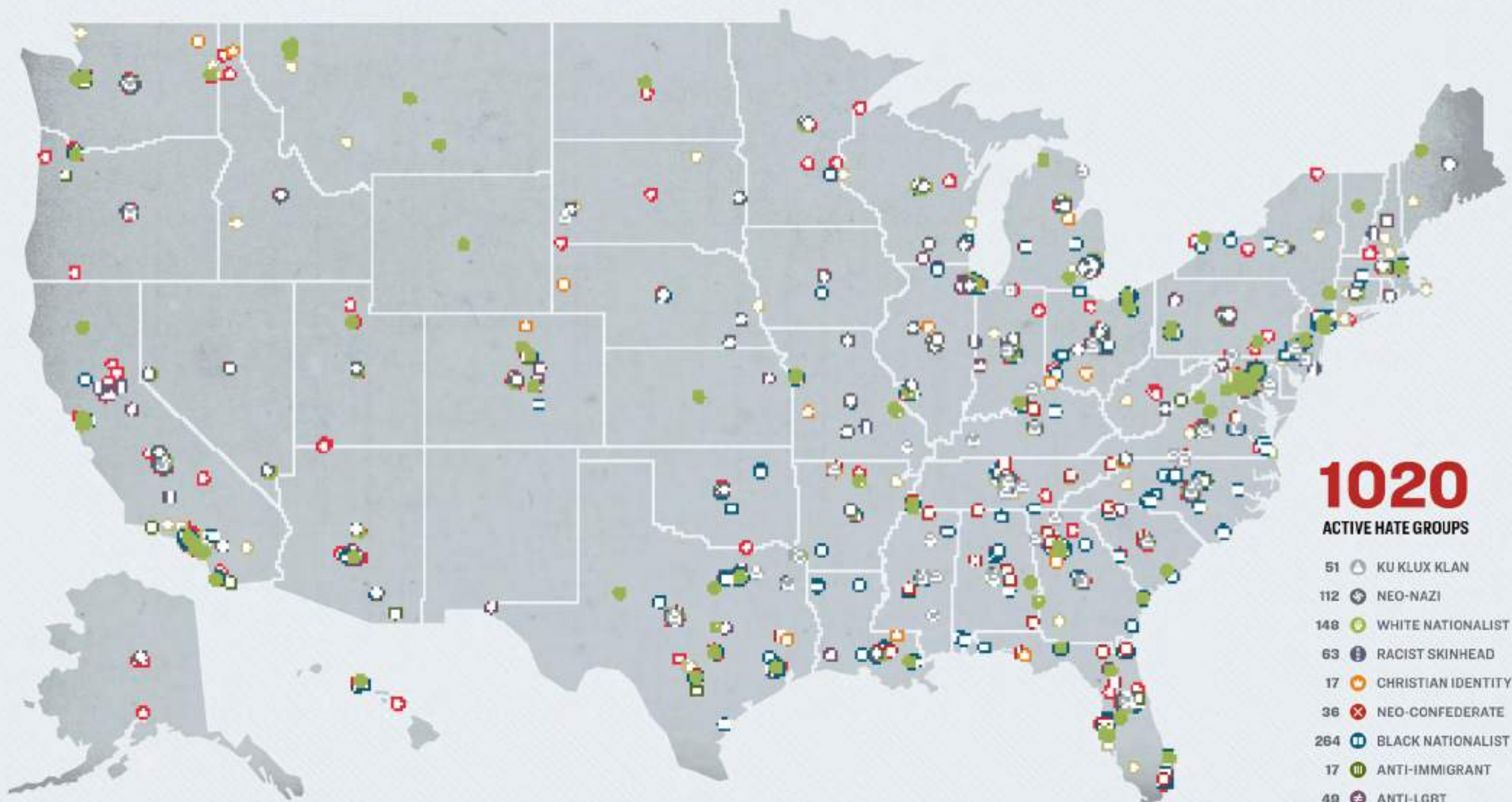
Groups are categorized as **KU KLUX KLAN, NEO-NAZI, WHITE NATIONALIST, RACIST SKINHEAD, CHRISTIAN IDENTITY, NEO-CONFEDERATE, BLACK NATIONALIST, ANTI-LGBT, ANTI-MUSLIM, ANTI-IMMIGRANT AND GENERAL HATE**. Because skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their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

OPEN HERE

detailed map inside



ACTIVE HATE GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES // 2018



1020
ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

51 KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan, with its long history of violence, is the oldest and most infamous of American hate groups. Although black Americans have typically been the Klan's primary target, it also has attacked Jews, immigrants, gays and lesbians and, until recently, Catholics.



**American Christian
Dixie Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**

Alabama*
Florida
Tennessee

**American Christian
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Moselle, MS

**American White
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Indiana*
Georgia

**Aryan Knights of the
Invisible Empire
Church of the**

North Carolina

**National Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

South Bend, IN*

Kentucky
**Confederate White
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Maryland*
Wappapello, MO

Virginia
**East Coast Knights
of the True**

Invisible Empire

North Carolina
Columbus, OH
Philadelphia, PA

**Global Crusaders:
Order of the Ku
Klux Klan**

Alabama

**Honorable
Sacred
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Madison, IN

**International
Keystone Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Florida
Cedartown, GA
Mississippi

**Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Harrison, AR
**Loyal White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Pelham, NC*
Florida
Maryland
New York
Pennsylvania
Texas

Virginia
**Mississippi White
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Bruce, MS

**Noble Klans
of America**

Maryland*
New Jersey

**Nordic Order Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Alabama
Dawson Springs, KY

**Original Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**

Philadelphia, MS
**Pacific Coast Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

California*
Alpena, MI
Oregon

Washington
**Patriotic Brigade
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Gladewater, TX*

South Carolina

Rebel Brigade

Knights True

Invisible Empire

Martinsville, VA

**Teutonic Knights of
the Ku Klux Klan**

Shelbyville, TN

**Texas Rebel Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Quinlan, TX

Traditionalist

**American Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Custer, SD*

Florida

**United Dixie White
Knights of the
Ku Klux Klan**

Mississippi

**United Klans
of America**

Alabama

McMinnville, TN

**United Northern and
Southern Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

Ellijay, GA

**United White Knights
of the Ku Klux Klan**

New Boston, TX

**White Knights
of Texas**

DeKalb, TX

TOP TAKEAWAYS Unlike white nationalist organizations, whose meme wars and pressed khakis appeal to an impressionable younger generation, the Klan's online presence and public image remains rigid and unrefined, effectively diminishing their recruitment. Infighting between members on Facebook and Stormfront involves accusations of drug use, domestic violence and disloyalty, and the number of groups continues to plummet. Klan groups have attempted to form alliances with other segments of the movement, such as the League of the South and the National Socialist Movement, to retain some semblance of relevance.

KEY MOMENTS The most visible Klan activities have been few and far between. Besides flyering campaigns in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia and a Sept. 1 rally in Madison, Indiana — which drew all of 12 Klan members — the most notable Klan news of 2018 involved a prison sentence. In August, Richard Preston, Imperial Wizard of the Confederate White Knights, was sentenced to eight years in prison with four years suspended for firing his weapon within 1,000 feet of a school at the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017.

WHAT'S AHEAD Despite the Klan's relatively low profile in 2018 and self-destructive infighting, the group should not be written off as obsolete. Their hateful ideologies beget racist rhetoric which can in turn become the impetus for violent action. While flyers may seem a petty attempt at recruitment and white robes appear antiquated in an era of refined optics, the fear that such materials and imagery incite should never be dismissed. The Klan's long history is intrinsically tied to violence and soaked in the blood of thousands of innocent victims. Given the Klan's structure based on familial bonds and inheritance, it will exist in the U.S. in some capacity for years to come.

112 NEO-NAZI

Neo-Nazi groups share a hatred for Jews and a love for Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. While they also hate other minorities, gays and lesbians and even sometimes Christians, they perceive “the Jew” as their cardinal enemy.

America First Committee

Lyons, IL

American Nazi Party

Westland, MI*
California

Aryan Nations

Sadistic Souls MC

Wood River, IL*
Canton, IL
Grovespring, MO
Ohio
Oklahoma
Wisconsin

Atomwaffen Division

Alabama
Arizona
Arkansas
California
Colorado
Florida
Georgia
Illinois
Kentucky
Maine
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
Mississippi
Missouri
Las Vegas, NV
New Jersey
New York
North Carolina
Ohio
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Texas
Virginia

Washington
Wisconsin

The Creativity Alliance

Gladewater, TX*
Florida
Illinois
Pennsylvania
The Creativity Movement
Brookings, SD*
Illinois
Michigan
Ohio

The Daily Stormer

Washington, OH*
Alaska
California
Connecticut
Indiana
Louisiana
Maine
Michigan
Minnesota
Nebraska
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Jersey
North Carolina
Oregon
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Virginia
Washington
Endangered Souls
RC/Crew 519
Florida

Idaho

National Alliance

Laurel Bloomery, TN*
Iowa
Hillsboro, WV
National Alliance
Reform and Restoration Group
Carson City, NV
National Socialist
German Workers Party
Lincoln, NE
National Socialist
Legion

National Socialist

Texas*
Tennessee
National Socialist
Liberation Front
Pennsylvania*
Alabama
New York

National Socialist Movement

Detroit, MI*
Maricopa, AZ
Florida
Illinois
Pennsylvania
Tennessee

Nationalist Initiative

South Vienna, OH

Nationalist

Women's Front

California
New Order
Milwaukee, WI
Noble Breed
Kindred
California

NS Publications

Wyandotte, MI

PzG Inc.

Rapid City, SD

Radio Wehrwolf

Fitchburg, WI

Third Reich Books

Fairbury, NE

Traditionalist Worker Party

Indiana*
Alabama
Colorado
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Michigan
North Carolina
Ohio
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia

Vanguard America

Indiana*
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Tennessee
Texas

Vanguard America Women's Division

Indiana

Vanguard News Network

Kirkville, MO

White Aryan Resistance

San Jacinto, CA

TOP TAKEAWAYS Nearly 18 months after Charlottesville, mass movement, membership-based neo-Nazism is on the decline. In 2018, neo-Nazis were driven to further corners of the internet by activists and journalists via doxing and deplatforming. The movement is also divided over which organizational structure, mass-movement or cell-based, best facilitates their goals. Groups like Atomwaffen Division (AWD) have embraced the primarily underground cell structure favored by groups more openly terroristic. Mass movement groups like the National Socialist Movement continue to present themselves to the public via rallies and quasi-political platforms.

KEY MOMENTS In January, Samuel Woodward, who had connections to AWD, was arrested and charged in Orange County, California, with murdering Blaze Bernstein. *ProPublica* reported that AWD members praised Woodward for the murder on their Discord chat. One user called Woodward a “one man gay Jew wrecking crew.”

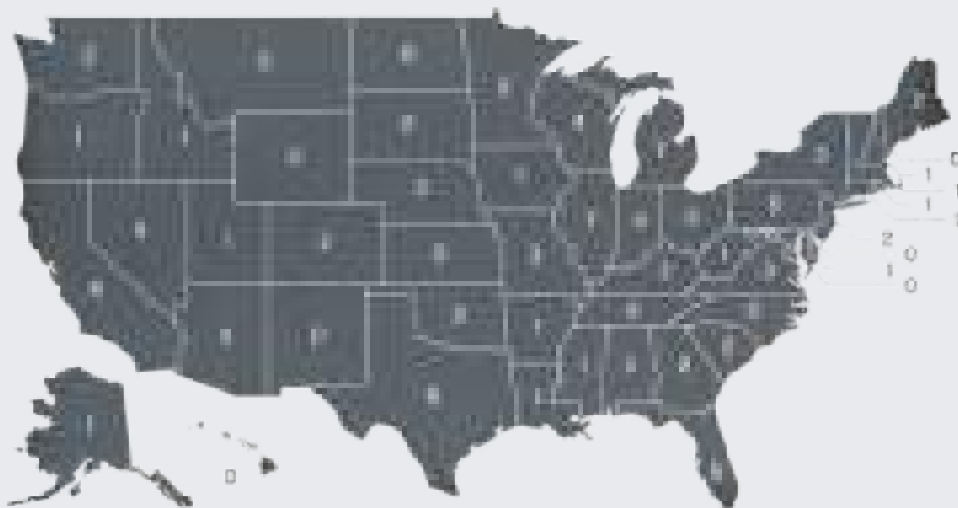
In May, reports surfaced that Vasillios Pistolios, who participated in the Charlottesville violence and was also associated with AWD, was an active duty Marine.

Traditionalist Worker Party, once an active and influential neo-Nazi hate group, disbanded after a bizarre love triangle among top leadership was revealed.

The League of the South dropped out of the Nationalist Front in August, leaving that coalition dead in the water.

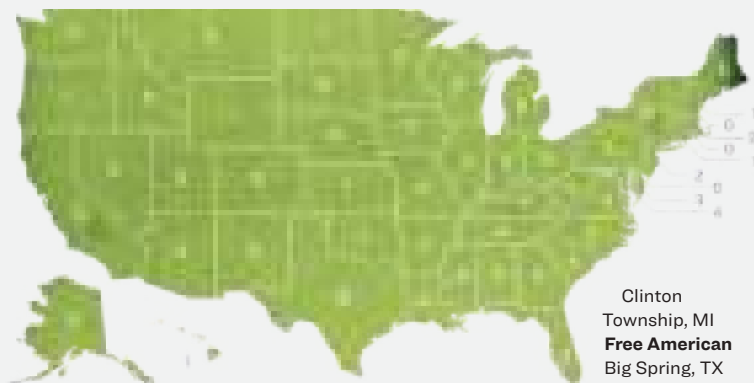
In October, Robert Bowers, who was inspired by ideology popular among neo-Nazis, killed 11 at a Pittsburgh synagogue. Also in November, a pair of Washington, D.C.-area brothers with ties to Vanguard America, Richard Spencer and others made headlines after one brother killed himself and the other was arrested following a tirade about Bowers' victims.

WHAT'S AHEAD Neo-Nazi hate groups and their members will continue to seek out more private, even anonymous interaction across multiple platforms and networks. As racists continue to feel the squeeze online and in real life, violence at public rallies may remain low. But that will not deter lone wolf violence, with incubators like Gab and Discord relatively wide open to white supremacists.



148 WHITE NATIONALIST

White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. Groups listed in a variety of other categories — Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist skinhead and Christian Identity — could also be fairly described as white nationalist.



Affirmative Right

Atlanta, GA
AltRight Corporation
 Alexandria, VA
American
Freedom Party
 Los Angeles, CA*
 Bradenton, FL
 Lakewood Ranch, FL
 Indiana
 Montana
 New York
 New York, NY
 North Dakota
 Granbury, TX
 Wisconsin
American
Freedom Union
 Hampton
 Township, PA
American
Renaissance/New
Century Foundation
 Oakton, VA
Arktos Media

New York, NY

Auburn White

Student Union
 Auburn, AL
Conservative
Citizens
Foundation, Inc.
 Blackwell, MO
Council of
Conservative
Citizens
 Blackwell, MO
Counter-Currents
Publishing
 San Francisco, CA
Exodus/Americanus
 Floyds Knobs, IN
Faith and Heritage
 Killeen, TX
The Fitzgerald
Griffin Foundation
 Vienna, VA
Forza Nuova
 Trenton, NJ
Foundation for the
Marketplace of Ideas

Clinton

Township, MI

Free American

Big Spring, TX
FreeStartr
 Carson City, NV
H.L. Mencken Club
 Elizabethtown, PA
Identity Evropa
 Virginia*
 Arizona
 Arkansas
 Redding, CA
 San Diego, CA
 San Francisco, CA
 Boulder, CO
 Colorado Springs, CO
 Denver, CO
 Connecticut
 Washington, DC
 Gainesville, FL
 Lakeland, FL
 Atlanta, GA
 Savannah, GA
 Chicago, IL
 Indianapolis, IN
 Kansas
 Kentucky
 New Orleans, LA
 Maryland

Michigan
 Minnesota
 Billings, MT
 Las Vegas, NV
 New Jersey
 New York
 North Carolina
 Ohio
 Oklahoma
 Pennsylvania
 Tennessee
 Texas
 Salt Lake City, UT
 Seattle, WA
 Spokane, WA
 Wisconsin
 Wyoming
National Policy
Institute
 Whitefish, MT
National Right
 Jackman, ME
New Albion
 Jackman, ME
Northwest Front
 Bremerton, WA
Occidental Dissent
 Eufaula, AL
Occidental Observer
 Laguna Hills, CA
Occidental
Quarterly/Charles
Martel Society
 Atlanta, GA
Patriot Front
 Texas*
 California
 Colorado
 Washington, DC
 Florida
 Georgia

Illinois

Kentucky
 Maryland
 Massachusetts
 Michigan
 New York
 Utah
 Vermont
 Virginia
 Washington
Patriotic Flags
 Summerville, SC
Pioneer Little Europe
Kalispell Montana
 Kalispell, MT
The Political
Cesspool
 Bartlett, TN
Racial Nationalist
Party of America
 Lockport, NY
Radix Journal
 Whitefish, MT
Real Republic
of Florida
 Tallahassee, FL
Red Ice
 Harrisonburg, VA
Right Brand Clothing
 Anaheim, CA
Rise Above
Movement
 Huntington Beach, CA
Scott-Townsend
Publishers
 Washington, DC
Shieldwall Network
 Mountain View, AR*
 Murfreesboro, TN
 New Boston, TX
Social Contract Press
 Petoskey, MI

TOP TAKEAWAYS In their attempt to reorient and rebrand after the deadly 2017 “Unite the Right” rally, white nationalist hate groups have largely retreated from public activism. Amid infighting following the rally, many groups splintered, accounting for some of the increase in white nationalist hate groups in 2018. Some leaders have urged followers to focus their energy on private meetups and internet recruiting. But the movement has struggled to secure meeting venues and to maintain a stable web presence as various online payment processors and social media platforms have begun enforcing terms of service violations and removing those who propagate hate speech or threaten violence.

In 2018, white nationalists feuded internally over whether they should openly espouse violence or hide their genocidal ambitions behind more banal aesthetics like Americana or meme-laden ironic detachment. Harried by lawsuits, fracturing alliances and public embarrassment, movement figureheads largely settled in favor of putting forward as inoffensive a public presentation as possible.

KEY MOMENTS Richard Spencer’s college tour came to an end, and Jason Kessler’s attempt at a second “Unite the Right” rally was a dismal failure. However, other groups such as Identity Evropa, Patriot Front and the League of the South continued to hold rallies and banner drops. But more than ever, 2018 was the year white nationalists drew blood. From the Parkland, Florida, shooting of 17 students in February, to the massacre of 11 at a Pittsburgh synagogue in October, white nationalists or those inspired by white nationalism have committed violence at an alarming rate, killing at least 40 people in North America this year alone.

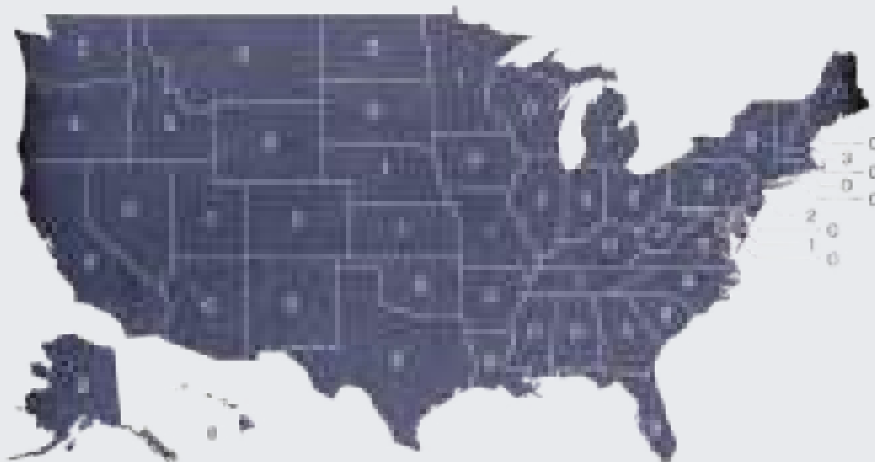
WHAT’S AHEAD Despite pressure on law enforcement and Silicon Valley to seriously counter the rise in violent extremism perpetrated by white nationalists, the far right shows no signs of letting up. White nationalist leaders will continue to explain away the violence in their movement as a regrettable but understandable reaction to demographic change.

63 RACIST SKINHEAD

Stormfront
West Palm
Beach, FL
The Right Stuff
Hopewell
Junction, NY*
Alabama
Arizona
Los Angeles, CA
San Francisco, CA
Colorado
Washington, DC
Florida
Hawaii
Chicago, IL
Indiana
Louisiana
Baltimore, MD
Boston, MA
Michigan
Minnesota
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Las Vegas, NV
New York, NY
North Carolina
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
South Carolina
Memphis, TN
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
San Antonio, TX
Utah
Virginia
Wisconsin
True Cascadia
Portland, OR
Tyr 1 Security
Alexandria, VA
Unity and
Security for
America
Charlottesville, VA
Vandal
Brothers, LLC
Bath, OH
VDARE
Foundation
Warrenton, VA
Washington
Summit
Publishers
Alexandria, VA
WeSearchr
California
Western Outlands
Supply Company
Mesa, AZ
White Boy Society
Illinois*
Wisconsin
White Rabbit
Radio
Dearborn
Heights, MI

Racist skinheads form a particularly violent element of the white supremacist movement, and have often been referred to as the “shock troops” of the hoped-for revolution. The classic skinhead look is a shaved head, black Doc Martens boots, jeans with suspenders and an array of typically racist tattoos.

AC Skins
Atlantic City, NJ
AC/OC
California
Nebraska
American Front
Oregon
Washington
American Patriot
Brigade
Oregon
Washington
American Vikings
Clothing
Danville, IL
Aryan Skins Kindred
Washington
Be Active Front USA
Chicago, IL
Maryland
Philadelphia, PA
Blood and Honour
America Division
California
Blood and Honour
Social Club
North Carolina*
Georgia
Indiana
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Virginia
Blood and
Honour USA
North Carolina
Virginia
California Skinheads
California
Confederate
Hammerskins
Florida



Georgia
North Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
Crew 38
California
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
New Hampshire
North Carolina
Oregon
Washington
Eastern
Hammerskins
New Hampshire
Firm 22
Florida
Indiana
Missouri
New Hampshire
New Jersey

New York
Ohio
Washington
Golden State
Skinheads
Northern California*
Southern California
Keystone State
Skinheads
Pennsylvania
Midland
Hammerskins
Kansas
Texas
Northern
Hammerskins
Detroit, MI
Northwest
Hammerskins
Idaho
Oregon
Washington

Sacto Skins
Sacramento, CA
United Southern
Skins
Florida
Vinlanders
Social Club
Indiana*
Florida
Minnesota
Texas
Washington
Warrior's Pride
Clothing
Bakersfield, CA
Western
Hammerskins
California

TOP TAKEAWAYS The next generation is not stepping forward within the racist skinhead scene. Ever since 2012, when the skinhead count reached its highest ever mark of 138 groups, this subculture continues to die out. Most existing groups were formed prior to 2012 or have ties to older groups. Even so, the groups that are still active carry a serious threat of violence. In 2018, violent racist skinheads were suspected to be associated with two separate attacks on African-American men in bars.

KEY MOMENTS In California, the Hammerskin Nation and Crew 38 held two hate music shows, one in April and another, Hammerfest, in October.

On July 7, in Pennsylvania, two members of the Keystone United racist skinhead crew allegedly assaulted an African-American man in an Avalon bar. In the early hours of Dec. 8, eight people of various racist skinhead crew affiliations were arrested after police said they attacked a DJ, who is black, and harassed him with racial slurs in an Oregon bar.

The New Jersey-based Aryan Strikeforce has been crippled this year by federal drug charges against six of their members, with four members taking plea deals in 2018.

WHAT'S AHEAD Racist skinheads lack relevancy compared to the racist “alt-right” and new, younger neo-Nazi and white nationalist groups who are organizing themselves across diffuse social networking sites and platforms. But the racist skinhead movement is rooted in violence, and that violence will remain dangerous to the public and its perceived enemies. Even more frequently, skinheads will likely turn that violence inward on the movement’s own participants.

36 NEO-CONFEDERATE

“Neo-Confederacy” refers to a reactionary, revisionist branch of American white nationalism typified by its predilection for symbols of the Confederate States of America (CSA), typically paired with a strong belief in the validity of the failed doctrines of nullification and secession — in the specific context of the antebellum South — which rose to prominence in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Dixie Republic

Travelers Rest, SC

Identity Dixie

Florida

Georgia

Louisiana

North Carolina

Tennessee

Texas

Hanover County, VA

League of the South

Killen, AL*

Dothan, AL

Northport, AL

Weogufka, AL

Wetumpka, AL

Harrison, AR

Hialeah, FL

Jacksonville, FL

Lake City, FL

Ocala, FL

Panama City, FL

Pinellas County, FL

Cartersville, GA

Powder Springs, GA

Taylorsville, KY

Gonzales, LA

Holly Springs, MS

Jackson, MS

Columbia, SC

Gallatin, TN

Johnson City, TN

Knoxville, TN

Memphis, TN

Pointblank, TX

San Antonio, TX

Danville, VA

Southern Revivalist

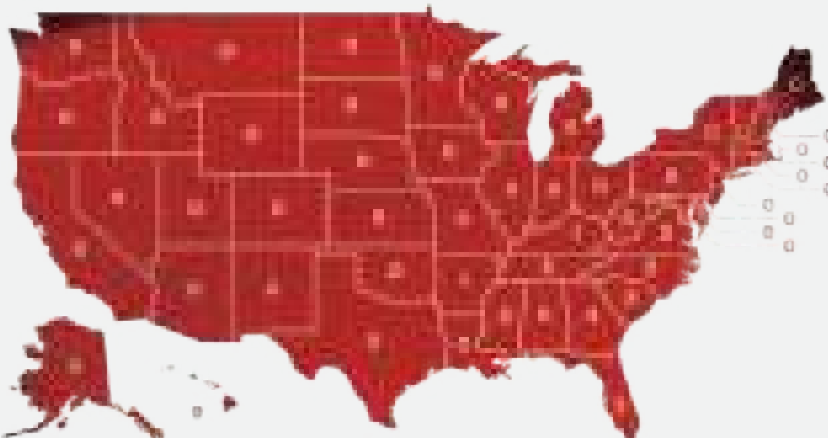
North Carolina

Wildman's Civil

War Surplus and

Herb Shop

Kennesaw, GA



TOP TAKEAWAYS The League of the South (LOS), the most prominent neo-Confederate hate group in the country, continued to suffer the consequences of their involvement in violent public activism in 2017. One member faced jail time for an assault at the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, and the LOS at large aligned itself more closely with neo-Nazis and Klansmen, alienating the pseudointellectuals who had previously associated with the group.

Identity Dixie, a neo-Confederate outgrowth of the white nationalist podcast network The Right Stuff, grew in influence, due in large part to the League’s declining popularity, especially among younger generations.

KEY MOMENTS Three men charged in the parking garage beating of DeAndre Harris in 2017 faced jail time following their trials this year, and a fourth man, LOS member Tyler Watkins Davis, pleaded not guilty. He will go to trial in February 2019.

After the fallout from the violent rally, the LOS and several of its leaders signed a consent decree agreeing not to rally in Charlottesville as a group again.

Responding to internal pressure, LOS leader Michael Hill withdrew the organization from the Nationalist Front coalition, an alliance of various white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups, in April. In December, the League announced it would no longer be allowed to host its conferences at the “Southern Cultural Center” in Wetumpka, Alabama, after a local chapter that owned the building broke from LOS.

WHAT’S AHEAD LOS will continue to struggle with legal fallout from Charlottesville. They may have unannounced “flash” demonstrations, and the external pressure on the group may lead some of its members to violence. Identity Dixie will maintain their strategy of recruiting new members through social media, and are unlikely to be involved in public activism.

FAQ

HOW DOES THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER CATEGORIZE HATE GROUPS?

The SPLC lists hate groups under the following categories: Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, White Nationalist, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate, Black Nationalist, Anti-LGBT, Anti-Immigrant and Anti-Muslim. A General Hate category consists of Hate Music, Holocaust Denial and Radical

Traditional Catholicism, among others. An Other category includes groups espousing a variety of hateful ideologies. Some groups do not fall neatly into one sector, and many embrace racism and antisemitism as core components.

WHAT IS A HATE GROUP?

The SPLC defines a hate group as an organization that — based on its official

statements or principles, the statements of its leaders, or its activities — has beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics.

WHAT IS THE SPLC’S HATE MAP?

Each year since 1990, the SPLC has published an annual census of hate groups operating within the

United States. The number is a barometer, albeit only one, of the level of hate activity in the country. The hate map, which depicts the groups’ approximate locations, is the result of a year of monitoring by analysts and researchers and is typically published every January or February. It represents activity by hate groups during the previous year.

17 CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Christian Identity is a unique antisemitic and racist theology that rose to a position of commanding influence on the racist right in the 1980s. “Christian” in name only, it asserts that whites, not Jews, are the true Israelites favored by God in the Bible. The movement’s relationship with evangelicals and fundamentalists has generally been hostile due to the latter’s belief that the return of Jews to Israel is essential to the fulfillment of end-time prophecy.

America’s Promise

Ministries

Sandpoint, ID

Christian America

Ministries

Greensburg, LA

Christian Revival

Center

Harrison, AR

Christogenea

Panama City, FL

Church of Israel

Schell City, MO

Covenant People’s

Ministry

Brooks, GA

Divine International

Church of the Web

Morton, IL

Euro Folk Radio

Chicago, IL

Fellowship of God’s

Covenant People

Union, KY

Kingdom Identity

Ministries

Harrison, AR

Mission to Israel

Scottsbluff, NE

Our Place Fellowship

Colville, WA

Restored Assembly

of Elohim

Bainbridge, OH

Sacred Truth

Publishing &

Ministries

Mountain City, TN

Scriptures for

America Worldwide

Ministries

Laporte, CO

Yahushua Dual

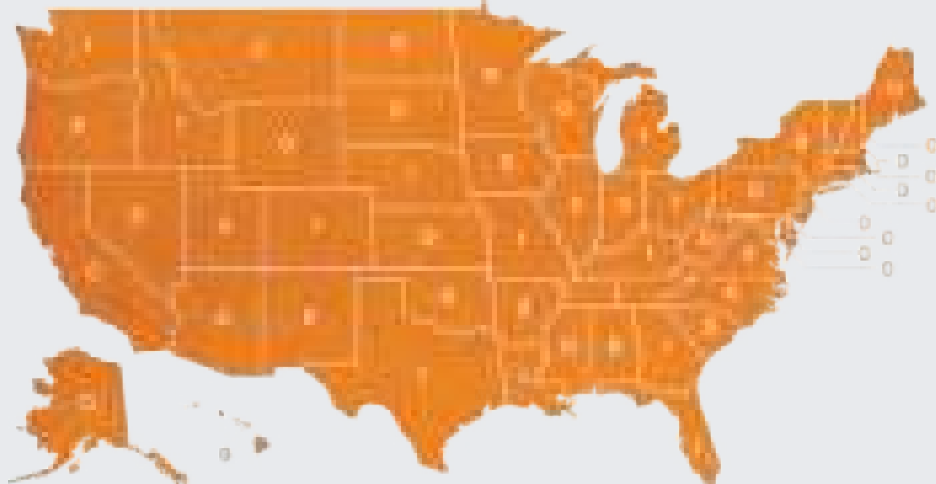
Seed Christian

Identity Ministry

Livingston, TX

Yahweh’s Truth

Linwood, MI



TOP TAKEAWAYS The number of Christian Identity groups remains relatively static. Many of its iconic leaders are dead and the prominence it had in the early years of the white supremacist movement — mainly the ’80s and ’90s — is long gone.

KEY MOMENTS Conferences and meetings were few, although the Church of Israel of Schell, Missouri, boasted on their website that their April 19 “Feast of the Passover” drew a record-breaking number of attendees.

WHAT’S AHEAD Certain adherents are attempting to revive the doctrine, notably William Finck of the League of the South. Finck has a sophisticated propaganda machine, utilizing his website, blogs, podcasts and social media to promote the ideology.

264 BLACK NATIONALIST

The black nationalist movement is a reaction to centuries of institutionalized white supremacy in America. Black nationalists believe the answer to white racism is to form separate institutions — or even a separate nation — for black people. Most forms of black nationalism are strongly anti-white, antisemitic and anti-LGBT. Some religious versions assert that black people are the biblical “chosen people” of God.

All Eyes On Egypt

Bookstore

Macon, GA

Ambassadors of Christ

Brooklyn, NY

Ancient Egyptian

Distribution Company

Jersey City, NJ

Army of Israel

Cleveland, OH*

Orlando, FL

Missouri

Black Riders

Liberation Party

Oakland, CA*

Los Angeles, CA

Las Vegas, NV

New York, NY

Portland, OR

Houston, TX

Great Millstone

New York, NY*

Birmingham, AL

Los Angeles, CA

Miami, FL

Tampa, FL

Atlanta, GA

Honolulu, HI

Chicago, IL

Indianapolis, IN

Des Moines, IA

Louisiana

Baltimore, MD

Detroit, MI

Mississippi

St. Louis, MO

Nebraska

Charlotte, NC

Cleveland, OH

Memphis, TN

Dallas, TX

Houston, TX

San Antonio, TX

Wisconsin

House of David

Brooklyn, NY

House of Israel

New York, NY*

Washington, DC

Atlanta, GA

International Society

of Indigenous

Sovereigns

New York, NY

Israel United In Christ

Mount Vernon, NY*

Center Point, AL

Mobile, AL

Phoenix, AZ

Arkansas

Los Angeles, CA

Northern California

Denver, CO

Washington, DC

Jacksonville, FL

Miami, FL

Orlando, FL

Tallahassee, FL

Atlanta, GA

Savannah, GA

Honolulu, HI

Chicago, IL

Kansas City, KS

Louisville, KY

Lafayette, LA

New Orleans, LA

Boston, MA

Detroit, MI

Jackson, MS

St. Louis, MO

Las Vegas, NV

Newark, NJ

Rochester, NY

Concord, NC

Heath, OH

Oklahoma City, OK

Tulsa, OK

Philadelphia, PA

Pittsburgh, PA

Columbia, SC

Memphis, TN

Nashville, TN

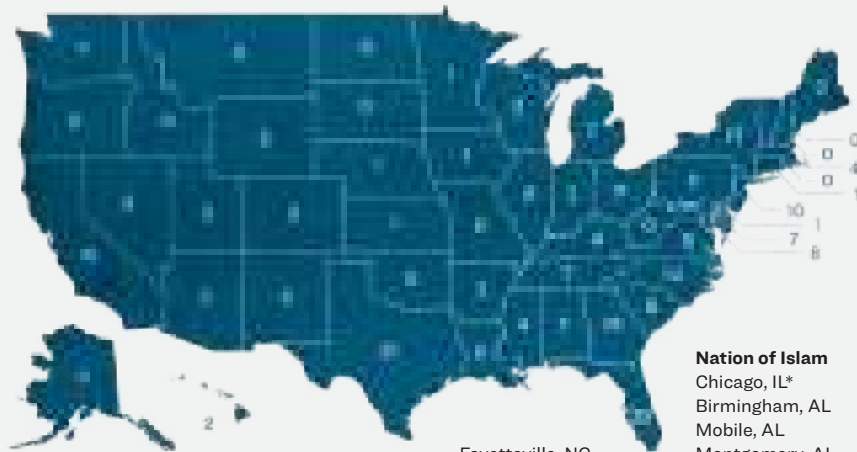
Austin, TX

Corpus Christi, TX

Dallas, TX

Houston, TX

CONTINUED »



Hampton, VA
Seattle, WA
**The Israelite Church
of God in Jesus Christ**

New York, NY*
West Palm Beach, FL
Baltimore, MD
Greensboro, NC
Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA

**Israelite School of
Universal Practical
Knowledge**

Upper Darby, PA*
Los Angeles, CA
Oakland, CA
Washington, DC
Jacksonville, FL
Tampa, FL
Atlanta, GA
Chicago, IL
Indianapolis, IN
Louisville, KY
Louisiana
Baltimore, MD
Lynn, MA
Detroit, MI
Minneapolis, MN
Mississippi
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
New York, NY
Syracuse, NY
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC

Fayetteville, NC
Greensboro, NC
Greenville, NC
Wilmington, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Cincinnati, OH
Oklahoma City, OK
Portland, OR
Charleston, SC
Greenville, SC
Nashville, TN
Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
Richmond, VA

**Israelite the Branches
of Christ**

Baltimore, MD
Richmond, VA*
Huntsville, AL
San Mateo County, CA
Washington, DC
Savannah, GA
New Jersey
North Carolina
Louisiana

**Lion of Judah -
Jeshurun Lions**

Chicago, IL
Lions of Israel

Mount Vernon, NY
Luxor Couture

Atlanta, GA
**Masharah Yasharahla
- Government of Israel**

Raleigh, NC
Mountains of Israel
Houston, TX

Nation of Islam

Chicago, IL*
Birmingham, AL
Mobile, AL
Montgomery, AL
Phoenix, AZ
Tucson, AZ
North Little Rock, AR
Compton, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Oakland, CA
Rialto, CA
San Diego, CA
Denver, CO
Wilmington, DE
Washington, DC
Fort Lauderdale, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Miami, FL
Orlando, FL
Pensacola, FL
Saint Petersburg, FL
Tampa, FL
Atlanta, GA
Augusta, GA
Brunswick, GA
Rockford, IL
Indianapolis, IN
Lexington, KY
Louisville, KY
Baton Rouge, LA
Monroe, LA
New Orleans, LA
Shreveport, LA
Dorchester, MA
Springfield, MA
Detroit, MI
Grand Rapids, MI
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Camden, NJ

Newark, NJ
Plainfield, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Willingboro, NJ
Brooklyn, NY
Buffalo, NY
New York, NY
Rochester, NY
Charlotte, NC
Durham, NC
Greensboro, NC
Wilmington, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Akron, OH
Cleveland, OH
Dayton, OH (2)
Toledo, OH
Oklahoma City, OK
Tulsa, OK

Philadelphia, PA
Pittsburgh, PA
Wilkesburg, PA
Columbia, SC
Greenville, SC
North Charleston, SC
Chattanooga, TN
Memphis, TN
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Fort Worth, TX
Houston, TX
San Antonio, TX
Norfolk, VA
Richmond, VA
Milwaukee, WI

**Nation of Kings
and Priests**
Orlando, FL
**New Black
Liberation Militia**

Ohio
**New Black
Panther Party**
Houston, TX*
Atlanta, GA
Baton Rouge, LA
New Orleans, LA
Shreveport, LA

**New Black Panther
Party for Self Defense**
Atlanta, GA*
Washington, DC
Jacksonville, FL
Tallahassee, FL
Tampa Bay, FL

Tupelo, MS
St. Louis, MO
Memphis, TN
Houston, TX
Seattle, WA
**Northern Kingdom
Prophets**
Pueblo, CO

OneBody in Yahawashi
Dallas, TX

**Revolutionary Black
Panther Party**
Hope, AR*
Baltimore, MD
Flint, MI
Raleigh, NC
Philadelphia, PA
Sicarii 1715

Dallas, TX*
San Bernardino, CA
San Diego, CA
Orlando, FL
Atlanta, GA
Seattle, WA

**True Nation Israelite
Congregation**

Los Angeles, CA
Trumpet in Philly
Philadelphia, PA
**United Kingdom of
Israel Congregation**
Hampton, VA*
Chicago, IL
Baltimore, MD

**The United
Nuwaupians
Worldwide/All
Eyes on Egypt**

Brooklyn, NY*
Hartford, CT
Washington, DC
Athens, GA
Lithonia, GA
Chicago, IL
Detroit, MI
Jersey City, NJ
Newark, NJ
Charlotte, NC
Cleveland, OH
Philadelphia, PA

War On The Horizon
Washington, DC
Watchmen of Israel
Baltimore, MD

TOP TAKEAWAYS Existing black nationalist groups have grown in size and new groups have formed. This growth is a response to the current climate of racial divisiveness, specifically police violence and Donald Trump's derisive remarks about African Americans, including journalists and NFL players, and majority-black countries. Group leaders have played on people's fear and distress to recruit new members in 2018. Leaders have also become emboldened in their rhetoric. Hashim Nzinga of the New Black Panther Party for Self Defense called Hitler a great man, and Louis Farrakhan told congregants at a February conference: "I don't care what they put on me. The government is my enemy, the powerful Jews are my enemy, and scared to death negroes are my enemy, and weak Muslims and hypocrites are my enemy, but here I stand! Unfazed by a government that wants my life."

KEY MOMENTS Israel United in Christ, a Black Hebrew Israelite group, led an 800-person march in Tennessee on Aug. 4, 2018. Louis Farrakhan leveraged his attendance at Aretha Franklin's funeral to legitimize himself and recruit new members by putting her on the cover of the group's publication, *The Final Call*, and distributing 50,000 copies in Detroit, Michigan. The New Black Panther Party for Self-Defense hosted black men's conferences and rallied in front of the White House to denounce Trump and praise Farrakhan.

WHAT'S AHEAD Black Nationalist groups will likely continue to expand, coordinate, recruit and unify against what they perceive as their common enemies: Jews, white people and the police.

17 ANTI-IMMIGRANT

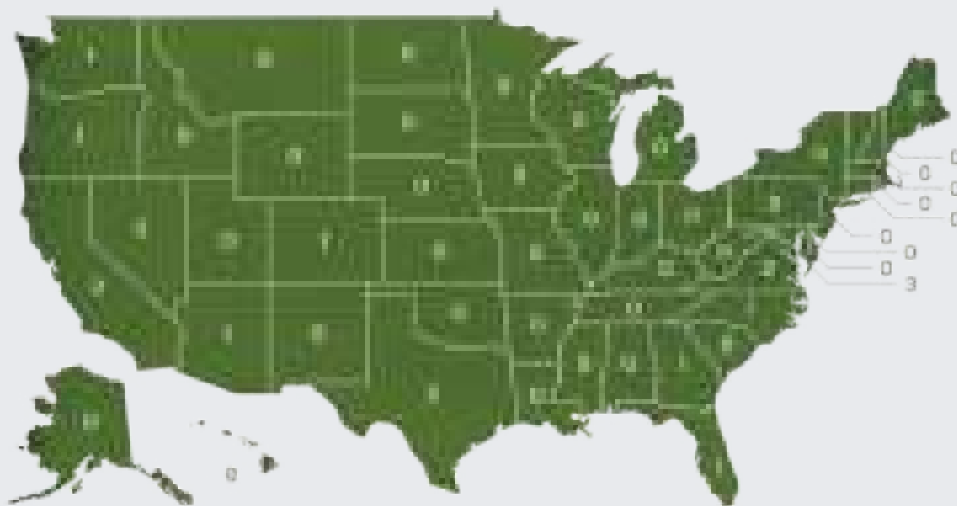
Anti-immigrant hate groups are the most extreme of the hundreds of nativist and vigilante groups that have proliferated since the late 1990s, when anti-immigration xenophobia began to rise to levels not seen in the U.S. since the 1920s.

American Border Patrol
Sierra Vista, AZ
American Immigration Control Foundation/ Americans for Immigration Control
Monterey, VA
Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC)
Raleigh, NC
Californians for Population Stabilization
Santa Barbara, CA
Center for Immigration Studies
Washington, DC

Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform
Lakewood, CO
The Dustin Inman Society
Marietta, GA
Federation for American Immigration Reform
Washington, DC
Immigration Reform Law Institute
Washington, DC
Legal Immigrants for America
Winter Springs, FL

Mountain Minutemen
Tecate, CA
Oregonians for Immigration Reform
Salem, OR
ProEnglish
Arlington, VA
The Remembrance Project
Pleasanton, TX
Respect Washington
Seattle, WA
San Diegans for Secure Borders
San Diego, CA

Texans for Immigration Reduction and Enforcement
Houston, TX



TOP TAKEAWAYS The anti-immigrant movement's "big three," Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and NumbersUSA continued to gain clout in 2018 as they pervaded mainstream media and infiltrated the White House.

Several former employees of these groups (CIS and FAIR are designated hate groups) have ascended to high levels of government. Positions include Citizenship and Immigration Services ombudsman, and jobs at the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), State Department and the White House Domestic Policy Council. Increasingly seen as legitimate think tanks, the groups were regularly cited by mainstream press including *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

KEY MOMENTS Anti-immigrant hate groups coalesced around several issues in 2018: repealing birthright citizenship (the first clause in the 14th Amendment of the Constitution), limiting welfare use by immigrants, ending the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program (DACA), curbing refugee admissions, eliminating temporary protected status (TPS), supporting Trump's family separation policy, getting rid of the diversity visa lottery program, increasing deportations and repealing sanctuary laws across the country.

But it was the migrant caravan that drew unprecedented attention in the latter months of 2018. President Trump deployed around 5,000 troops to the border with Mexico to prevent asylum seekers, mostly from Central and South America, from entering the U. S. In repeated tweets attacking migrants, Trump described the migrants as "Stone cold criminals" and authorized the use of tear gas and "other lethal force" against them.

WHAT'S AHEAD With hopes to "secure the border," increase deportations and enact attrition through enforcement, 2019 will surely be another banner year for anti-immigrant groups in Donald Trump's America.

HATE BY STATE

The arrows below indicate whether the number of hate groups in each state rose or fell in the last year.

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

49 ANTI-LGBT

A central theme of anti-LGBT organizing and ideology is the opposition to LGBT rights, often couched in rhetoric and harmful pseudoscience that demonizes LGBT people as threats to children, society and often public health.

Abiding Truth Ministries

Springfield, MA

Alliance

Defending Freedom

Scottsdale, AZ

American College of Pediatricians

Gainesville, FL

American Family Association

Tupelo, MS*

Franklin, PA

American Vision

Powder Springs, GA

Americans for Truth About Homosexuality

Naperville, IL

ATLAH

World Missionary Church (All The Land Anointed Holy)

New York, NY

Bible Believers Fellowship

Worthington, OH

The Campus Ministry USA

Terre Haute, IN

Center for Family and Human Rights (C-FAM)

New York, NY*

Washington, DC

Chalcedon Foundation

Vallejo, CA

Church Militant/St. Michael's Media

Ferndale, MI

Concerned Christian Citizens

Tempe, TX

Conservative Republicans of Texas

Houston, TX

D. James Kennedy Ministries

Fort Lauderdale, FL

Faith2Action

North Royalton, OH

Faithful Word Baptist Church

Tempe, AZ

Family Research Council

Washington, DC

Family Research Institute

Colorado Springs, CO

Family Watch International

Gilbert, AZ

Generations

Elizabeth, CO

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

Downers Grove, IL

Illinois Family Institute

Carol Stream, IL

Liberty Counsel

Orlando, FL

Mass Resistance

Waltham, MA*

Torrance, CA

Denver, CO

Ft. Worth, TX

Mission: America

Columbus, OH

Pacific Justice Institute

Sacramento, CA

Pass the Salt Ministries

Hebron, OH

Pilgrims Covenant Church

Monroe, WI

The Pray in Jesus Name Project

Colorado Springs, CO

Probe Ministries

Plano, TX

Public Advocate of the United States

Merrifield, VA

Ruth Institute

Lake Charles, LA

Save California

Sacramento, CA

Stedfast Baptist Church

Fort Worth, TX*

Jacksonville, FL

Sure Foundation Baptist Church

Vancouver, WA

Tom Brown Ministries

El Paso, TX

True Light

Pentecost Church

Spartanburg, SC

United Families International

Gilbert, AZ

Verity Baptist Church

Sacramento, CA

Warriors for Christ

Martinsburg, WV

Westboro Baptist Church

Topeka, KS

World Congress of Families/International Organization for the Family

Rockford, IL

TOP TAKEAWAYS The Trump administration provided safe haven for anti-LGBT groups and individuals throughout the year, with a particular onslaught on transgender people in 2018. Anti-LGBT evangelical groups continue to enjoy unprecedented access to the White House and are intimately involved in forging public policy.

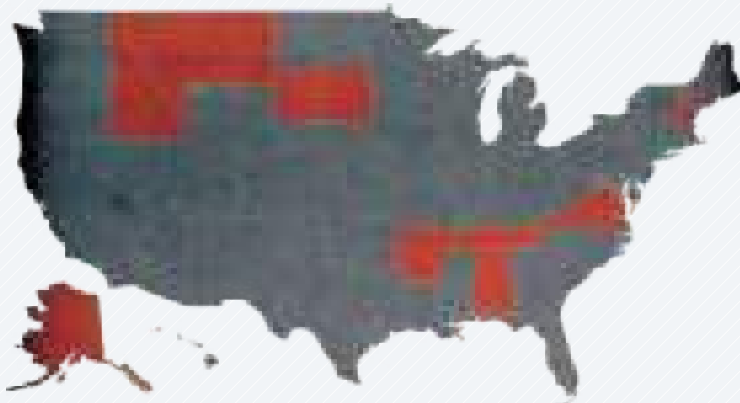
KEY MOMENTS With help from a panel of pseudoscientific anti-LGBT “experts,” the White House issued a memo in March seeking to ban transgender troops from the military. Included on that panel was Tony Perkins of the anti-LGBT hate group Family Research Council, who has a long history of disparaging LGBT people. “If you’re a male — genetically you are a male, biologically you’re a male — and you say ‘Well, I’m not a male. I’m a female.’ I mean, what’s to keep you from saying you’re an animal?” Perkins said on his “Washington Watch” radio show last May. Obama-era policies recognizing gender identity in schools and prisons were rolled back. The State Department banned diplomatic visas for unmarried same-sex partners of diplomats or employees of international agencies who work in the U.S. The Department of Justice issued an amicus brief in support of a Colorado baker at the heart of the *Masterpiece Cakeshop* lawsuit against the Colorado Civil Rights Commission after the baker refused to make a wedding cake for a same-sex couple.

WHAT'S AHEAD The midterm elections of 2018 slowed the momentum of anti-LGBT groups as several LGBT and other progressive candidates were elected to office, but the impetus may not be large enough to counter the wave of anti-LGBT lawsuits and federal appointments that should continue well into 2019. Look for more federal policies to continue to marginalize LGBT people, with a particular emphasis on transgender people.

TOP TEN

2018 HATE GROUPS PER CAPITA

1. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
2. SOUTH DAKOTA
3. NEW HAMPSHIRE
4. MONTANA
5. IDAHO
6. ALASKA
7. TENNESSEE
8. ALABAMA
9. ARKANSAS
10. VIRGINIA



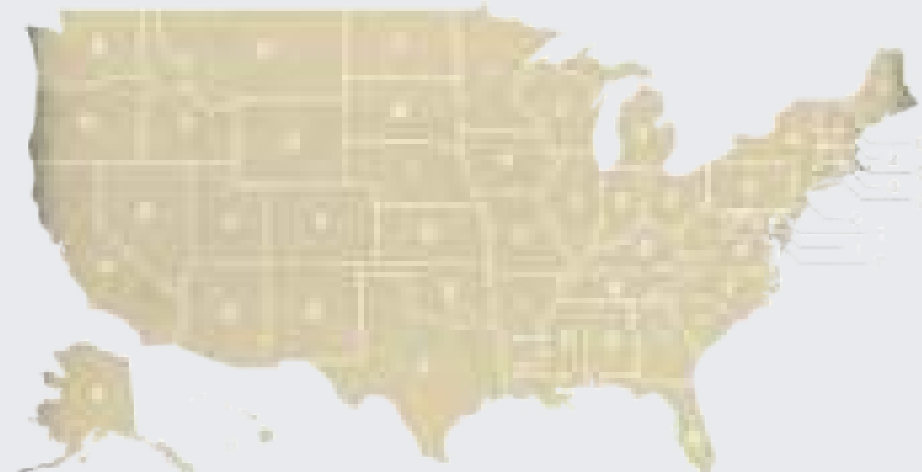
The states and the District of Columbia in red have the highest number of hate groups relative to their populations. Though the number of hate groups fluctuates each year, states with the most people, like Texas, California and Florida, regularly have the most groups.

100 ANTI-MUSLIM

Anti-Muslim hate groups are a relatively new phenomenon in the U.S., with many appearing after the World Trade Center terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. Beginning in 2010, anti-Muslim legislation increased and opposition to the development of an Islamic Center in lower Manhattan made headlines.

ACT for America

Washington, DC*
Tucson, AZ
Jonesboro, AR
Corona, CA
Laguna Woods, CA
Los Angeles County, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Mission Viejo, CA
Riverside County, CA
Santa Clarita, CA
Upland, CA
Denver, CO
Cheshire, CT
Connecticut
Bear, DE
Heathrow, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Meridian, ID
Des Plaines, IL
Lafayette, IN
Terre Haute, IN
Baton Rouge, LA
Metairie, LA
Norway, ME
Boston, MA
Cape Cod, MA
Minneapolis, MN
Kansas City, MO
Whitehall, MT
Hopkinton, NH
Nashua, NH
Hauppauge, NY
Fayetteville, NC
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Pittsburgh, PA
Rapid City, SD
Coffee County, TN



Knoxville, TN
Austin, TX
Houston, TX
Leesburg, VA
Virginia Beach, VA
Spokane Valley, WA
South Charleston, WV
Oostburg, WI
American Freedom Alliance
Los Angeles, CA
American Freedom Defense Initiative
New York, NY
American Freedom Law Center
Ann Arbor, MI
American Public Policy Alliance

Washington, DC
Bomb Islam
Phoenix, AZ
Bureau on American Islamic Relations
Irving, TX
Center for Security Policy
Washington, DC
Christian Action Network
Forest, VA
Citizens' Action Group of South Florida
Hollywood, FL
Citizens for National Security
Boca Raton, FL
Citizens for the

St. Croix Valley
Hudson, WI
Clarion Project
Washington, DC
Counter Jihad Coalition
Santa Monica, CA
Cultures In Context Incorporated/Turning Point Project
Immokalee, FL
David Horowitz Freedom Center
Los Angeles, CA
Faith Leaders for America
Washington, DC
Family Security Matters

Washington, DC
Florida Family Association
Tampa, FL
Fortress of Faith
Bellingham, WA
Foundation for Advocating Christian Truth
Bronx, NY
G416 Patriots
Meridian, ID
Boerne, TX
Glasov Gang Productions
Los Angeles, CA
Global Faith Institute
Omaha, NE

CONTINUED >>

Jihad Watch
Sherman Oaks, CA
Keep South Dakota Safe PAC
Aberdeen, SD
Last Chance Patriots
Dayton, MT
North Carolina Pastors Network
Morganton, NC
Political Islam
Nashville, TN
Proclaiming Justice

to the Nations
Franklin, TN
Radio Jihad/Global Patriot Radio
New York
Refugee Resettlement Watch
Fairplay, MD
Sharia Crime Stoppers
Mount Clemens, MI
The Shoebat Foundation
Newtown, PA

Soldiers of Odin
Missouri*
Ventura County, CA
Denver, CO
Florida
Illinois
Indiana
North Carolina
North Dakota
South Carolina
Texas
Southeast Michigan Tea Party

Utica, MI
The Straight Way and More
Venice, FL
Sunshine on Government (SONG) Alliance
Newton, GA
Truth in Love Project
Chattaroy, WA
Truth in Textbooks
Boerne, TX
Unconstrained

Analytics
Washington, DC
Understanding the Threat
Dallas, TX
The United West
Lake Worth, FL
Virginia Christian Alliance
Henrico, VA

TOP TAKEAWAYS Anti-Muslim groups remain a force in the U.S. with Donald Trump and important administration members as allies in the White House. The total number of anti-Muslim hate group chapters dropped from 114 in 2017 to 100 in 2018. ACT for America, the largest anti-Muslim organization in the country, held a national “March Against Sharia” in 2017, which led to an increase in ACT chapters that year. ACT didn’t hold that event this year — and without the large-scale rally, which galvanized the group’s chapter network and served as a recruiting tool, some groups remained dormant or dropped off in 2018. But this slight decline masks the movement’s growing power.

KEY MOMENTS Trump continues to appoint staff with connections to anti-Muslim groups. Mike Pompeo was confirmed as secretary of state in April 2018 despite his connections to anti-Muslim figures like Frank Gaffney and Brigitte Gabriel. That same month Trump tapped John Bolton to be his national security adviser. A month later, Bolton hired Fred Fleitz of the anti-Muslim hate group Center for Security Policy (CSP) as his chief of staff. Fleitz left that role in October to return to CSP as the group’s president, replacing founder Frank Gaffney, who moved to an executive chairman position.

The anti-Muslim movement also continues to see policy success. In June 2018, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Trump administration’s Muslim travel ban, delighting anti-Muslim hate groups. Trump originally relied on shoddy polling commissioned by CSP to justify the ban. The anti-Muslim hate group American Freedom Law Center authored an amicus brief in support of the ban, claiming the country is at war with “the kinetic militancy of jihadists, and the cultural challenge of anti-Western, anti-constitutional Islamic law and mores.”

Anti-Muslim groups were also active at the state and local level, with representatives from anti-Muslim hate groups continuing to push harmful anti-Sharia law bills.

WHAT’S AHEAD In 2018, anti-Muslim sentiment took root in the political policies of the U.S., a trend that should only intensify in 2019. With Mike Pompeo at the helm of the U.S. State Department, anti-Muslim groups are hopeful there is a chance the Muslim Brotherhood will be designated as a foreign terrorist organization. Civil rights lawyer and activist Arjun Sethi notes, that such a development would likely result in “intimidation, harassment and smears of Muslim and Arab groups here in the United States.”

163 GENERAL HATE

These groups espouse a variety of rather unique hateful doctrines and beliefs that are not easily categorized. Many of the groups are vendors that sell a miscellany of hate materials from several different sectors of the white supremacist movement.

HATE MUSIC (15)

American Defense Records
Pittsburgh, PA
BeaSSt Productions
Greensboro, NC
Elegy Records
Clifton, NJ
Hostile Class Productions
Burbank, IL
Hypnosis Records
Ohio
ISD Records
Denison, TX
Label 56
Baltimore, MD
MSR Productions
Wheat Ridge, CO
NSM88 Records
Detroit, MI
Stahlhelm Records
Milwaukee, WI

Tightrope
Calico Rock, AR
United Riot Records
New York, NY
Vinlandic Werwolf Distribution
California
Wolf Tyr Productions
Holbrook, NY
Wolf’s Head Records
California

HOLOCAUST DENIAL (8)

Barnes Review/ Foundation for Economic Liberty, Inc.
Upper Marlboro, MD
carolynyeager.net
Kerrville, TX
Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust
Mill Valley, CA*

York, PA
Deir Yassin Remembered
Geneva, NY
Independent History & Research
Coeur d’Alene, ID
Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, CA
The Realist Report
Poway, CA

MALE SUPREMACY (2)

A Voice For Men
Houston, TX
Return of Kings
Washington, DC
NEO-VÖLKISCH (30)
Asatru Folk Assembly
Brownsville, CA*
Alaska

California
Colorado
Georgia
Massachusetts
Bloomington, MN
Missouri
North Carolina
North Dakota
Ohio
Oregon
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Texas
Virginia
West Virginia
Folkard of Holda & Odin
Apache Junction, AZ
Gallows Tree Wotansvolk Alliance
Grand Rapids, MI*
Florida
Iowa

Texas
Pacific Northwest Wolfpack Kindred
Washington
Wolf Age
Grass Valley, CA
Wolves of Vinland
Lynchburg, VA*
Oregon
South Carolina
Tennessee
Washington
Wotan’s Nation
Decatur, TN

RADICAL TRADITIONAL CATHOLICISM (11)

Catholic Family News/ Catholic Family Ministries, Inc.
Niagara Falls, NY
Christ or Chaos
West Chester, OH

**Culture Wars/
Fidelity Press**

South Bend, IN

The Fatima Crusader

Constable, NY

IHM Media

Richmond, NH

IHS Press

Norfolk, VA

In the Spirit of

Chartres Committee

Carrollton, VA

The Remnant

Forest Lake, MN

Robert Sungenis

State Line, PA

Slaves of the

Immaculate

Heart of Mary

Richmond, NH

Tradition in Action

Los Angeles, CA

Tennessee

Utah

Bill Keller Ministries

St. Petersburg, FL

The Brother

Nathanael Foundation

Priest River, ID

Chick Publications

Ontario, CA

Concerned Citizens

and Friends of Illegal

Immigration Law

Enforcement

Framingham, MA

Cultural Studies Press

New York, NY

Dixie Giftshop

Tennessee

European-American

Evangelistic

Crusades

Sheridan, CA

Fundamentalist

Latter Day Saints

Hildale, UT*

Colorado City, AZ

Custer, SD

Hatreon

Austin, TX

Hell Shaking Street

Preachers

Tillamook, OR

Insight USA

Longwood, FL

Jamaat al-Muslimeen

Baltimore, MD

Jewish Defense

League

Brooklyn, NY

Jewish Task Force

Fresh Meadows, NY

Kingston Group

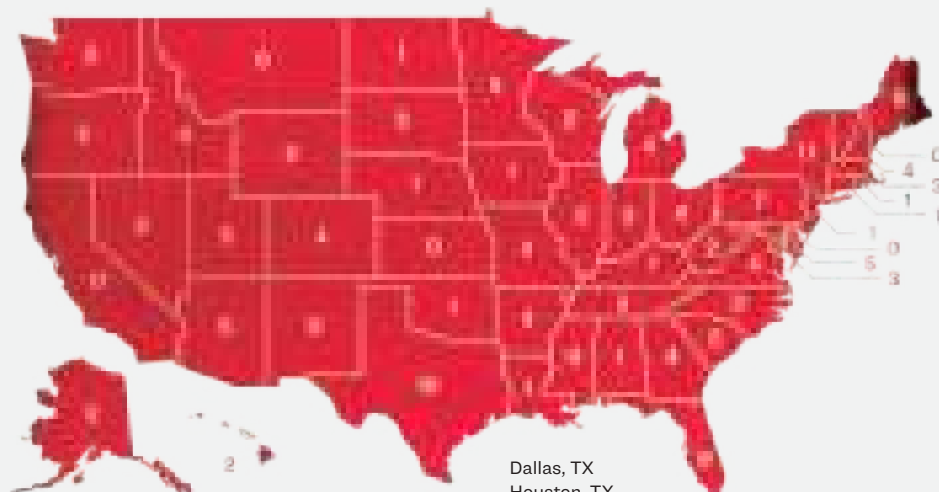
Salt Lake City, UT

Last Frontier

Evangelism-

Repent Alaska

Anchorage, AK



Lordship Church

Coeur d'Alene, ID

Masjid al Islam

- As Sabiqun

Washington, DC

Nationalist

Liberty Union

Augusta, GA

Official Street

Preachers

Los Angeles, CA

Ozark Craft LC

Harrison, AR

Patriot Movement AZ

Litchfield Park, AZ

Power of Prophecy

Austin, TX

Proud Boys

New York, NY*

Birmingham, AL

Alaska

Arizona

Little Rock, AR

Fresno, CA

Los Angeles, CA

Sacramento, CA

Colorado

DeLand, FL

Jacksonville, FL

Miami, FL

Tampa, FL

Atlanta, GA

Gainesville, GA

Honolulu County, HI

Maui County, HI

Fort Wayne, IN

Louisville, KY

New Orleans, LA

Baltimore, MD

Massachusetts

Michigan

Duluth, MN

Minneapolis, MN

Kansas City, MO

St. Louis, MO

Nebraska

Nevada

New Hampshire

Oklahoma

Portland, OR

Pennsylvania

South Dakota

Tennessee

Austin, TX

Dallas, TX

Houston, TX

Ogden, UT

Utah

Seattle, WA

Spokane, WA

Vancouver, WA

West Virginia

Reformation-Bible

Puritan-Baptist

Church/Vatican

Assassins

Newmanstown, PA

Rense Radio Network

Ashland, OR

Samanta Roy

Institute of Science

and Technology

Shawano, WI

Sharkhunters

International

Hernando, FL

Sons of Liberty Media

(formerly You Can Run

But You Cannot Hide)

Annandale, MN

Tony Alamo Christian

Ministries

Canyon Country, CA

New York, NY

OTHER (97)

211 Bootboys

New York, NY*

Washington, DC

a2z Publications

Las Vegas, NV

American Free Press

Upper Marlboro, MD

American Guard

Indiana*

Arizona

California

Colorado

Connecticut

Florida

Idaho

Illinois

Michigan

Missouri

New Hampshire

North Carolina

Ohio

Pennsylvania

Rhode Island

TOP TAKEAWAYS With 44 total chapters, the big story in General Hate was the Proud Boys, who hit the streets — ostensibly in the name of “free speech” — to create combustible situations and provoke violence. At roughly a dozen political rallies this year they succeeded, resulting in the most relentless campaign of right-wing street violence in recent memory.

In mid-November, a leaked document revealed that the FBI had quietly advised local law enforcement agencies that they considered the Proud Boys “an extremist group with ties to white nationalism.” A few days later Gavin McInnes announced he was disassociating himself from the group he founded.

Another important ideology within general hate is male supremacy, and in 2018, male supremacy-inspired mass murders made headlines across North America. And pick-up artist and rape apologist Daryush “Roosh” Valizadeh shut down his website, the hate group Return of Kings. The site was rife with misogynistic content and occasionally embraced the talking points of the racist “alt-right.”

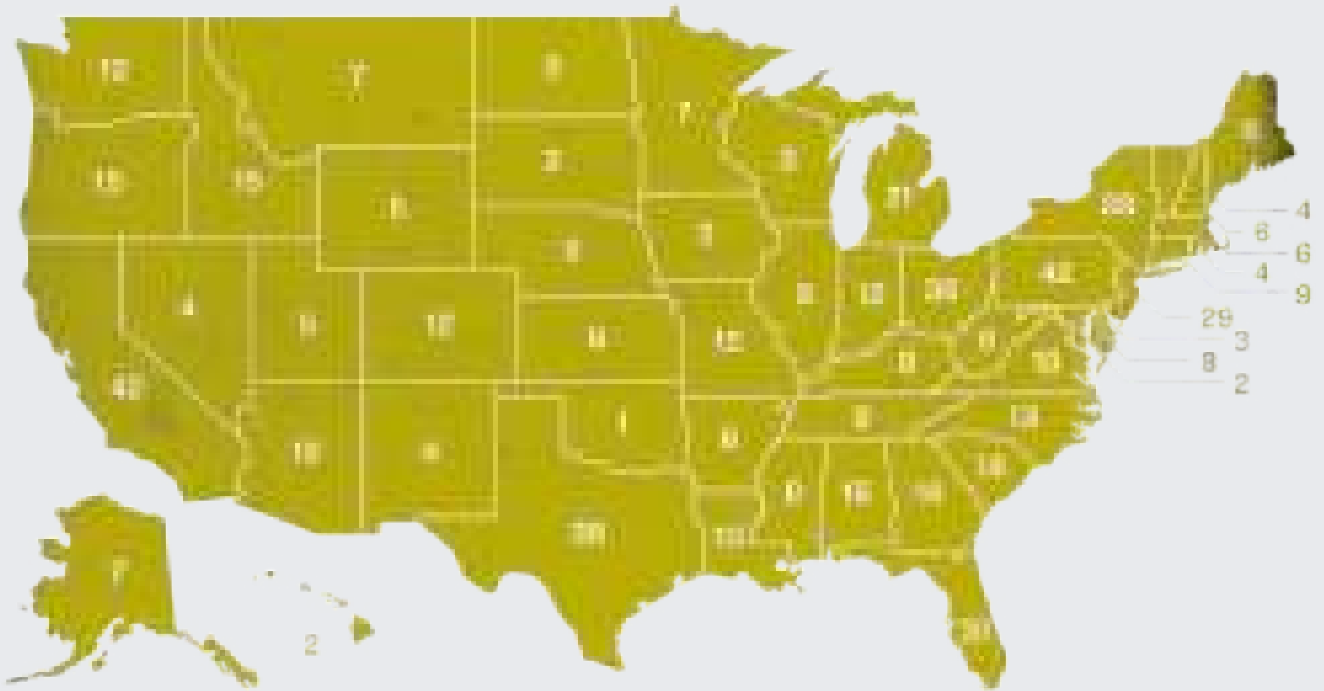
KEY MOMENTS On April 28, a Toronto man used a van to run down and kill 10 people. Prior to the attack, the man accused of the murders, who was steeped in online subcultures that make up the manosphere and the ideology of male supremacy, wrote a post claiming “the Incel Rebellion has already begun!”

A Proud Boys and Patriot Prayer rally in Portland, Oregon in June descended into a riot, and videos of the fighting went viral. The Proud Boys received a crush of new applicants in the wake of the violence.

In early November, two women were murdered by a man at a yoga studio in Tallahassee, Florida. He had previously expressed sympathy for the plight of incel mass shooter Elliot Rodger. Incels,” or “involuntary celibates,” are part of the online male supremacist ecosystem. The Tallahassee killer’s alleged online profile and criminal record suggest a deep resentment of women and a past pattern of sexual misconduct.

WHAT’S AHEAD Next year will likely see the Proud Boys attempt to pick up the pieces as they fight legal battles, regroup on alternative social media platforms and search for ways to keep themselves financially afloat. Male grievances nurtured by male supremacist actors and online forums remain all too accessible. Continued violence from men who pass through these spaces is likely.

IN THE UNITED STATES // 2018



THE INTELLIGENCE PROJECT IDENTIFIED 612 EXTREME ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS THAT WERE ACTIVE IN 2018. Of these groups, 216 were militias, marked with an asterisk, and the remainder included “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Generally, such groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order,” engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities, or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, group publications, the internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. This list does not document activism that takes place only online by individuals or groups, whether on Facebook, VK, or similar online forums, which is a growing activity by all extremists. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located.

ALABAMA (15)

III% Security Force*
Statewide
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
Alabama Constitutional Militia*
Clanton
Constitution Party
Montgomery
Freedom Yell
Ozark
Free Patriot Press
Birmingham
John Birch Society
Birmingham
Mobile
LewRockwell.com
Auburn
Medical Kidnap
Huntsville
Oath Keepers
Bay Minette
Republic for the united States of America
Dothan
South Alabama Militia*
Dothan
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Shelby County
United States of America Republic Government
Statewide

ALASKA (7)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
Alaska Citizens Militia*
Nikiski
Oath Keepers
Anchorage
Delta Junction
South Central Patriots
Wasilla
Superior Court for the Continental uNited States of America
Bethel Census Area
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide

ARIZONA (19)

III% Defense Militia
Phoenix
III% Security Force*
Statewide
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
Arizona Freedom Militia*
Mohave County
Arizona Liberty Guard*
Statewide
Hour of the Time
Eagar
John Birch Society
Mesa
Molon Labe
Peoria
National Assembly

Flagstaff
Northern Arizona Militia*
Golden Valley
Oath Keepers
Chino Valley*
Green Valley & Sahuarita
Kingman*
Verde Valley*
Reign of Heaven Society
Statewide
Riders United for a Sovereign America, Corp.
Tempe
Southern Arizona Militia*
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide

ARKANSAS (6)

American Patriots III%
Statewide
Arkansas Defense Force*
Statewide
Arkansas State Militia Corps*
Mansfield
John Birch Society
Little Rock
National Assembly
Statewide
Secure Arkansas
Little Rock

CALIFORNIA (42)

III% United Patriots*
Sacramento Valley
California State Militia*
Bay Area
Northern Region
Sacramento County
Southern Region
The Constitution Club
Hemet
DEMOCRATS AGAINST U.N. AGENDA 21
Santa Rosa
Educate Yourself
Costa Mesa
HISAdvocates.org
Costa Mesa
Jefferson III%*
Northern
Jeremiah Films
Los Angeles
John Birch Society
Stockton
Liberty Under Fire
Taft
Oath Keepers
Calimesa
Central California
San Bernardino
Victorville
Outpost of Freedom
Los Molinos
Overpasses for America
Statewide
Reign of Heaven Society
Statewide
State of Jefferson Formation
Amador County

Butte County
Calaveras County
El Dorado County
Lassen County
Mariposa
Nevada County
Placer County
Plumas County
Shasta County
Siskiyou County
Stanislaus County
Sutter County
Tehama County
Trinity County
Tuolumne County
Yuba County
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide
United States Justice Foundation
Ramona
We Are Change
Fresno
Los Angeles
West Coast Patriots
Los Angeles

COLORADO (12)

III% Security Force
Statewide
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Freedom Network
Johnstown
American Patriots III%
Statewide
Freedom First Society
Colorado Springs
John Birch Society
Colorado Springs
Denver
National Assembly
Statewide
Superior Court for the Continental uNited States of America
Statewide
Team Law
Grand Junction
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide
We Are Change
Statewide

CONNECTICUT (9)

Connecticut Militia III%*
Statewide
John Birch Society
Danielson
Norwich
Southington
Griswold
Windham
Oath Keepers*
Hartford
The Post & Email
Stafford
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Hartford County

TOP TAKEAWAYS Antigovernment extremism remains central to the “Patriot” movement’s beliefs despite its widespread support for the Trump administration, which it sees as embattled by the “Deep State.” President Trump’s 2016 election shocked and elated the movement and in 2018 it focused much of its fears and paranoia on its perceived adversaries including Muslims and immigrants.

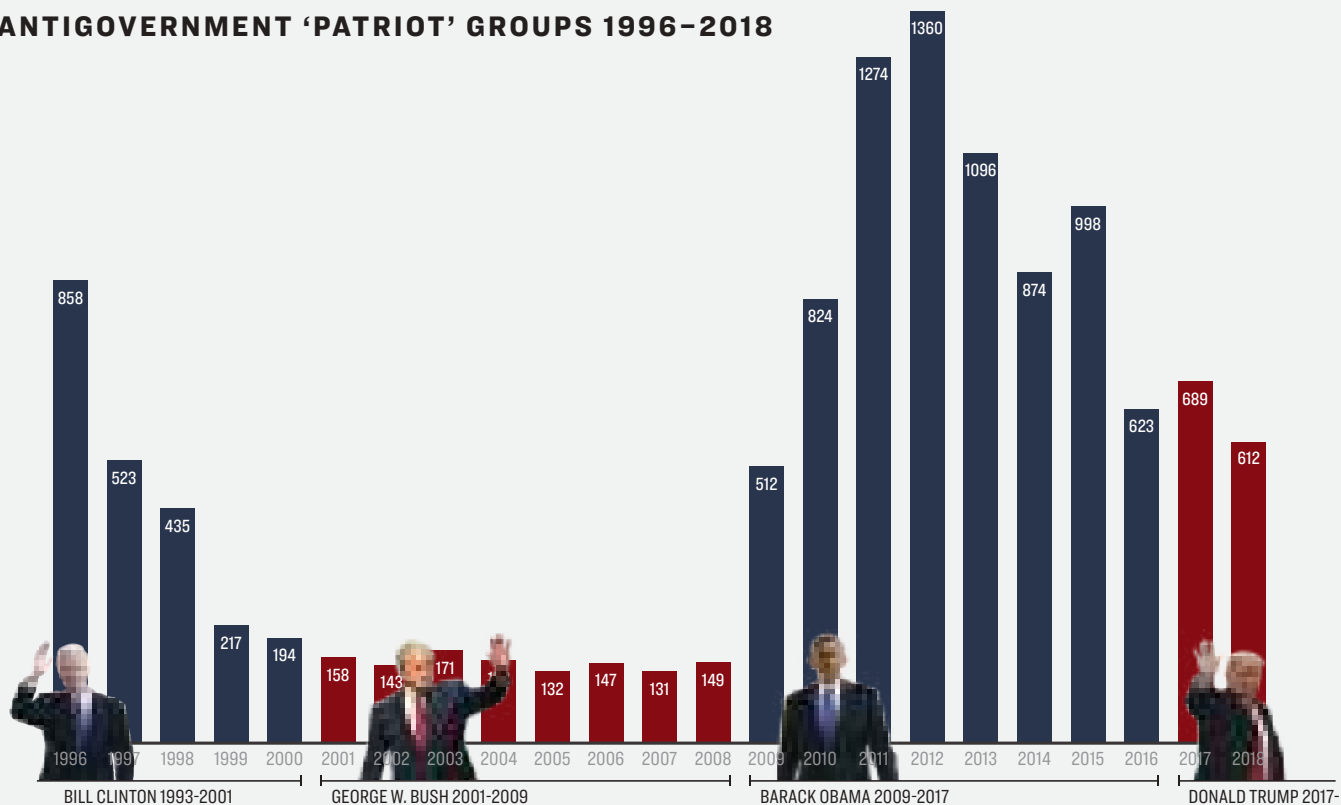
The “Patriot” movement believes America is turning its back on the vision of its founders, and there is no clearer example of this than the two-pronged “threat” of immigrants and antifa; the former is described by the movement as an invasion force that will change voting demographics and the latter is often described as a street army in league with “globalist” elites such as George Soros.

The militia movement — a subset of the wider antigovernment movement — maintained its current trend of appearing at far-right rallies in mostly liberal cities, often either in defense of perceived threats to the Second Amendment or to provide security for far-right provocateurs like Joey Gibson’s Patriot Prayer group. Militias use these events to test their tactics and equipment, oppose left-wing protesters and build rapport with law enforcement.

KEY MOMENTS The “Patriot” movement in the West had reason to celebrate in 2018. A U.S. District Judge dismissed charges against Cliven Bundy, his two sons Ammon and Ryan, and the head of a militia network stemming from their roles in the infamous Bunkerville standoff. And President Trump pardoned two ranchers whose sentencing was used by Ammon Bundy and a band of armed anti-public lands extremists to seize and occupy the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in eastern Oregon. However, in Virginia, three militia groups that participated in the 2017 “Unite the Right” rally entered into consent decrees that barred the defendant militias and their leaders from returning to Charlottesville as an armed group.

WHAT’S AHEAD Antigovernment extremists didn’t believe candidate Trump would win and they see his presidency as an opportunity to continue preparing for a future in which America will collapse. In the meantime, militias will continue to seek out opportunities to clash with leftist groups and use them to shed their extremist image and appeal to law enforcement.

ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOT' GROUPS 1996-2018

**DELAWARE (3)**

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
First State
Pathfinders*
 Statewide
Oath Keepers *
 Statewide

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (2)

Renew America
 Washington
WorldNetDaily
 Washington

FLORIDA (31)

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
Agenda21Today
 Shady Grove
American Coalition 4
Property Rights
 Indian River County
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 The Villages
Florida Militia*
 Central
 Northeast
 Northwest
 Southern
Freedom Law School
 Spring Hill
John Birch Society
 DeLand

Gainesville
 Jacksonville
 Newberry
 Ocala
 Palm Beach Gardens
 Pensacola
 Winter Haven
KrisAnne Hall
 Wellborn
Liberty First
 Wellborn
National Assembly
 Statewide
Now the End Begins
 Jacksonville
Oath Keepers
 Gainesville
 Statewide
Reign of Heaven
Society
 Statewide
Sarasota Patriots
 Sarasota
The Three Percenters-III%
 Orange County
Uncle Sam's
Misguided Children
 Sarasota
We Are Change
 Palm Beach
 Tampa
Wild Bill for America
 South Daytona

GEORGIA (14)

III% Security Force*

Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Woodstock
Discount Book
Distributors/The
Patriot Depot
 Powder Springs
Freedom Fighter Radio
 Evans
John Birch Society
 Acworth
 East Point
 Lamar County
 Marietta
 Suwanee
The Moorish Science
Temple of America
 1928
 Athens
Oath Keepers
 Duluth
Sovereign Filing
Solutions
 Morrow
The Three Percenters-III%
 Wilkinson County

HAWAII (2)

American Patriots III%
 Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%
 Statewide

IDAHO (15)

AVOW (Another Voice of Warning)
 Rigby
Idaho Light Foot
Militia*
 Kootenai County
 Meridian
Idaho Political
Prisoner Foundation
 Boise
John Birch Society
 Boise
 Meridian
 Twin Falls
The Micro Effect
 Kamiah
Oath Keepers
 Bonner County
 Boundary County
 Statewide
People for
Constitutional
Freedom (P4CF)
 Emmett
Redoubt News
 Priest River
The Voice of Idaho
 Boise
The Three Percenters-III%
 Statewide

ILLINOIS (9)

Connecting the Dots
 Chicago
Illinois Light Foot

Militia
 Peoria
 Rock Island
Illinois Sons of Liberty*
 Chicago
Next News Network
 Northbrook
Overpasses for
America
 Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%
 DeWitt County
United States of
America Republic
Government
 Chicago
We Are Change
 Chicago

INDIANA (12)

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Indiana Citizens
Volunteer Militia*
 Lake County
 Statewide
Indiana Sons of
Liberty
 Statewide
Oath Keepers
 Boonville
 Churubusco
 Cicero
 Indianapolis

La Paz
Terre Haute
Westfield

IOWA (3)

Iowa Patriots III%
Des Moines
John Birch Society
Urbandale
Reign of Heaven Society
Statewide

KANSAS (6)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
John Birch Society
Overland Park
The Prophecy Club Resources
Topeka
Reign of Heaven Society
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Ellsworth County

KENTUCKY (9)

III% Security Force*
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide
Constitution Party
Lexington
KY Mountain Rangers*
Bath County
Oath Keepers
Statewide
Tea Party of Kentucky
Louisville
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Bullitt County
Louisville
Watchmen of America
Lexington

LOUISIANA (10)

American Patriots III%
Statewide
Constitution Party
Eunice
Continental Marshals for the Republic
Magnolia
Empire Washitaw de Dugdahmoundyah
Richwood
Gulf Coast Patriot Network
Shreveport
Oath Keepers
Central
Covington
Statewide
Outlaw Militia
Tangipahoa Parish
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Avoyelles Parish

MAINE (6)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
Maine Militia*
Statewide
Maine Volunteer Responders*
Gardiner
National Constitutional Coalition of Patriotic Americans
Hancock County
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Piscataquis County

MARYLAND (8)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
America's Survival, Inc.
Owings
Constitution Party of Maryland
Rockville
Maryland People's Militia
Westminster
My Brother's Threepers
Smithsburg
Oath Keepers*
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Statewide

MASSACHUSETTS (6)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
Constitution Party
Statewide
Oath Keepers *
Ware
Reign of Heaven Society
Suffolk County
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Worcester County

MICHIGAN (21)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
1st Michigan Assembly
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
Capitol City Militia*
Clinton County
Genesee County Volunteer Militia*
Genesee County
Great Lakes Three Percenters*
Statewide
John Birch Society
Waterford
Michigan Home Guard*

Statewide
Michigan Liberty Militia*
Barry County
Michigan Light Foot
Bay City
Michigan Militia Corps Wolverines*
Statewide
Michigan Peoples' Reactionary Force*
Genesee
Michigan Wolf Pack*
Gratiot County
National Assembly
Statewide
Northwest Lower Michigan Civil Defense*
Statewide
Oath Keepers *
Statewide
Southeast Michigan Volunteer Militia*
Livingston County
Macomb County
Statewide
Wayne County
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Statewide

MINNESOTA (7)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
Stearns County
Central Minnesota Tea Party
Saint Cloud
Genesis Communication Network
Eagan
John Birch Society
Crystal
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Crow Wing County

MISSISSIPPI (9)

III% Security Force
Statewide
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide
Citizens Militia of Mississippi*
Batesville
Calhoun County
Constitution Party
Seminary
Gulf Coast Patriot Network
Statewide
Oath Keepers *
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Petal

MISSOURI (15)

2nd Amendment

Patches.com
Halltown
Constitution Party
Piedmont
John Birch Society
Ellisville
Kansas City
Springfield
Missouri Brotherhood Militia*
Statewide
Missouri Citizens Militia*
Washington County
Missouri Militia
Joplin*
Kansas City *
Rolla
Springfield*
St. Joseph *
Oath Keepers
Statewide
St. Louis*
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Cole County

MONTANA (7)

III% United Patriots
Statewide
John Birch Society
Broadus
Oath Keepers
Statewide
The Order of the White Rose
Hamilton
Stand Up America U.S.
Bigfork
SteveQuayle.com
Bozeman
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide

NEBRASKA (3)

Free Inhabitant
Omaha
Sovereignty Education and Defense Ministry
Omaha
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Custer County

NEVADA (4)

III% Security Force
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide
We Are Change
Las Vegas

NEW HAMPSHIRE (6)

III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
National Constitutional Coalition of Patriotic Americans

THREE PERCENTERS Three

Percenterism is one of three core subcomponents within the antigovernment militia movement, along with the Oath Keepers and traditional militia groups. The reference to three percent stems from the dubious historical claim that only three percent of American colonists fought against the British during the War of Independence.

OATH KEEPERS Along with Three Percenters and traditional militia groups, Oath Keepers form one of the core subcomponents of the broader antigovernment militia movement. Founded in 2009 by Elmer Stewart Rhodes, a veteran army paratrooper, Yale Law School graduate and former Ron Paul congressional staffer, Oath Keepers primarily recruit current and former law enforcement, military and first responder personnel, though it also accepts civilians. Unlike Three Percenterism, Oath Keepers was conceived as an organization with hierarchical leadership at national, state and local levels, committed to establishing a network of activists it hopes will lay the groundwork for the creation of state militias.

CONSPIRACY PROPAGANDISTS The John Birch Society, World Net Daily and InfoWars are crucial to the anti-government extremist movement in that they help craft and nurture the very conspiracy theories that animate the movement's activists, such as Oath Keepers and Three Percenters. These conspiracy theories identify grievances, both real and imagined, and demonize groups they deem responsible for them. Conspiracy propagandists often stop just short of offering a solution to the threats, instead leaving action up to movement members while being careful to maintain plausible deniability. These conspiracy theories generate a sense of urgency in the "Patriot" movement that can lead to criminal activity, including terrorism.

Allenstown
Patriot Mutual Assistance Group*
 Rindge
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
 Belknap County
What Really Happened
 Concord

NEW JERSEY (29)

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%*
 Cumberland County
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Palmyra
John Birch Society
 Bernardsville
 Cranford
 Egg Harbor Township
 Flemington
 Holmdel
 Madison
 Mantua
 Marlton
 Ringwood
 Sicklerville
 Somers Point
 Summit
 Sussex
 Totowa
 Union
 Whippany
 Woodland Park
New Jersey Light Foot Militia*
 Statewide
Oath Keepers*
 Bergen County
 Cape May
 North Jersey
 Statewide
R.V. Bey Publications
 Pleasantville
The Three Percenters-III%ers
 Monmouth County*
 Statewide

NEW MEXICO (4)

American Patriots III%
 Albuquerque
Constitution Party
 Los Lunas
Reign of Heaven Society
 Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers
 Statewide

NEW YORK (29)

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Buffalo
Corporate Freedom Group
 Buffalo
Creditors Debtors Contracts in

Commerce (CDCIC)
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Little Neck
 Long Island City
 Nassau
 New York
 Town of North Hempstead
Liberty State Militia*
 Chenango County
Long Island Mutual Assistance Group
 Nassau County
Madison's Militia
 New Lebanon
National Liberty Alliance
 Hyde Park
New York Light Foot Militia*
 Statewide
New York Militia TM*
 Albany County
 Mohawk Valley Region
 Statewide
New York Mutual Assistance Group*
 Orange County
 Statewide
 Suffolk County
Oath Keepers
 Columbia County*
 Long Island*
 Orange County
 Statewide*
Reign of Heaven Society
 Statewide
Sisters of Liberty Militia
 Norwich
The Liberty Den
 Stamford
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
 Herkimer County

NORTH CAROLINA (13)

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
America's Remedy
 Charlotte
Constitution Party
 Rocky Point
Free North Carolina
 Cape Carteret
John Birch Society
 Crumpler
 Salisbury
NORTH-CAROLINA American Republic
 Charlotte
Oath Keepers
 Granite Falls
 Piedmont Triad
 Statewide
Stokes County Militia*
 King
The Three Percenters-III%ers
 Wake County

NORTH DAKOTA (2)

III% Security Force*
 Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
 Sheridan County

OHIO (36)

III% Security Force*
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 New Lebanon
Cowboys Motorcycle Club*
 Statewide
The Frontiersmen*
 Ravenna
John Birch Society
 Columbus
 St. Marys
The Last Militia*
 Allen County
 Butler County
 Clark County
 Hamilton County
 Montgomery County
 Statewide
 Summit County
 Trumbull County
March to Exodus
 Statewide
North East Ohio Outdoorsman*
 East Rochester
Oath Keepers*
 Wood County
Ohio Defense Force Home Guard*
 Cincinnati
 Cleveland
 New Lexington
 Zanesville
Ohio Elite III%
 Statewide
Ohio Heartland Defenders
 Statewide
Ohio Irregulars*
 Statewide
Ohio Minuteman Militia
 Statewide
Ohio Valley Minutemen Citizen's Volunteer Militia*
 Statewide
Reapers
Constitutional Militia of Ohio*
 Cortland
Reign of Heaven Society
 Statewide
Silver Shield Xchange
 Cleveland
Southern Ohio Militia
 Statewide
Southern Ohio Outdoorsmen
 Peebles
The Three Percenters-

III%ers*
 Knox County
Threepier Tactical Training, LLC
 Massillon
West Ohio Minutemen*
 Statewide

OKLAHOMA (1)

The Three Percenters-III%ers
 Pottawatomie County

OREGON (15)

III% Security Force
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriot Party
 Ashland
Central Oregon Constitutional Guard*
 Redmond
Embassy of Heaven
 Stayton
Freedom Bound International
 Klamath Falls
Freedom From Government
 Newberg
Heirs of Patrick Henry
 Statewide
John Birch Society
 Bend
McCutchens Ink.
 Central Point
News With Views
 Merlin
State of Jefferson Formation
 Coos County
 Curry County
 Josephine County
 Klamath County

PENNSYLVANIA (42)

III% Liberty Defenders Auxiliary
 Statewide
III% Liberty Defenders Militia*
 Statewide
III% Security Force*
 Statewide
III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
A.R.M.E.D. Riding Club
 Statewide
Alt Market
 Pittsburgh
American Patriots III%*
 Chester County
 Statewide
 Westmoreland County
Appalachian Associates*
 Statewide
Berks County Patriots
 Blandon
Carlisle Light Infantry*
 Cumberland County
Constitution Party
 Lancaster
Eastern Pennsylvania

Regional Militia*
 Wyomissing
Emergency Non-Profit Assisting Communities Together (ENACT)*
 Dauphin
John Birch Society
 Philadelphia
 Pittsburgh
Maulitia Bikers MC
 Dauphin
National Assembly
 Reynoldsville
Pennsylvania Armare Woodsmen*
 Statewide
Pennsylvania Homeland Shield*
 Clarksburg
Pennsylvania Light Foot Militia*
 Berks County
 Bradford County
 Juniata County
 Luzerne County
 Schuylkill County
 Statewide
 Tioga County
 Westmoreland County
Pennsylvania Oath Keepers
 Butler County*
 Clinton County
 Erie County*
 Harrisburg*
 Lancaster County
 Luzerne County*
 Millersburg*
 Statewide*
 Wayne County
Pennsylvania Patriots United
 Oley
Pennsylvania State Militia*
 Statewide
Reign of Heaven Society
 Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
 Northumberland County

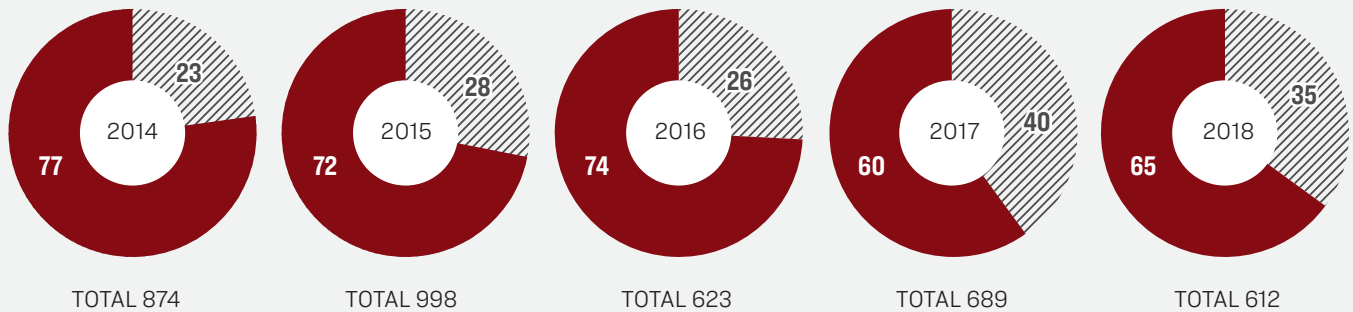
RHODE ISLAND (4)

American Patriots III%*
 Statewide
Oath Keepers *
 North Kingstown
Rhode Island Patriots*
 Statewide
TruthRadioShow.com
 Providence

SOUTH CAROLINA (14)

III% United Patriots*
 Statewide
American Patriots III%
 Statewide
Constitution Party
 Taylors
John Birch Society
 Boiling Springs
 Columbia
 Conestee

ANTIGOVERNMENT 'PATRIOT' GROUPS IN PERCENTAGES



▨ MILITIA GROUPS ■ OTHER PATRIOT GROUPS

The number of “Patriot” antigovernment groups has fluctuated wildly in the last two decades, peaking in 2012 with 1,360 groups. But the percentage of the count that consists of militias, meaning groups that actively engage in military-style training, has grown over the years, and now numbers 35 percent.

Greenville County
Landrum
Myrtle Beach
Spartanburg
Summerville
West Columbia
South Carolina Light Foot Militia*
Horry County
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Sumter County

SOUTH DAKOTA (2)
Oath Keepers*
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Stanley County

TENNESSEE (9)
III% Security Force*
Statewide
1st Tennessee Rifles UMIT*
Lafayette
American Patriots III%
Statewide
Appalachian Mountain Patriots
Kingsport
Constitution Party
Montgomery County
East Tennessee Mountain Militia*
Knoxville
National Black Robe Regiment
Springfield
Oath Keepers
Knoxville
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Smith County

TEXAS (36)
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
Alamo Militia*
San Antonio
Americans Standing

for Liberty
Hamlin
Constitution Party
Iredell
Constitution Society
Austin
Defense Distributed
Austin
Fearless Nation
Leander
Freedom School
Austin
Golden Triangle Militia*
Groves
Orange
InfoWars
Austin
John Birch Society
Austin
Bastrop
Dallas
Fort Worth
Houston
Richardson
Temple
Oath Keepers
Fort Worth
High Plains
Quitman
Statewide*
Temple
Patriots General Store
Ennis
Reign of Heaven Society
Statewide
Republic Broadcasting
Round Rock
Republic of Texas
Bastrop County
Rule of Law Radio
Austin
Silver Bear Cafe
Garland
Texans4Truth
Georgetown
Texas Light Foot Militia
Longview
Tyler*

Texas State Militia*
Austin
Big Spring
Houston
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Comanche County
UTAH (5)
John Birch Society
Salt Lake City
Sandy
Liberty RoundTable
American Fork
Oath Keepers
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide

VERMONT (4)
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
Green Mountain Militia*
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Orange County

VIRGINIA (19)
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide
American Policy Center
Warrenton
Constitution Party
Newport News
Constitutional Rights PAC
Alexandria
Declaration Alliance
Herndon
Gun Owners of America
Springfield
John Birch Society

Clarksville
Newport News
Oath Keepers
Bedford
Franklin County
Fredericksburg
Goochland
Hampton
Pittsylvania-Henry
Prince William County
Roanoke
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Buckingham County
United States of America Republic Government
Statewide

WASHINGTON (12)
III% United Patriots
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide
Black Horse Militia
Seattle
Citizen Review Online
Sequim
I UV
Bellevue
John Birch Society
Camas
Gig Harbor
Rainier
Kingdom of YAH of HOSTS
Tacoma
Light Foot Militia*
Spokane County
North Western Research Institute
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide

WEST VIRGINIA (9)
III% United Patriots*
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide*

Constitution Party
Weston
National Constitutional Coalition of Patriotic Americans
Bridgeport
Oath Keepers *
Eastern
Statewide
Ohio Valley Minutemen Citizen's Volunteer Militia*
Charleston
Three Percent Republic*
Statewide
West Virginia Light Foot*
Statewide

WISCONSIN (3)
:David-Wynn: Miller
Milwaukee
American Patriots III%*
Statewide
The Three Percenters-III%ers*
Marathon County

WYOMING (6)
III% United Patriots
Statewide
American Patriots III%
Statewide
Natural News
Cody
Oath Keepers
Northwest
Southeast
The Three Percenters-III%ers
Statewide



Generals and Crooks

How Caravan Paranoia Tore the Border Militia Movement Apart

BY NICK R. MARTIN

They wound themselves up to believe all kinds of rumors about the migrant caravan that made its way north through Mexico.

Rumors that it was filled not just with Central Americans seeking asylum but with people from Venezuela, Nigeria and Syria — even Islamic militants. Rumors that caravan members were secretly trained by the United Nations. Rumors that it was funded by Jewish billionaire George Soros. Rumors that MS-13 was involved. Rumors of cartels. Rumors of violence. Rumors of death.

Johnny Horton Jr. is a self-proclaimed border militia leader who believed the rumors were true. Except he didn't call them rumors. He called them facts. And

like several other militia leaders, he said he'd fielded a team of "patriots" to travel to the southern border to stop the caravan from coming into the U.S.

"Our information comes from the very top," Horton said in an interview with the *Intelligence Report*. "I'm not telling you where, but it comes out of very high agencies."

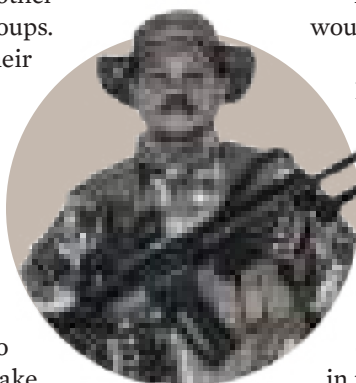
Militia leaders like Horton were hyping up the threat of the caravan in late October, weeks before it arrived at the U.S. border, and vowing online to take action. They said they were putting "boots on the ground" from Texas to California to support the active-duty troops that were ordered to the border in response to the caravan.

ALAMY/ZUMA WIRE/JOHN GASTALDO

In the process, the militias gorged on an array of hoaxes and conspiracy theories floated by conservative media, anti-immigrant groups and President Donald Trump himself, who released an ad about the caravan before the midterms that was deemed so racist that Fox News and other news channels pulled it off the air. The fantasies the militias embraced smeared the caravan as an invading army rather than a group of a few thousand desperate people fleeing poverty and violence. The militias saw themselves as duty-bound to stop the caravan, even if that meant a shooting war broke out.

At the same time, however, the militia movement was afflicted by infighting and backstabbing over the caravan and their response to it. In their frenzy, they told reporters that they were prepared to bring hundreds, even thousands, of armed men and women to the border to form a united front. But behind the scenes, these irregular armies are made up of unreliable individuals. Leaders insulted other leaders. Groups broke alliances with other groups. And self-described commanders resigned their positions in the militias they ran.

It all might be a bit comical if the groups weren't armed and didn't believe war was approaching. According to *Newsweek*, the Pentagon assessed the possibility that civilian militias could have posed a threat to the 5,000 troops deployed to the border. Beyond that, the broader antigovernment movement has a history of breeding lone wolves who become so gripped by paranoia that they take matters into their own hands. That was the case with Jerad and Amanda Miller, who shot and killed two police officers in North Las Vegas in 2014 after attending the Bundy Ranch standoff. It was also the case with Shawna Forde, a former member of the border vigilante group Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, who murdered a man and his 9-year-old daughter in 2009 during another outbreak of hysteria about the Southern border.



From top: Larry Hopkins, Robert Crooks, Jim Peyton. All three claimed they were headed to the border to stop the migrant caravan.

The Ballad of Larry Hopkins

It's a little hard to know what to make of Johnny Horton Jr., who calls himself the national commander of the United Constitutional Patriots (UCP).

For one, that's not his real name. It is Larry Mitchell Hopkins.

"Horton" is the stage name used by the 69-year-old, who describes himself as an "artist, entertainer." On YouTube, there are videos of Hopkins performing under the Horton name, singing covers of old country songs, including some by the original Johnny Horton, who died in a car crash in 1960.

Hopkins also uses the alias in the militia movement.

His group, UCP, is headquartered in Flora Vista, New Mexico, a small town in the northern part of the state. It's unclear how many people are part of his group, and he declined to cite any figures when asked by the *Intelligence Report*.

"I cannot give you numbers," he said. "That would be the worst thing I could do."

The main online presence for UCP, its Facebook page, is sparse. It contains a few reposts of videos, some of which are conspiracy-driven. The page also includes at least two links to videos of Hopkins performing the "Ballad of the Green Berets."

Hopkins said his group had a presence along the Mexico border and is working with other militia groups throughout the Southwest in response to the caravan. He was unwilling to provide proof to support these claims. However, UCP's Facebook page published links to two fundraising sites — PayPal and GoFundMe — soliciting donations for the border-watch efforts. Both campaigns show they were started by a man using the name Mark Cheney, whose own Facebook page describes him as a "former disabled vet" and "currently on Social Security disability." The page says he also lives in Flora Vista.



The migrants who fled Central America and parts of Southern Mexico left behind violence in their home countries to seek asylum. But to U.S. border extremists they were part of a shadowy conspiracy to undermine American security and sovereignty.

The GoFundMe pitch, which uses similar language to the one on PayPal, is simple:

“We are raising money to help finance the various Patriot groups who have volunteered to go to the U.S. Border to help the Border Patrol in securing the Border before the invasion happens. We are doing this by assisting in fuel cards, food and water and various other supplies that are needed. Please give what you can, no amount is too small or too large.”

As of early January, the GoFundMe campaign had raised \$710 with a goal of \$1,000. The PayPal campaign had netted \$2,025 toward a goal of \$2,500.

As for Hopkins, he’s all-in on conspiracy theories about the caravan. His rhetoric, at times, has been dire. On his personal Facebook page, he posted a message in late October speculating about his death:

“im 69 years old and i am going to the border when i know the enemy is close to the border, i am going to fight and i may give my life but at least i will be there and stand by my oath, they didnt get me when i was in the army and i will stand for our country, if they get me now at least i will die for our country and what keeping america free is all about, GOD WILL GUIDE AND PROTECT ME.”

During his interview with the *Intelligence Report*, Hopkins explained that he expects his group to be shot at. He said he’d been “prewarned” by “very high level” law enforcement sources. “Armed groups are already here,” he said. “They’re planning on flanking us ... to shoot us.”

“If we’re fired on,” he added, “we will fire back.”

When the *Intelligence Report* pressed Hopkins about his claim that he was getting information from high up in the government — or, as he put it

elsewhere in the conversation, “from the very top” — he remained vague.

“I am not giving any information where my information comes from,” he said. But, he added, “I’m not implying the president.”

However, several days later, in a video interview posted on a Facebook page called The Renegade Network, Hopkins did more than just imply he was in touch with President Trump — he claimed the president was relying on him for border intelligence.

The claim came during an interview with someone going by the alias “Mr. X,” who appears to administer The Renegade Network page. The page itself is steeped in militia propaganda and traffics in plenty of conspiracy theories, but Mr. X was skeptical of many of the claims Hopkins had been making recently, particularly when it comes to border watch operations.

Mr. X — dressed in a gas mask and black hoodie, his voice distorted — grilled Hopkins on his claims. About midway through the interview, Hopkins defended himself by making grand statements about knowing Trump personally. He said their relationship began because of his own career in music.

“When I was doing music, I met Trump and his first wife when he had the casino in Las Vegas, and I played there numerous times. OK?” Hopkins said. “That’s how I knew him. And Trump and I have kept in touch ever since.”

He went on to say that Trump was a listener of an internet radio show he broadcasts on YouTube and that the president wanted intel from him, not about the Southern border, but about the Northern border. Because, Hopkins said, that’s where “all of the Muslims are coming in.”

Trouble in New Mexico

Hopkins also claimed to be working closely with another militia, Patriots of the Constitution, which is based out of Alabama but had traveled to New Mexico in response to the caravan.

When the *Intelligence Report* spoke to Jim Peyton, who calls himself the militia’s general, in late October, he said that he and the group’s other general, Terry Kelley, had recently arrived in Columbus, New Mexico, just a few miles north of the Mexico border. They’d driven straight through, without sleep, for two days to get there, he said.

“The fantasies the militias embraced smeared the caravan as an invading army rather than a group of a few thousand desperate people fleeing poverty and violence. The militias saw themselves as duty-bound to stop the caravan, even if that meant a shooting war broke out.

At the same time, however, the militia movement was afflicted by infighting and backstabbing over the caravan and their response to it.”

Like Hopkins, Peyton wouldn’t say exactly how many people besides Kelley were taking part in his militia activities, but claimed it was “over 100 people.” Peyton also claimed that he was in charge of all the militia activities along the border.

“All the other militias have been contacted. We’re all acting as one,” Peyton told the Intelligence Project. “When they come here, I’ll be commanding officer. And they’ll follow my ord — the orders that we have.”

He said that everyone in his group had served in the military in the past.

“We’re not a bunch of hillbillies running around with muskets,” he said. “People know what the rules are, what the rules of engagement are, what the rules of the border patrol are. And that’s how we’re operating.”

Peyton’s belief in a number of conspiracy theories prompted him to head to the border. Nigerians in the caravan? Check. Militants with the Islamic State? Check. Soros financing it? Check. His information, he said, came “from good sources, reliable sources, government-type sources.” What were those sources? He wouldn’t say. But he said he believed the caravan and other recent events were attempts to distract from what he saw as crimes committed by “the left.”

“Obama, Hillary, Schumer, Soros need to go in front of a military tribunal,” Peyton said. Asked what he meant by that, he replied: “Arrested. Tried by the military for treason.”

Despite Peyton’s claims of commanding a major joint militia operation at the border, problems with his plan were already clear.

His group, Patriots of the Constitution, previously advertised Hopkins’ militia as part of its coordinated effort. But when speaking with the *Intelligence Report*, Peyton said that was no longer the case.

“We have split ties and affiliation with United Constitutional Patriots, OK?” Peyton said. “We don’t deal with them any longer. That’s, like I said, a recent thing. And we have our own reasons for doing so. And I just can’t get into that with you.”

(Hopkins later denied the groups had split. “He hasn’t severed no ties with us,” he said, adding that he would call Peyton to find out what was going on.)

Less than a week later, Peyton posted a message on Facebook announcing another departure from Patriots of the Constitution — himself.

“I, General James F, (sic) Peyton, do hereby submit this letter of resignation to General Terry Kelley of the Patriots of The Constitution,” he wrote. “I will still retain the rank of General that was given to me by (sic) former Commander, prior to General Kelley, and will be willing to assist any Patriot group in need of assistance.”

Alone at Patriot Point

Before his departure, Peyton said that the Patriots of the Constitution had been sending donations and manpower to a longtime border militia leader: Robert Crooks.

Crooks leads the Mountain Minutemen, a group founded more than a decade ago to conduct civilian border-watch operations. He lives in the Las Vegas area but makes regular trips to Southern California for armed patrols at a spot near the Mexico border called Patriot Point.

When he spoke to the Intelligence Project in late October, he was alone at Patriot Point. He was



Many of the migrants who arrived at the U.S. border in November sought asylum at the San Ysidro Port of Entry. Earlier last year, a similar caravan of migrants sought the same, and 93 percent were approved and entered the U.S. legally.

posting messages on Facebook asking for volunteers and financial donations, but he was working solo. His regular volunteers — his “base group,” he called them — had day jobs and were unavailable.

“So, you know, I gotta stand the line by myself until the cavalry shows up,” Crooks said.

He complained about the state of the border militia movement. The way he sees it, he said, people will talk a big game on the internet, but it’s all for show. They’ll promise to come to the border, and they might even donate to him, but they rarely show up.

“I’m alone right now. I don’t have anybody,” Crooks said. “It’s all lip service, you know? These keyboard commandos, these Walmart warriors, they go down to Cabela’s and buy all these shitty looking goods — stuff to make ‘em look good in the mirror.”

The *Intelligence Report* asked Crooks about Peyton’s group, Patriots of the Constitution, and how messages posted on the group’s Facebook page said it was working with Crooks.

“They sucked me into that without my knowledge, then people — what are they called? Um, Uniform Construction or Constitutional Patriots or some bullshit. I don’t know. I told them to take

that off and they haven’t done it yet,” Crooks said. “I’m not affiliated with them. Don’t tie me to them. They did that on their own volition, and I’ve told them to pull me off that. I guess they haven’t, have they? Is it still up?”

Later in the interview, Crooks laughed about militia leaders who call themselves “generals.”

“Oh, this weekend I’m gonna be a general. All right!” he said. “They know they’re mindless midges, you know what I mean?”

When Peyton was asked later about Crooks’ comments, he was in disbelief.

“Really? Really? OK. It cost me over a thousand dollars out of my own pocket just to get down here. So what kind of a keyboard warrior is that?” Peyton said. “I don’t know why he would say that when we just sent him money!”

A Neo-Nazi, Not a Rocket Scientist

Crooks was the most explicit of the bunch in his assessment of the caravan. He used the slurs “cockroaches” and “ditch crickets” to describe immigrants who crossed the border illegally. And he talked up the anti-immigrant fantasy that the caravan was part of a secret plot by Mexico to take over the Southwestern U.S. — a conspiracy theory

The President Fanned the Flames of Caravan Paranoia

In the final weeks before midterm elections, President Donald Trump whipped up paranoia about the migrant caravan as it slowly made its way north through Mexico toward the U.S. border. Having successfully campaigned in the 2016 election on the specter of immigrant rapists and repeated promises to build an “impenetrable” wall along the border, Trump returned to the anti-immigrant well as the 2018 election approached.

In ads, speeches and, of course, tweets, the president claimed the caravan of a few thousand asylum seekers from Honduras amounted to a “National Emergency,” in his Twitter parlance, and an “invasion.” None of it, however, mentioned that 93 percent of the migrants from a similar caravan earlier in the year had been granted legal entry once they reached the border.

Here’s how the president described and spread fear about the migrant caravan:

“The United States has strongly informed the President of Honduras that if the large Caravan of people heading to the U.S. is not stopped and brought back to Honduras, no more money or aid will be given to Honduras, effective immediately!”

— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEET, OCT. 16

“Sadly, it looks like Mexico’s Police and Military are unable to stop the Caravan heading to the Southern Border of the United States. Criminals and unknown Middle Easterners are mixed in. I have alerted Border Patrol and Military that this is a National Emergency. Must change laws!”

— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEET, OCT. 22

“Every time you see a Caravan, or people illegally coming, or attempting to come, into our Country illegally, think of and blame the Democrats for not giving us the votes to change our pathetic Immigration Laws! Remember the Midterms! So unfair to those who come in legally.”

— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEET, OCT. 22

“I think the Democrats had something to do with it. And now they’re saying, ‘I think we made a big mistake.’

Because people are seeing how bad it is, how pathetic it is, how bad our laws are. They made a big mistake. So as the caravan — and look, that is an assault on our country. That’s an assault. And in that caravan, you have some very bad people. You have some very bad people. And we can’t let that happen to our country.”

— CAMPAIGN RALLY IN HOUSTON, OCT. 22

“To those in the Caravan, turnaround, we are not letting people into the United States illegally. Go back to your Country and if you want, apply for citizenship like millions of others are doing!”

— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEET, OCT. 25

“Many Gang Members and some very bad people are mixed into the Caravan heading to our Southern Border. Please go back, you will not be admitted into the United States unless you go through the legal process. This is an invasion of our Country and our Military is waiting for you!”

— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEET, OCT. 29

President Trump released a campaign ad ahead of the Nov. 6 midterm election that showed images of the migrant caravan juxtaposed with video of an undocumented immigrant bragging about killing two police officers. The text on screen at the end of the ad read: “Stop the caravan. Vote Republican.”

— TV AD RELEASED OCT. 31

“The Caravans are made up of some very tough fighters and people. Fought back hard and viciously against Mexico at Northern Border before breaking through. Mexican soldiers hurt, were unable, or unwilling to stop Caravan. Should stop them before they reach our Border, but won’t!”

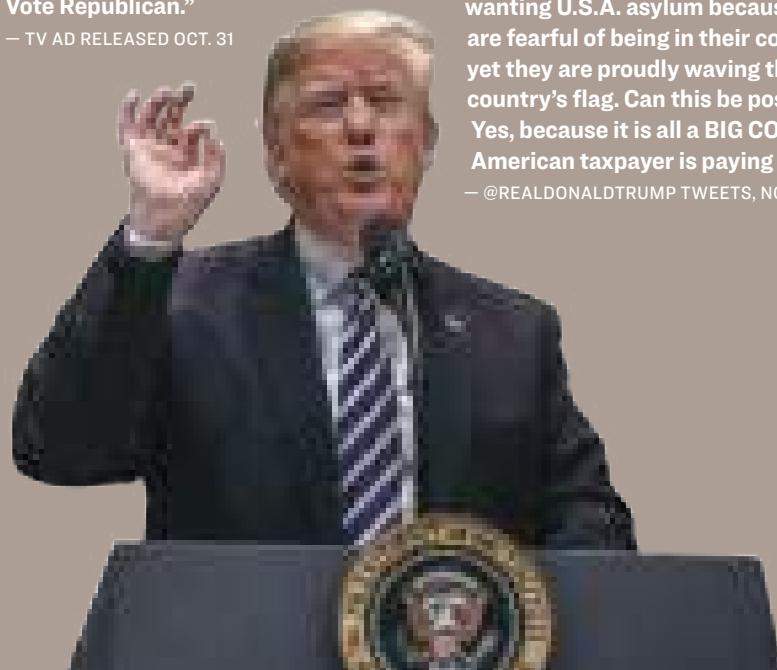
— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEET, OCT. 31

“At this very moment, large, well-organized caravans of migrants are marching towards our southern border. Some people call it an ‘invasion.’ It’s like an invasion. They have violently overrun the Mexican border. You saw that two days ago. These are tough people, in many cases. A lot of young men, strong men. And a lot of men that maybe we don’t want in our country.”

— REMARKS DELIVERED AT THE WHITE HOUSE, NOV. 1

“Isn’t it ironic that large Caravans of people are marching to our border wanting U.S.A. asylum because they are fearful of being in their country - yet they are proudly waving their country’s flag. Can this be possible? Yes, because it is all a BIG CON, and the American taxpayer is paying for it!”

— @REALDONALDTRUMP TWEETS, NOV. 16





Neo-Nazi Harry Hughes occasionally patrols the Arizona desert with border vigilante and conspiracy theorist Robert Crooks. The two men call migrants “cockroaches.”

known as “la reconquista.” The eventual goal, he said, was a “New World Order.”

“These entities, these diabolical manifestations in this plane of consciousness, they’re trying to destroy the sovereignty of this nation, and have been from the onset,” Crooks said. “It’s pushing for the New World Order, pushing for the elitist takeover and the domination of and the destruction of America. And that’s exactly what it is. It has been all along.”

“One world government,” he added. “Total domination of the human species.”

Those types of comments are nothing new for Crooks, of course. In the past, he patrolled the Arizona desert south of Phoenix with longtime neo-Nazi Harry Hughes, who also uses the term “cockroaches” to describe migrants and rails against “globalists” and the “New World Order.” Hughes is entrenched in the border militia movement in Arizona and is friendly on Facebook with a number of its leaders. But he also plays a role as the communications director for the National Socialist Movement (NSM), a violent neo-Nazi group headquartered in Detroit.

Hughes’ role in the swastika-carrying, Hitler-worshipping group is no secret. One of his own blogs shows a mix of selfies of him dressed in either desert fatigues for border operations or the black

uniform and swastika armband that was formerly the dress code of the NSM. He was also a longtime friend and confidant of J.T. Ready, another NSM member who lived in Arizona and patrolled the desert with Hughes. Ready killed himself in 2012 after murdering four people, including an 18-month-old girl, inside a house in the Phoenix suburbs.

Crooks didn’t skip a beat when the *Intelligence Report* asked him about his relationship with Hughes. “Harry’s a good friend of mine!” he said, adding that Hughes’ views, which he described as “political,” didn’t really matter to him.

“Am I a neo-Nazi?” Crooks said. “No, I am not. And if he is in fact a neo-Nazi and part of the Aryan — that’s his life, and I have no problem with that. I don’t care.” Crooks said his own patriotism didn’t deter him from being friends with a man who holds a leadership role in a group that celebrates Adolf Hitler.

“Nobody ever called him a rocket scientist, you know what I mean?” Crooks said of Hughes. “But he does go out in the desert and he patrols the desert for illegal aliens. I’ve gotta commend him for that. And if he’s gonna continue doing that with me, I’ll run with him.”

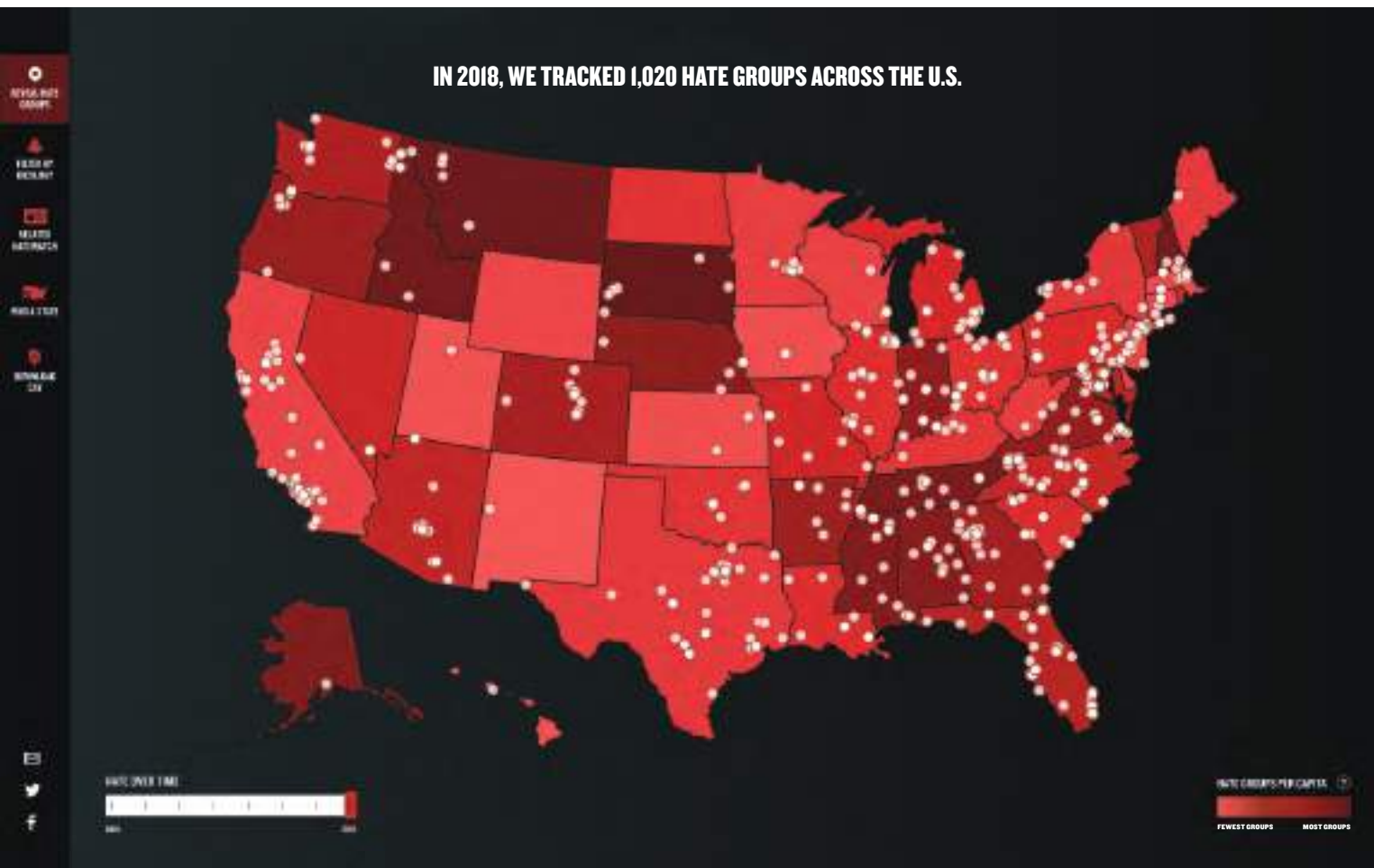
All of this, and the caravan had yet to arrive. In the days after the Intelligence Project talked to the militia leaders, Trump mobilized thousands of active-duty troops to the border, and photos surfaced showing them placing concertina wire along stretches of it. Earlier in the year, when another caravan of migrants crossed Mexico to seek asylum in the U.S., 93 percent were granted entry, according to BuzzFeed News. In other words, they immigrated legally.

By mid-November, the first wave of the new caravan began arriving in Tijuana, Mexico, just across the border from San Diego. In Texas, VICE News reported that Trump’s border troops had nothing to do. The caravan was nowhere near them.

As for the border militias, their confrontation with the caravan was over before it ever began. ▲

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