



TACKLING HATE IN THE HOMELAND:
US RADICAL RIGHT NARRATIVES AND
COUNTER-NARRATIVES AT A TIME OF RENEWED THREAT



The *CARR-Hedayah Radical Right Counter Narratives Project* is a year-long project between CARR and Hedayah that is funded by the EU STRIVE programme. It is designed to create one of the first comprehensive online toolkits for practitioners and civil society engaged in radical right extremist counter narrative campaigns. It uses online research to map narratives in nine countries and regions (Australia, Canada, Germany, Hungary, New Zealand, Norway, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and the United States), proposes counter narratives for these countries and regions, and advises on how to conduct such campaigns in an effective manner. This country report is one of such outputs.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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The views expressed in this practical Guide are the opinions of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Hedayah, the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right or the European Union.



INTRODUCTION

Over the past few years, North America, particularly the US, has become a focal point for practitioners and researchers studying the radical right. Given the recent rise in white supremacist violence (see the green portion of Figure 1), policymakers are more aware of the urgency of the threat posed by radical right violent extremism, as reflected in a shift in priorities away from overwhelming focus upon religiously inspired extremism. For example, in September 2019, the US Department for Homeland Security (DHS) named white supremacist violent extrem-

ists as part of “an evolving domestic threat.”¹ On 5 April 2020, the Russian Imperial Movement was listed as a ‘Specially Designated Global Terrorist’ group by the US State Department,² the first time a white supremacist group was placed on this list.³ This shift in policy is compounded by the rise of transnational, digitally-anchored, radical right⁴ ‘accelerationist’⁵ organisations founded and operating on behalf of an American constituency, such as Atomwaffen Division and the Base, with the leader of the latter apparently also based in Russia.⁶

¹ Department of Homeland Security, ‘Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence’, September 2019, online at: www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/19_0920_plcy_strategic-framework-countering-terrorism-targeted-violence.pdf (all websites last accessed 4 May 2020).

² It should be noted that, while the US State Department is key in instigating such a listing, the US Treasury and Office of Foreign Assets Control are key at enforcing restriction related to this. All three leaders of the group are subject this as part to the ban.

³ US State Department Press Release, ‘United States Designates Russian Imperial Movement and Leaders as Global Terrorists’, 7 April 2020, online at: <https://www.state.gov/united-states-designates-russian-imperial-movement-and-leaders-as-global-terrorists/>; see also Robyn Dixon, ‘Inside white-supremacist Russian Imperial Movement, designated foreign terrorist organization by U.S. State Department’, *The Washington Post*, 13 April 2020, online at: www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/russia-white-supremacist-terrorism-us/2020/04/11/255a9762-7a75-11ea-a311-adb1344719a9_story.html.

⁴ Here ‘radical right extremism’ is used to describe a broad plethora of cognate paramilitary groups, groupuscules and lone-actor terrorists that could be considered as harbouring violent nativist, authoritarian and (sometimes) non-violent populist policy ideas (Mudde, *Populist Radical Right in Europe*, 2007). Radical Right Extremism includes individuals and groups who actively “espouse violence” and “seek the overthrow of liberal democracy” entirely (Eatwell 2003, *Ten Theories of the Extreme Right*, 14) rather than those who offer “a critique of the constitutional order without any anti-democratic behaviour or intention” (Carter 2005, *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?*, 22). Those with such a propensity towards violence and/or anti-system values are historically referred to as the extreme right rather than the radical right, and such individuals and groups range from non-violent anti-Islam groups to a range of formally constituted neo-fascist and neo-Nazi political parties that inspire terrorist action, as well as lone-actor terrorists.

⁵ Here, the doctrine of ‘accelerationism’ – defined as literally helping to accelerate a revolution, race war or even more apocalyptic scenarios - has been a notable theme amongst violent radical right extremist groups. Moreover, it has also taken the form of coded accelerationist terms, such as ‘Big Luau’, ‘Boogaloo’ or ‘Cowabunga’. Even if the idea of a revolutionary right overthrow of ‘the System’ is an age old fascist and radical right trope, its renewed nihilistic emphasis among groups (like Atomwaffen Division, the Base and Brenton Tarrant further afield) has become a particular note of concern among security personnel and experts internationally.

⁶ Anti-Defamation League, ‘White Supremacists Embrace “Accelerationism”’, 16 April 2019, online at: <https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacists-embrace-accelerationism>. See also Daniel De Simone et. al., ‘Neo-Nazi Rinaldo Nazzaro running US militant group The Base from Russia’, BBC News, 24 January 2020, online at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-51236915.

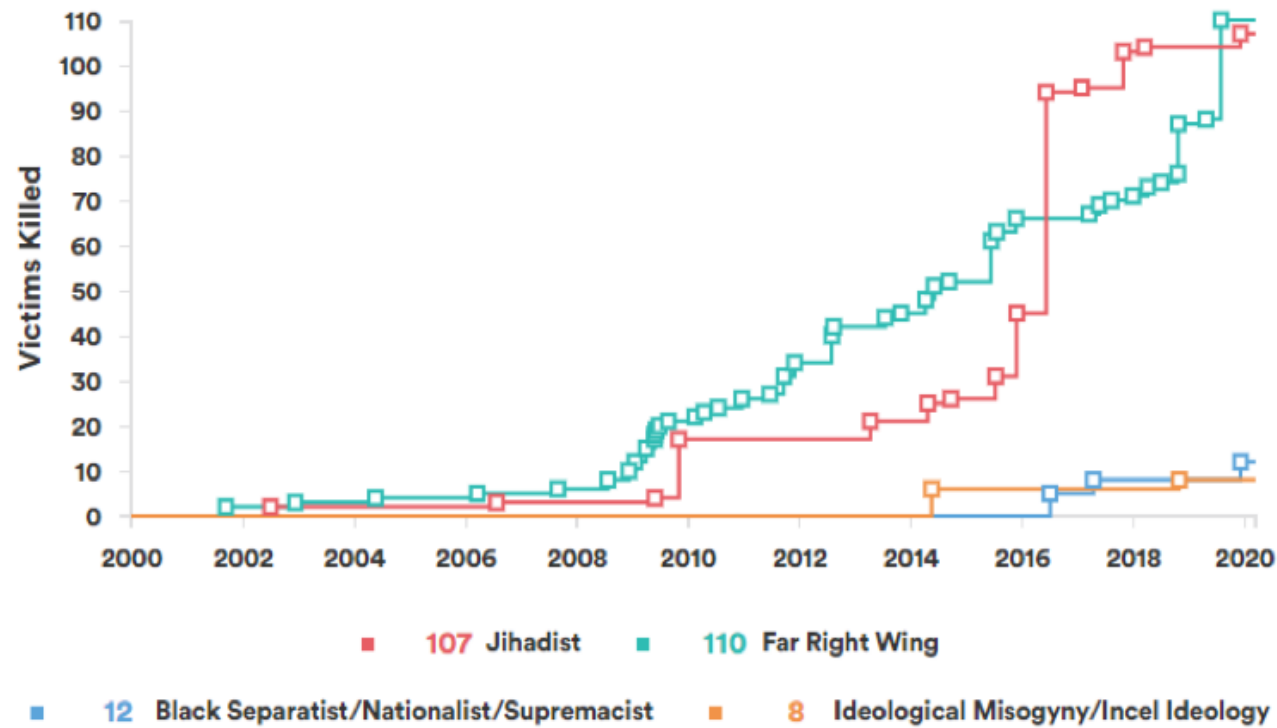


FIGURE 1 US Terror Attacks by Ideology of Perpetrator, 2000-2020
(Source: New America Foundation)⁷

Yet it is the lone-actor nature of recent attacks of the radical right that have made them so unpredictable and concerning, often emerging from an unregulated online space where radical right militants are free to immerse themselves in extremist propaganda and consult fellow sympathisers before inflicting deadly attacks.⁸

This country report, therefore, comes at a significant time for studying radical right extremist violence in the North America, as highlighted by recent attacks in Pittsburgh, Poway, El Paso and Tallahassee, and the influence of ‘booga-

loo’ accelerationists on Black Lives Matter demonstrations in May and June of 2020.⁹ Accordingly, the first part of this report surveys the activities of 28 key radical right extremist groups and the narratives that they propagate at the present moment. Using these case study examples, the second part then suggests guidance for, as well as practical examples of, counter-narratives that can be posed in relation to US-based radical right violent extremist narratives. A final section focusses on existing counter-narrative campaigns, concluding with recommendations for practitioners and policymakers interested in countering radical right-inspired violence.

⁷ Peter Bergen et al., “Terrorism in America After 9/11,” *New America Foundation*, online at: www.newamerica.org/in-depth/terrorism-in-america/what-threat-united-states-today/.

⁸ Macklin, G., ‘The El Paso Terrorist Attack: The Chain Reaction of Global Right-Wing Terror’, *CTC Sentinel*, December 2019, online at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/12/CTC-SENTINEL-112019.pdf>

⁹ *BBC News*, ‘Pittsburgh synagogue shooting: Suspect charged with murder’, 28 October 2018, online at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-46007707; *Times Staff*, ‘Poway synagogue shooting captured on video, prosecutors say, as they describe attack’, *Los Angeles Times*, 2 May 2019, online at: latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-san-diego-synagogue-shooter-camera-explainer-john-earnest-20190502-story.html; *Staff & Agencies*, ‘Texas man accused in El Paso mass shooting charged with federal hate crime’, *The Guardian*, 6 February 2020, online at: www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/feb/06/el-paso-walmart-shooting-hate-crime; Evans, R., & Wilson, J., ‘The Boogaloo Movement Is Not What You Think’, *Bellingcat*, 27 May 2020, online at: <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/2020/05/27/the-boogaloo-movement-is-not-what-you-think/comment-page-4/>; & Holcombe, M., Chavez, N., & Baldacci, M., ‘Florida yoga studio shooter planned attack for months and had ‘lifetime of misogynistic attitudes,’ police say’, *CNN US*, 13 February 2019, online at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/13/us/tallahassee-yoga-studio-shooting/index.html>.



PART ONE RADICAL RIGHT EXTREMIST GROUPS AND NARRATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

ASCENDANT CHAUVINISM & ACCELERATIONISM, PERSISTENT WHITE SUPREMACISM AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT EXTREMISM

With the decline of the alt-right (subscribing to more culturally ethno-nationalist & identitarian narratives) and the ebb of more traditional radical right movements (subscribing to older, more racially nationalist narratives, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Church of the Creator and Aryan Nations), the rise of accelerationist terror cells (such as Atomwaffen Division and the Base who subscribe to 'Siege' narratives of system destabilisation in order to animate revolution) have continued to animate violent forms of radical right extremist ac-

tivism in the US over the past half-decade. Commonly focused around concerns of a loss of white supremacy and toxic expressions of masculinity, US radical right groups have been mobilising around a common set of white-nationalist, chauvinist, and anti-government narratives. Below is a breakdown of prominent radical right extremist groups, ranging from terror cells and violent protest movements to civil society organisations, categorised according to levels of violence as well as the radicalism of their ideology.

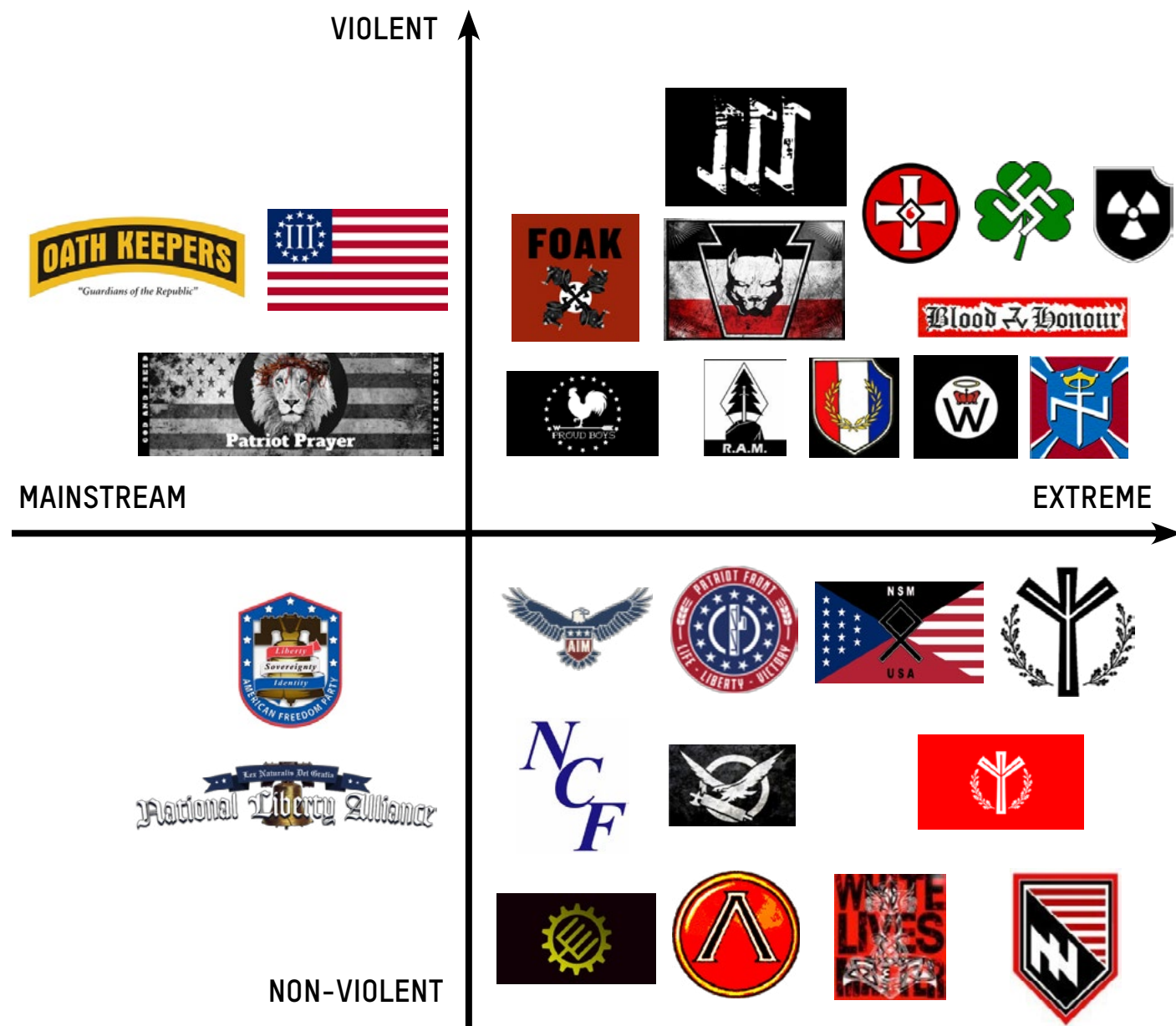


FIGURE 2 Overview of US Radical Right Extremist Groups
 (Horizontal Axis: Mainstreamness of Narratives,¹⁰ Vertical Axis: Incidence of Violence¹¹)

¹⁰ Here, 'mainstreamness' can be measured by the adoption of moderate narratives (usually involving a broad issue agenda, anti-establishment populism and electoralism) compared to more extreme, esoteric positions and modus operandi (e.g. street activism and terrorism) taken by fringe groups (De Lange, Akkerman and Rooduijn 2016).

¹¹ Here, 'violence' is measured as part of the narrative within a group and its mode of activism. Whilst the dominant trend within these groups has been toward non-violent forms of rhetoric and activism, neo-Nazi groups (such as Aryan Nations and the Creativity Movement) have historically shown more overt instances of violent activism; often perpetrated against perceived 'outsiders' such as ethnic and religious minorities.

TABLE 1: Overview of US Radical Right Extremist Narratives

EXTREMIST NARRATIVE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Accelerationism	Here, 'Accelerationism' refers to the belief in hastening of racial or political conflict through violent attacks in order to overthrow the current liberal democratic order.	"A New Order will Rise from the Ashes of the Kike System." (Atomwaffen Division)
Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory	Here, the 'Agenda 21 Conspiracy theory' is defined as a belief that international organisations and forms of co-operation are intended to create a socialist, one-world state.	"The battle lines have been drawn, and the fight is engaged between the Globalist New World Order versus the Populist Nationalist Traditionalists." (Oath Keepers)
Anti-Government Extremism	Here, 'Anti-Government Extremism' is defined as a sustained critique of government action that tips into an anti-system, revolutionary, and (sometimes) violent advocacy.	"Our goal is to utilize the failsafes put in place by our founders to rein in an overreaching government and push back against tyranny." (III%ers)
Anti-Government Sentiments	Here, 'Anti-Government Sentiments' are defined as a non-violent critique of government action that leads to either electoral or street-based forms of mobilisation.	"I'm brown so I'm definitely not a white supremacist, definitely not a white nationalist, definitely not a Nazi because I want limited government." (Patriot Prayer)
Anti-Government Violence	Here, 'Anti-Government Violence' is defined as a critique of government action that leads to violent forms of mobilisation, either against elected officials or law enforcement officers.	"John [Mc]Cain is a traitor to the Constitution... He would deny you the right for trial by jury, but we would give him a trial by jury. Then after we convict him he should be hung by the neck until dead." (Oath Keepers)

Anti-Immigration Sentiment	Here, 'Anti-Immigration' sentiments are defined as particularly strident views against open immigration policies. In particular, they might involve the cessation of immigration, or the compulsory and voluntary repatriation of non-indigenous citizens to the country in question.	"This attitude [i.e. abortion] + immigration = white genocide in the west (South Africa's version is much more intense)." (Proud Boys) ¹²
Anti-Muslim Populism	Here, 'Anti-Muslim Populism' is defined as a fusion of anti-Muslim prejudice and populist forms of nationalism, including hostility to Muslims and bigoted depictions of Islam.	"Defend America Islamists out! RAPEFUGEES stay away NOT WELCOME." (R.A.M.)
Anti-Semitism	Here, 'Anti-Semitism' is defined as expressions of anti-Jewish prejudice, including some anti-Zionist positions.	"Right, f**k the Old Bill – Jewish tools. The fucking silly little boys in blue. Are we the Jewish puppets or are we f*****g not!" (Blood & Honour US)
Chauvinism	Here, 'Chauvinism' is defined as actual or performative forms of violent masculinity, often in connection with ideas of virility and racial purity.	"So Proud Boys, this is a call to arms. You can choose to be a soft, weak, useless male. Or you can embrace the struggle and make yourself mentally and physically tough." (Proud Boys)
Christianism	Here, 'Christianism' is defined as a violent or racial interpretation of Christianity that sees the Christian religion as the defining feature of the 'nation' and/or the 'white race'.	"WE BELIEVE that Adam, man of Genesis, is the placing of the White Race upon this earth. Not all races descend from Adam. Adam is the father of the White Race only." (Aryan Nations)

¹² See 'Proud Boys' Group Profile (below) for further explanation of this quote.

Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	Here, the 'Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory' refers to the writings of Renaud Camus and the belief in a demographic replacement of native Europeans by non-European migrants, especially Muslims, deemed to be deliberately facilitated by ruling elites.	"The Great Replacement is happening, and it's impossible not to notice what the consequences of this racial change will be for the former First World nation of the United States of America." (Vdare.com) ¹³
Homophobia	Here, 'Homophobia' is defined as anti-LGBT+ sentiments, including tropes related to demographic depletion and degeneracy.	"WE BELIEVE that Adam, man of Genesis, is the placing of the White Race upon this earth. Not all races descend from Adam. Adam is the father of the White Race only." (Aryan Nations)
Identitarianism	According to José Pedro Zúquete (<i>The Identitarians, 2018</i>), Identitarians are a 'quickly growing ethno-cultural transnational movement [aimed at "preserving" a European form of ethno-cultural heritage] that, in diverse forms originated in France and Italy and has spread into southern, central, and northern Europe', as well as to the United States.	"The main task of The Rise Above Movement is to revive the spirit of a warrior and to see the rebirth of values of Western Civilization's forefathers." (R.A.M.)
Neo-Fascism	Here, 'Neo-Fascism' is used to describe an ultra-nationalist ideology that adheres to the concept of palingenesis, or the idea that the nation is reborn after a time of moral decadence and decay (Griffin, <i>The Nature of Fascism, 1991</i>).	"[we are] a truly American National Socialist Movement, which will give Americans the choice of electing a party that will combine the best of both Socialism and Capitalism to create a system that will stop the decay while bringing innovation, prosperity, and security to America." (N.S.M)
Neo-Nazism	Here, 'Neo-Nazism' is defined as adherence to the ideology of National Socialism after 1945, including Aryanism, veneration of Adolf Hitler, and advocacy of the Third Reich.	"We must have new societies throughout the White world which are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature." (National Alliance)

¹³ Vdare is an anti-immigration hate site that is "dedicated to preserving our historical unity as Americans into the 21st Century." It is a Southern Poverty Law Centre 'Designated Hate Group' and is named after Virginia Dare, said to be the first English child born in the New World, in 1587. See: *Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'VDare', Extremist Files*, online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/vdare>.


Neo-Paganism	Here, 'Neo-Paganism' is defined as a secular religion that rejects Christianity, sometimes preferring worship of Nazism or Norse gods.	"You want the maniacs, those beserkers, man, that, in their minds, they're going to Valhalla. If they fall on the battlefield, they're going to paradise." (Aryan Nation)
Q-Anon Conspiracy Theory	Here, the 'Q-Anon Conspiracy Theory' is based on the belief that there is a 'deep state', including various political, media, and cultural elites, collaborating to seek the overthrow of Donald Trump's presidency.	'It has become abundantly clear that President Trump working with military intelligence is taking down the deep state and the truth of all their worldwide evil and chaos will soon be revealed...?' (National Liberty Alliance)
Racial Nationalism	Here, 'Racial Nationalism' is defined as the unanimity of the nation and a racially white ethnic in-group, with immigration by non-white groups seen as an endangerment of this monist ideal.	"Membership within the American nation is inherited through blood, not ink." (Patriot Front)
Satanism	Here, 'Satanism' is defined as occult practices that include the worship of Satan and, in some cases, advocacy of neo-Nazism.	"[T]he infiltration and manipulation of organizations and forms with Sinister potential. Aryanism, particularly the more religiously fanatical forms of it, such as Christian Identity are a good example." (Tempel Ov Blood) ¹⁴
Sovereign Citizens Conspiracy Theory	Here, 'Sovereign Citizens Conspiracy Theory' is defined as the belief that citizens should be able to refuse any non-local authority, based upon a belief that the US federal government is illegitimate.	"I will NOT obey orders to disarm the American people." (III%ers)

¹⁴ Temple Ov Blood is a US offshoot of the neo-Nazi Satanic cult, Order of the Nine Angles. Its main text, Iron Gates, is purported to be an essential text for Atomwaffen Division activists. See: we can't govern, 'Nazi Satanist Cults Want Your Blood', *Medium*, 5 February 2018, online at: <https://medium.com/@eggfordinner/nazi-satanist-cults-want-your-blood-2a89c1578a65>.

Ultra-Nationalism	Here, 'Ultra-Nationalism' refers to an extreme loyalty or devotion to the nation, usually at the exclusion of others.	"Love Your Nation, Hate Antifa." (Keystone United)
Violence	Here, 'Violence' is defined as the threat of physical attack against an individual, people group, or class of person.	"Although it is not yet possible or realistic for us to expect to be able to openly oppose our enemies in open combat[...], we must begin now to educate and organize ourselves." (White Revolution)
Western Chauvinism	Here, 'Western Chauvinism' is defined as a form of civilisationism where the 'West' is privileged over the 'East'. (Brubaker, <i>Between Nationalism and Civilizationism</i> , 2017, online at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2017.1294700)	"How many of our children have to die before we rid our lands of Islamic invaders? Our civilization destroyed. WAKE UP YOU COWARDS! FIGHT!" (F.O.A.K)
White Genocide Conspiracy Theory	Here, 'White Genocide Conspiracy Theory', which originated with the neo-Nazi David Lane, is defined as the belief in a plot to 'replace' white citizens through government policy or demographic shifts.	"There is a very real threat to the continued existence of the European people. Not only do Europeans have the near prospect of living in nations where they are a small minority and thus must live as strangers in their own land, but their very existence and heritage is threatened." (White Lives Matter)
White Supremacism	Here, 'White Supremacism' is defined as a belief in white dominance over people of other racial backgrounds. It is often connected to concerns about 'white replacement' or belief in 'White Genocide' conspiracy theories.	"Remember that the inferior mud races are our deadly enemies, and the most dangerous of all is the Jewish race. It is our immediate objective to relentlessly expand the White Race, and keep shrinking our enemies." (Creativity Movement)

VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US




THE BASE

LEADER
Rinaldo Nazzaro

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- Accelerationism
- White Supremacism




ATOMWAFFEN DIVISION

LEADER
Brandon Russell

MEMBERSHIP
80 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- Accelerationism
- Satanism




PROUD BOYS

LEADER
Gavin McInnes

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Western Chauvinism
- White Supremacism
- Chauvinism




FRATERNAL ORDER OF ALT-KNIGHTS (FOAK)

LEADER
Kyle Chapman

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Western Chauvinism
- White Supremacism
- Misogyny
- Violence




BLOOD & HONOUR USA (COUNCIL 28)

LEADER
Ian Stuart Donaldson

MEMBERSHIP
60 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Racial Nationalism
- Anti-Semitism
- White Supremacism



KEYSTONE UNITED (KU)

LEADER
Unknown


MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Ultra-Nationalism
- Anti-Semitism
- White Supremacism

VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US




RISE ABOVE MOVEMENT (R.A.M.)

LEADER
Robert Rundo

MEMBERSHIP
50 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Identitarianism
- Neo-Fascism
- Anti-Muslim Populism




ARYAN BROTHERHOOD

LEADER
Unknown

MEMBERSHIP
20,000 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Racial Nationalism
- Neo-Paganism
- White Supremacism




ARYAN NATIONS

LEADER
Richard Girnt Butler

MEMBERSHIP
200 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Fascism
- Christianism
- Anti-Semitism



KU KLUX KLAN

LEADERS
John C. Lester,
John B. Kennedy, James R. Crowe, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, J. Calvin Jones

MEMBERSHIP
5,000 - 8,000 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- White Supremacism
- Anti-Semitism
- Homophobia



CREATIVITY MOVEMENT

LEADER
Ben Klassen

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- Neo-Paganism
- White Supremacism
- Anti-Semitism




VINLANDERS SOCIAL CLUB (VSC)

LEADERS
Brien James, Eric “the Butcher” Fairburn, Bryon Widner, Nate Sliter and Donald Weirich

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Paganism
- White Supremacism
- Ultra-Nationalism

DESCRIPTION	
	<p>Formed in June 2018 by the American citizen based in Russia, Rinaldo Nazzaro, the Base have come to typify the recent accelerationist tendency of violent radical right extremist groups.¹⁵ Aiming to destabilise Western democratic governments through racial “purification,”¹⁶ members of the Base have used encrypted messaging apps and the Russian meme website <i>iFunny</i>¹⁷ to recruit new members and organise offline activism.¹⁸ The Base drew particular attention in January 2020 after the group’s private telegram channel was infiltrated by an anti-fascist whistle blower and the true identity of its leader, Rinaldo Nazzaro (who had previously acted under the pseudonym of ‘Norman Spear’ and ‘Roman Wolf’), was revealed.¹⁹ This accompanied a litany of other criminal activities related to the group’s violent racist intent, ranging from the vandalism of synagogues in Racine, Wisconsin, and Hancock, Michigan (dubbed ‘Operation Kristallnacht’)²⁰ to their discussed transport of weapons to a pro-gun rally in Richmond, Virginia.²¹</p>
THE BASE	
LEADER Rinaldo Nazzaro	
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Neo-Nazism: “Yes, obviously. Focus on broad anti-white elements for now, though. N****r cars, Jew businesses etc.” <i>- An excerpt from The Base’s Telegram chat log.</i>²²</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Accelerationism: “Our whole purpose is gradual escalation and we’ve done absolutely f*****g NOTHING.” <i>- An excerpt from The Bases’ Telegram chat log.</i>²³</p>
Neo-Nazism	
Accelerationism	
White Supremacism	<p>White Supremacism: “Save Your Race, Join the Base.” <i>- An excerpt from The Base flyer advertising the group as a Survivalism and Self-Defence Network.</i>²⁴</p>

¹⁵ For a short overview of the Base’s international ideological and strategic connections, see: De Simone, D., & Winston, L., ‘Neo-Nazi militant group grooms teenagers’, *BBC News*, 22 June 2020, online at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-53128169>.

¹⁶ See: Lamoureux, M & Makuch, B., ‘Militant Neo-Nazi Group Actively Recruiting Ahead of Alleged Training Camp’, *VICE News*, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/bjwx55/militant-neo-nazi-group-actively-recruiting-ahead-of-alleged-training-camp; US State District Court for Maryland, ‘Motion for Detention Pending Trial’, online at: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Maryland%20Cell%20Motion%20for%20Detention%20Pending%20Trial.pdf>; & US State District Court for Maryland, ‘Three Alleged Members of the Violent Extremist Group “The Base” Facing Federal Firearms and Alien-Related Charges’, 16 January 2020, online at: <https://www.justice.gov/usao-md/pr/three-alleged-members-violent-extremist-group-base-facing-federal-firearms-and-alien>.

¹⁷ Broderick, R., ‘iFunny Has Become A Hub For White Nationalism’, *BuzzFeed News*, 15 August 2019, online at: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ryanhateshis/the-meme-app-ifunny-is-a-huge-hub-for-white-nationalists>.

¹⁸ Wilson, J., Op Cit., 24 January 2020.

¹⁹ Wilson, J., op. cit., 25 January 2020.


²⁰ Weill, K., ‘Why Arrest of Richard Tobin Is Bad News for Neo-Nazi Group The Base’, *The Daily Beast*, 18 November 2019, online at: www.thedailybeast.com/why-arrest-of-richard-tobin-is-bad-news-for-neo-nazi-group-the-base.

²¹ Tyree, E., ‘FBI arrests 3 white supremacists ahead of pro-gun rally’, *ABC 13 News*, 16 January 2020, online at: <https://wsnet.com/news/at-the-capitol/fbi-arrests-3-neo-nazi-suspects-with-weapons-planning-to-attend-gun-rally-in-richmond>.

²² Wilson, J., ‘Prepping for a race war: documents reveal inner workings of neo-Nazi group’, *The Guardian*, 25 January 2020, online at: www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/25/inside-the-base-neo-nazi-terror-group.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Wilson, J., ‘Revealed: the true identity of the leader of an American neo-Nazi terror group’, *The Guardian*, 24 January 2020, online at: www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/23/revealed-the-true-identity-of-the-leader-of-americas-neo-nazi-terror-group.

DESCRIPTION	
	<p>First emerging in 2013 from US activists on the now-defunct Ironmarch forum, the Atomwaffen Division has become one of the most concerning international neo-Nazi networks in recent times. Structured as a series of regional cells, in the beginning, the young group focused upon accelerationist violence as the only vehicle for apocalyptic, racial cleansing, and the imposition of an Aryan order in the US.²⁶ The Atomwaffen Division explicitly advocated neo-Nazism and drew a significant amount of inspiration from ‘Siege,’ a 1980’s newsletter published by the National Socialist Liberation Front under James Mason, and later compiled into a single volume now in its fourth edition.²⁷ The group also draws from Satanism and the occult. Links to a UK-founded Satanist neo-Nazi organisation led to a split forming within the group between the leadership and rank-and-file members in early 2018.²⁸ Since 2018, the organization has been linked to five killings²⁹ (including that of teenager Blaze Bernstein in late 2017³⁰) and several arrests for threats of violence and the ‘swatting’ of offices of investigative journalists.³¹ It has also produced spinoff groups in the UK, Australia, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and beyond.³²</p>
ATOMWAFFEN DIVISION	
LEADER Brandon Russell	
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
MEMBERSHIP 80 (est.) ²⁵	<p>Neo-Nazism: “The frail whites will serve as prey to the Aryan predator.” <i>-An excerpt from Atomwaffen Division homepage.</i>³³</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Accelerationism: “A New Order Will Rise from the Ashes of the Kike System.”³⁴ <i>-An Atomwaffen Division poster.</i>³⁵</p>
Neo-Nazism	
Accelerationism	
Satanism	<p>Satanism: “Satanism is alright. Depends on how you go about it. But then again, I’m more well read on the subject than most people. Most people get scared away and only go into the crust, rather than down to the core.” <i>-An excerpt from a leaked conversation on Atomwaffen Division’s Discord Server.</i>³⁶</p>

²⁵ Thompson, A.C., Winston, A., & Hanrahan, J., ‘California Murder Suspect Said to Have Trained With Extremist Hate Group’, *ProPublica*, 26 January 2018, online at: www.propublica.org/article/california-murder-suspect-atomwaffen-division-extremist-hate-group.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Counter Extremism Project, ‘James Mason’s Siege: Ties to Extremists’, online at: www.counterextremism.com/james-masons-siege-ties-to-extremists.

²⁸ See: Weill, K. ‘Satanism Drama is Tearing Apart the Murderous Neo-Nazi Group Atomwaffen’, *The Daily Beast*, 21 March 2018, online at: <https://www.thedailybeast.com/satanism-drama-is-tearing-apart-the-murderous-neo-nazi-group-atomwaffen>.

²⁹ Mathias, C., ‘1 Neo-Nazi Group, 5 Murders in 8 Months’, *Huffington Post US*, 1 February 2018, online at: www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/atomwaffen-nazi-murder-bomb-plot_n_5a70825ac4b00d-0dc2403287r18n=true.

³⁰ Thompson, A.C., Winston, A., & Hanrahan, J., ‘California Murder Suspect Said to Have Trained With Extremist Hate Group’, *ProPublica*, 26 January 2018, online at: www.propublica.org/article/california-murder-suspect-atomwaffen-division-extremist-hate-group.

³¹ Here, ‘Swatting’ is defined as the action of making a hoax call to the emergency services in order to lure them to a property, usually with a malicious intent. See: Eastern District of Virginia, ‘Former Atomwaffen Division Leader Arrested for Swatting Conspiracy’, 26 February 2020, online at: <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edva/pr/former-atomwaffen-division-leader-arrested-swatting-conspiracy> & US District Court of Washington, ‘United States of America v. Cameron Brandon Shea, Kaleb J. Cole, Taylor Ashley Parker-Dippe, & Johnny roman Garza’, Complaint for Violation, 25 February 2020, online at: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Cole%20Shea%20Parker-Dipeppe%20Garza%20Complaint.pdf>.


³² See: Grierson, J., ‘UK to ban neo-Nazi Sonnenkrieg Division as a terrorist group’, *The Guardian*, 24 February 2020, online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/24/uk-ban-neo-nazi-sonnenkrieg-division-terrorist-group>; Jackson, P., ‘Transnational Neo-Nazism in the USA, United Kingdom and Australia’, George Washington Programme on Extremism, February 2020, online at: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Jackson%20-%20Transnational%20neo%20Nazism%20in%20the%20USA%20-%20United%20Kingdom%20and%20Australia.pdf>; Lamoureux, M., & Makuch, B., ‘Atomwaffen, an American Neo-Nazi Terror Group, Is in Canada’, *VICE News*, 19 June 2018, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/a3a8ae/atomwaffen-an-american-neo-nazi-terror-group-is-in-canada; Lamoureux, M., & Makuch, B., ‘An American Neo-Nazi Group Has Dark Plans for Canada’, *VICE News*, 10 July 2018, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/cv847a/an-american-neo-nazi-group-has-dark-plans-for-canada; & Macklin, G., ‘The Evolution of Extreme-Right Terrorism and Efforts to Counter It in the United Kingdom’, *CTC Sentinel*, 12(1), online at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/evolution-extreme-right-terrorism-efforts-counter-united-kingdom/>.

³³ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Atomwaffen Division’, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/atomwaffen-division.

³⁴ Here, ‘Kike’ is used as a derogatory term for someone or something of supposed Jewish ethnic origin – often used by radical right extremists.

³⁵ Thompson, A.C., Winston, A., & Hanrahan, J., ‘Inside Atomwaffen As It Celebrates a Member for Allegedly Killing a Gay Jewish College Student’, *ProPublica*, 23 February 2018, online at: www.propublica.org/article/atomwaffen-division-inside-white-hate-group.

³⁶ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Atomwaffen Division’, Op Cit.

	DESCRIPTION
PROUD BOYS	<p>Established in September 2016 by Vice Media cofounder Gavin McInnes, the Proud Boys are self-described “western chauvinists” subscribing to an “anti-political correctness” and “anti-white guilt” agenda.³⁷ Emerging as part of the alt-right, McInnes distanced the group from the white-supremacist movement in 2017 (mainly to avert accusations of racism and obvious controversies surrounding its involvement at the Charlottesville ‘Unite the Right’ rally in August 2017).³⁸ Yet this has not staved off controversy for a group once described by the Southern Poverty Law Centre as an “alt-right fight club.”³⁹ For example, its propagation of white genocide conspiracy theories and involvement in violent activism have increasingly plagued the group over the past two years, which led to McInnes’ resignation in November 2018.⁴⁰ In particular, McInnes has previously talked about “white people” being “under siege,” and blamed the media for “politicising” white men by constantly belittling them.⁴¹ More concerning, several violent incidents, including targeted assaults on anti-fascist activists in New York⁴² and fights with left-wing counter protestors in Oregon,⁴³ have led to the group being listed as an “extremist group with ties to white nationalism” by the FBI.⁴⁴</p>
LEADER Gavin McInnes	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Western Chauvinism: “all that is required to become a Proud Boy is that a man declare he is ‘a Western chauvinist who refuses to apologize for creating the modern world.’”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from the Proud Boys “Who are they?” webpage.⁴⁵</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Anti-Immigration Sentiments: “This attitude [to abortion] + immigration = white genocide in the west (South Africa’s version is much more intense).”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-A tweet by Gavin McInnes in June 2017 based on a spoof InfoWars article suggesting that a feminist magazine was demanding women abort pregnancies in an attempted effort at “white genocide” which was also compounded by Hispanic and Asian migration.⁴⁶</i></p>
Western Chauvinism	<p>Chauvinism: “So Proud Boys, this is a call to arms. You can choose to be a soft, weak, useless male. Or you can embrace the struggle and make yourself mentally and physically tough.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from “Proud Boys Weekly Workout #1” Blog.⁴⁷</i></p>
White Supremacism	
Chauvinism	

³⁷ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Proud Boys’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/proud-boys.

³⁸ Woodhouse, L.A., ‘After Charlottesville, the American Far Right is Tearing Itself Apart’, *The Intercept*, 21 September 2017, online at: <https://theintercept.com/2017/09/21/gavin-mcinnis-alt-right-proud-boys-richard-spencer-charlottesville/>.

³⁹ Morlin, B., ‘New “Fight Club” Ready for Street Violence’, *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, online at: www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/04/25/new-fight-club-ready-street-violence.

⁴⁰ Wilson, J., ‘Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes quits ‘extremist’ far-right group’, *The Guardian*, 22 November 2018, online at: www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/22/proud-boys-founder-gavin-mcinnis-quits-far-right-group.

⁴¹ Lam, S., ‘Everything inside Gavin McInnes’, *The Globe and Mail*, 18 August 2017, online at: www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/television/gavin-mcinnis-path-to-the-far-right-frontier/article36024918/.

⁴² Reinstein, J., ‘Two Proud Boys Have Been Sentenced To Prison For Their Brutal New York City Assault’, *BuzzFeed News*, 22 October 2019, online at: www.buzzfeednews.com/article/juliarcinstein/proud-boys-sentenced-prison-new-york-city-assault-gavin.


⁴³ Wilson, J., ‘Who are the Proud Boys, ‘western chauvinists’ involved in political violence?’, *The Guardian*, 14 July 2018, online at: www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/14/proud-boys-far-right-portland-oregon.

⁴⁴ Wilson, J., ‘FBI now classifies far-right Proud Boys as ‘extremist group’, documents say’, *The Guardian*, 19 November 2018, online at: www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/19/proud-boys-fbi-classification-extremist-group-white-nationalism-report.

⁴⁵ The Elders, ‘Proud Boys: Who are we?’, Proud Boys website, online at: <https://officialproudboys.com/proud-boys/whoaretheproudboys/>.

⁴⁶ Hatewatch Staff, ‘Do You Want Bigots, Gavin? Because This Is How You Get Bigots’, *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, 10 August 2017, online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/08/10/do-you-want-bigots-gavin-because-how-you-get-bigots>.

⁴⁷ Judy, C., ‘Proud Boys Weekly Workout #1’, *Proud Boys* website, online at: <https://officialproudboys.com/sports-talk/proud-boys-weekly-workout-1/>.

	DESCRIPTION
FRATERNAL ORDER OF ALT-KNIGHTS (FOAK)	<p>Formed as the “tactical defense arm” of the Proud Boys,⁴⁸ the Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights (FOAK) has become an “accelerant for violence” at US right-wing rallies.⁴⁹ Founded after a conflagration between Proud Boys and counter protestors in Berkeley in April 2017,⁵⁰ its founder, Kyle Chapman, claimed that it was founded to “protect and defend our right-wing brethren” through “street activism, preparation, defense, and confrontation.”⁵¹ Chapman has served three prison terms for robbery, grand theft and illegal weapon sales. Chapman is also known as “Based Stick Man” for breaking a wooden rod over an opponent at a rally.⁵² Unlike the Proud Boys, FOAK only accepts men into their ranks.⁵³ FOAK asserts that violence is needed to combat what Chapman calls the “unholy alliance” of “globalism, radical Islam, and communism” that allegedly seeks to enslave white, Christian Americans and, in the process, destroy Western civilization.⁵⁴</p>
LEADER Kyle Chapman	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Western Chauvinism: “How many of our children have to die before we rid our lands of Islamic invaders? Our civilization destroyed. WAKE UP YOU COWARDS! FIGHT!”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>- An excerpt from a May 2017 Tweet by FOAK leader, Kyle Chapman.⁵⁵</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>White Supremacism: “Our brethren in Europe, they’re struggling right now. Their societies are under vicious attack from Islam, Globalization and Neo-Marxism. Our European Brethren are in a struggle for their very existence. Let’s send them our prayers and support their causes wherever we can.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>- An excerpt from a 2017 Reddit post by FOAK leader, Kyle Chapman.⁵⁶</i></p>
Western Chauvinism	<p>Misogyny: “I joined [...] because I was sick of these fake men parading around as feminists shutting down conservative speakers.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>- A comment by a Proud Boy activist at an April 2017 Arizona FOAK rally.⁵⁷</i></p>
White Supremacism	<p>Violence: “I say unto you, My Fellow Americans, that the Federal Government is not invincible. Verily, I say unto you that it can fall—and more than this, I say that it must fall. And if our blood must be the sacrifice, then so be it.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>- Comments made by (former) FOAK Deputy Leader, Augustus Invictus.⁵⁸</i></p>
Misogyny	
Violence	

⁴⁸ Rojo, J., ‘United We Stand’, op. cit.

⁴⁹ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights (FOAK)’, op. cit.

⁵⁰ CBS Local, ‘Alt Right ‘Proud Boys’ Declare Victory In Berkeley Melee’, 15 April 2017, online at: <https://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2017/04/15/proudboys-berkeley-violence-trump/>.

⁵¹ Miller, J.R., ‘Alt-right thugs want to bring muscle to liberal protests’, *NY Post*, online at: <https://nypost.com/2017/04/27/alt-right-group-tries-to-build-small-street-army/>.

⁵² Harkinson, J., ‘Cashing in on the Rise of the Alt-Right’, *Mother Jones*, 16 June 2017, online at: www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/06/kyle-chapman-based-stickman-alt-right/.

⁵³ Canadian Centre For Identity-Based Conflict, ‘Fraternal Order of Alt Knights’, online at: <http://vism.org/tools/rwc-group-database/fraternal-order-of-alt-knights/>.


⁵⁴ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights (FOAK)’, op. cit.

⁵⁵ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Fraternal Order of Alt-Knights (FOAK)’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/fraternal-order-alt-knights-foak.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Rojo, J., ‘United We Stand’, Proud Boys Blog, 25 April 2017, online at: <https://officialproudboys.com/proud-boys/united-we-stand/>.

⁵⁸ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Augustus Sol Invictus’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/augustus-sol-invictus.

DESCRIPTION	
	Founded in the UK in 1987 by Ian Stuart Donaldson, Blood & Honour USA may be considered a mimetic movement, akin to the one in the UK. Already by 1998, four members of the Tampa, Fla., chapter of Blood & Honour USA allegedly killed two homeless men in Florida. ⁶⁰ Following a split in the mid-1990s between violent and non-violent strands of the movement, two rival Blood & Honour groups emerged, the Blood & Honour America Division and Blood & Honour USA, with the former carrying on promoting white power through music and the latter favouring a more radical, militant approach. ⁶¹ Allied with several anti-Hammerskin movements under the umbrella of Council 28 (a numeric nod to Blood & Honour's initials), Blood & Honour USA held its inaugural meeting on 15 November 2015 in Logan, Ohio. A year later, four of the original skinhead groups that formed the council met with other white nationalist and neo-Nazi movements, but it was not until the following year that the coalition, which included members of the Scioto Skins, the Imperial Klans of America, the Christian Defense League, and National Socialist Movement officially took on the moniker of Council 28. At the meeting, skinhead leaders decided to join forces with the National Alliance in order to use the neo-Nazi group as their political arm. By 2020, it was unclear whether Council 28 was still active since the state skinhead crews establishing the group ceased using the Blood & Honour name.
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
Racial Nationalism	Racial Nationalism: “Eventually there will be a race war and we have to be strong enough in numbers to win it I’ll die to keep this country white and pure, and if it means bloodshed at the end of the day, then let it be.” <i>- A quote from B&H founder, Ian Stuart Donaldson.⁶²</i>
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism: “Right, f**k the Old Bill – Jewish tools. The f*****g silly little boys in blue. Are we the Jewish puppets or are we f*****g not!” <i>- A quote from B&H founder, Ian Stuart Donaldson.⁶³</i>
White Supremacism	White Supremacism: “Basically all we’re doing is what the pop magazines do for all the multi-racial bands. Only we’re doing it for White Power bands, that’s all. People who are proud to be White buy our music, and our magazine.” <i>- A quote from B&H founder, Ian Stuart Donaldson.⁶⁴</i>

⁵⁹ This is based on figures of a 2005 meeting reported by the Southern Poverty Law Centre, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/blood-honour.

⁶⁰ Anti-Defamation League, ‘Racist Skinhead Pleads Guilty to Double Murder in Florida’, 11 July 2008, online at: www.adl.org/news/article/racist-skinhead-pleads-guilty-to-double-murder-in-florida.

⁶¹ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Blood and Honour’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/blood-honour.

⁶² *Blood & Honour* website, ‘ISD Quotes – Quotes From & By Ian Stuart Donaldson’ Page, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190624135331/https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/isd/isd-quotes/>.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

DESCRIPTION	
	Founded in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in September 2001 in order to “unite all racially aware skinheads in the state of Pennsylvania,” Keystone United (KU) (also dubbed the ‘Keystone State Skinheads’) is one of Pennsylvania’s most active white supremacist groups. ⁶⁵ Organising white power concerts, holiday gatherings, public demonstrations, and barbeques, the group’s activities have been characterised as “inconsistent” and “sporadic,” with activities tapering off in the late 2000’s before spiking again in the late 2010’s. ⁶⁶ The main focus of its more recent activism has been banner drops and ‘stickering’ campaigns, with one in March 2018 urging individuals to “Defend Our Community! Stand up! Speak out!” Beyond street activism, KU have also engaged in electoral forms of activism, including members serving on Republican Party county committees in Luzerne County. In addition, the group has also been involved with more violent forms of activism, with activists being found guilty of assault and the brutal murder of a homeless person in 2007. ⁶⁷
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
White Supremacism	White Supremacism: “We now intend to focus our efforts on raising awareness among Whites through an increase in public activism and the creation of various outreach programs.” <i>- An excerpt from Keystone United’s (KU) ‘About Us’ page.⁶⁸</i>
Ultra-Nationalism	Ultra-Nationalism: “Love Your Nation, Hate Antifa.” <i>- A slogan from a KU ‘stickering’ campaign.⁶⁹</i>
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism: “Jewish Lies + Saudi Money = USA Wars.” <i>- A slogan from a KU banner drop.⁷⁰</i>

⁶⁵ Ibid.


⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Anti-Defamation League, op. cit, 11 July 2008.

⁶⁸ *Keystone United* website, ‘About Us’ Page, online at: www.keystone-united.com/about-us-contact.

⁶⁹ Anti-Defamation League, ‘Keystone State Skinheads/Keystone United’, online at: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/keystone-state-skinheadskeystone-united.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Founded in 2017 in Southern California, the Rise Above Movement (R.A.M.) rose to prominence amidst ongoing 'alt-right' protest around college campuses and the 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville later that year. In particular, the group's notoriety for bloody confrontations with counter-protestors and fight-club style organisation mark the group out from others on the American white supremacist scene. For example, in March and April 2017, several of the movement's members deliberately engaged in violent confrontations with counter-protestors.⁷² Moreover, in May 2019, Benjamin Daley and Michael Miselis pled guilty to conspiring to riot in Charlottesville, joining other Rise Above members who had done so earlier.⁷³ Three of the four were sentenced on July 19: Daley to 37 months, Gillen to 33 months, and Miselis to 27 months. In 2018, R.A.M. also launched a clothing line called 'Right Brand Clothing'.⁷⁴ Recent reports have also linked R.A.M. to the Ukraine-based neo-Nazi group Azov Battalion.⁷⁵ With the potential to cause additional violent disorder, the group is likely to continue to animate the white nationalist scene in Southern California, especially Orange County, into the future. As of May 2020, R.A.M has 936 followers on its Gab.ai account.⁷⁶</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">RISE ABOVE MOVEMENT (R.A.M.)</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Robert Rundo</p>	
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP 50 (est.)⁷¹</p>	<p>Identitarianism: "The main task of The Rise Above Movement is to revive the spirit of a warrior and to see the rebirth of values of Western Civilization's forefathers." <i>- An excerpt from 18 December 2017 Rise Above Movement Gab post.</i>⁷⁷</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Identitarianism</p>	<p>Neo-Fascism: "We want to rise above all of today's destructive culture and see the rebirth of our people, strong in mental and physical capacities as our forefathers were." <i>- An excerpt from a 12 June 2017 R.A.M. Instagram post.</i>⁷⁸</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Neo-Fascism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Muslim Populism</p>	<p>Anti-Muslim Populism: "Defend America Islamists out! RAPEFUGEES stay away NOT WELCOME [Sic]." <i>- Signs used by R.A.M. members at an anti-Sharia law rally in San Bernardino, California in June 2017.</i></p>

⁷¹ Thompson, A.C., Winston, A. and BondGraham, D., 'Racist, Violent, Unpunished: A White Hate Group's Campaign of Menace', *ProPublica*, 19 October 2017, online at: www.propublica.org/article/white-hate-group-campaign-of-menace-rise-above-movement.

⁷² Thomson, A.C., 'Federal Judge Dismisses Charges Against 3 White Supremacists', *ProPublica*, 4 June 2019, online at: www.propublica.org/article/federal-judge-dismisses-charges-against-3-white-supremacists.

⁷³ Thompson, A.C., 'Once Defiant, All Four White Supremacists Charged in Charlottesville Violence Plead Guilty', *ProPublica*, 6 May 2019, online at: www.propublica.org/article/all-four-white-supremacists-charged-in-charlottesville-violence-plead-guilty.


⁷⁴ Anti-Defamation League, 'Rise Above Movement', Hate Group Symbols/Logos, online at: www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/rise-above-movement.

⁷⁵ See: Colborne, M., 'There's One Far-Right Movement That Hates the Kremlin', *Foreign Policy*, 17 April 2019, online at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/17/theres-one-far-right-movement-that-hates-the-kremlin-azov-ukraine-biletsky-nouvelle-droite-venner/>; Colborne, M., 'Friday Night Fights With Ukraine's Far Right', *The New Republic*, 9 July 2019, online at: <https://newrepublic.com/article/154434/friday-night-fights-ukraines-far-right>; & Miller, C., 'Azov, Ukraine's Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights On U.S., Europe', *Radio Free Europe*, 14 November 2018, online at: <https://www.rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html>.

⁷⁶ This figure was collected in February 2020. It is also a note of concern that other US groups, like the Base and Atomwaffen, have had high numbers of followers on Telegram and other more clandestine online platforms.

⁷⁷ Anti-Defamation League, 'Rise Above Movement (R.A.M.)', online at: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/rise-above-movement-ram.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Founded in 1964 by Irish bikers to protect white inmates in (then recently) desegregated prisons, the Aryan Brotherhood is the oldest, largest, and deadliest white supremacist prison gang in the United States.⁸⁰ According to the FBI, the Aryan Brotherhood comprises an extremely low percentage of the entire US prison population (less than a tenth of 1%) but is responsible for a disproportionate number of prison murders (around 18%).⁸¹ Before joining the Aryan Brotherhood, potential recruits are required to "make their bones," usually by injuring or killing a rival gang member or assaulting a prison officer, with the only way out of the gang reportedly involving death (hence the "blood in, blood out" motto of the group.) Alongside its more violent activities, the Aryan Brotherhood has also been involved in organized criminality (including drug trafficking, prostitution, and assassination)⁸² with 29 of the gang's leaders being prosecuted in late 2002 under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act.⁸³ Arguably, the officials' so-called 'decapitation strike' failed with juries returning convictions short of the capital convictions. Popular tattoos among Aryan Brotherhood members include a shamrock (denoting the group's Irish origins) inscribed with the number "666" (denoting satanic or sinister tendencies), swastikas, the abbreviation "A.B.," and double lightning bolts, which stand for Hitler's Schutzstaffel (SS), or personal protection squad.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">ARYAN BROTHERHOOD</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Unknown</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP 20,000 (est.)⁷⁹</p>	
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	<p>White Supremacism: "For the Aryan Brotherhood, murder is a way to make a social statement. If blacks attack whites, we send a message." <i>-An excerpt from interview with imprisoned ex-Aryan Brotherhood 'commissioner' John Greschner in 2012.</i>⁸⁴</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">White Supremacism</p>	<p>Racial Nationalism: "They're race traitors. The Heroin Brotherhood. That's what they should really be called." <i>- An excerpt from Interview with ex-Aryan Brotherhood member Casper Crowell, National Geographic Explorer's 'Aryan Brotherhood' in 2007, slurring his former group with the epithet "Heroin Brotherhood" for their links to drug dealing in prisons.</i>⁸⁵</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Racial Nationalism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Neo-Paganism</p>	<p>Neo-Paganism: "You want the maniacs, those beserkers, man, that, in their minds, they're going to Valhalla. If they fall on the battlefield, they're going to paradise." <i>- An excerpt from interview with imprisoned ex-Aryan Brotherhood 'commissioner' John Greschner in 2012.</i>⁸⁶</p>

⁷⁹ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'Aryan Brotherhood', Extremist Files, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/aryan-brotherhood.

⁸⁰ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'Aryan Brotherhood', Op Cit.

⁸¹ Holthouse, D., 'Smashing the Shamrock', *Southern Poverty Law Centre's Intelligence Report*, 2005 Fall Issue, online at: www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/d6_legacy_files/ir_aryan_prison_gangs_special_report_web.pdf. P2.

⁸² Grann, D., 'The Brand', *The New Yorker*, 9 February 2004, online at: www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/02/16/the-brand.

⁸³ Kahn, C., 'Trial of Aryan Brotherhood Leaders Wraps Up', *NPR*, 14 July 2006, online at: www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5558210.

⁸⁴ Holthouse, D., 'Former "Commissioner" John Greschner Discusses Life and Death in the Aryan Brotherhood', *Southern Poverty Law Centre's Intelligence Report*, 2012 Winter Issue, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2012/former-%E2%80%9898commissioner%E2%80%99-john-greschner-discusses-life-and-death-aryan-brotherhood.

⁸⁵ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'Aryan Brotherhood', op. cit.

⁸⁶ Holthouse, D., 2012 Winter Issue, op. cit., online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2012/former-%E2%80%9898commissioner%E2%80%99-john-greschner-discusses-life-and-death-aryan-brotherhood.

	DESCRIPTION
ARYAN NATIONS	<p>Established in the mid-1970s in Hayden, Idaho, Aryan Nations was founded on and inspired by the teachings of the US Christian Identity movement. The latter emerged from the radical interpretation of Christianity by Wesley A. Swift, one whereby whites of European descent can be traced back to the “Lost Tribes of Israel.”⁸⁸ Best known within US white supremacist circles for summer gatherings known as the ‘World Congress of Aryan Nations’, in the 1980s and 1990s the Aryan Nations congregated annually at its 20-acre Northern Idaho compound. Since the early 2000s, however, the group has largely been in decline, especially with the death of its leader in 2004 and its subsequent splintering into various subgroups (such as the Tabernacle of Phineas Priesthood, Church of the Sons of Yahweh, and the Aryan Nations Revival).⁸⁹ Perhaps the most troubling legacy of the movement has, however, been its record of violence. For example, one aged congregant committed a shooting in a Jewish community centre in Los Angeles in 1998,⁹⁰ and one of Butler’s security guards assaulted a woman and her son while driving near the Aryan Nations’ compound in July the same year.⁹¹ The latter incident forced the organisation into bankruptcy, leading to Butler relinquishing the group’s Hayden Lake estate and bringing about the movement’s decline.⁹²</p>
LEADER Richard Girnt Butler	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 200 (est.) ⁸⁷	<p>Neo-Fascism: “WE BELIEVE that the Cananite [sic] Jew is the natural enemy of our Aryan (White) Race.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- <i>An excerpt from Aryan Nation’s “Statement of Beliefs” webpage.</i>⁹³</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Christianism: “WE BELIEVE that Adam, man of Genesis, is the placing of the White Race upon this earth. Not all races descend from Adam. Adam is the father of the White Race only.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- <i>An excerpt from Aryan Nation’s “Statement of Beliefs” webpage.</i>⁹⁴</p>
Neo-Fascism	<p>Anti-Semitism: “We are dangerous. Dangerous to the Jews, n****rs, and anyone else who poses a threat to the white race. What I find especially disturbing is the n****rs.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- <i>An excerpt from a sermon by former Aryan Nations Ohio state leader and Christian Identity pastor Ray Redfeairn.</i>⁹⁵</p>
Christianism	
Anti-Semitism	

⁸⁷ This was at the group’s peak in 2004, just before Butler’s death. For more information, see: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2010/will-real-aryan-nations-please-stand. Anti-Defamation League, ‘Christian Identity’, *Backgrounders*, online at: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/christian-identity.

⁸⁸ Anti-Defamation League, ‘Aryan Nations /Church of Jesus Christ Christian’, online at: www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/aryan-nations.

⁸⁹ Anti-Defamation League, ‘Aryan Nations /Church of Jesus Christ Christian’, online at: www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/aryan-nations.

⁹⁰ Rozenwieg, D., ‘Furow Spared by His Mental Health’, *Los Angeles Times*, 25 January 2001, online at: www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-jan-25-me-16825-story.html.


⁹¹ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, ‘Keenan V. Aryan Nations’, online at: www.splcenter.org/seeking-justice/case-docket/keenan-v-aryan-nations.

⁹² Associated Press, ‘Pair Who Sued Hate Group to Buy Compound at Auction’, *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 2001, online at: www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-feb-08-mn-22878-story.html.

⁹³ Aryan Nation’s website, ‘State of Beliefs’, April 2001, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20010405042651/http://aryan-nations.org/frames.htm>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, ‘Aryan Nations’, Extremist Files, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20010405042651/http://aryan-nations.org/frames.htm>.

	DESCRIPTION
KU KLUX KLAN	<p>Founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is perhaps the oldest radical right organisation still in existence. Originally founded as a vigilante group to intimidate Southern blacks during the Reconstruction following the American Civil War, hooded costumes, violent ‘night rides’ and lynchings were the signature of the ‘first era’ Klan, which lasted until the Great War (it was followed by a larger federation that persisted beyond the desegregation mandated under the Jim Crow laws).⁹⁷ The Klan’s second phase owed much to the infamous film, ‘Birth of a Nation,’ in 1915, which led to a resurgence in the 1920s. In part due to Catholic and Jewish immigration during the early 20th century, as many as 5 million people joined the movement before World War Two.⁹⁸ The postwar Klan era saw the KKK re-emerge nationally in opposition to the civil rights movement, some of its members bombing, murdering, and attacking African-Americans in order to uphold segregation.⁹⁹ Since its decline from the 1970s, the KKK is no longer a coherent entity but is comprised of four, often mutually hostile organizations (the Brotherhood of Klans (BOK), the National Knights, Imperial Klans of America (IKA), and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan), not to mention scores of smaller, local chapters.¹⁰⁰ Whilst its vigilante activities are no longer nearly as prevalent or widespread, a number of recent incidents demonstrate the KKK’s violent intent, with one former senior KKK leader murdering three people at two Jewish community centres near Kansas City, Missouri in April 2014.¹⁰¹ Another Klan member, in 2010, was found guilty of murdering a new recruit in 2008.¹⁰² Moreover, there have also been connections between the group and glorification of domestic terrorism. For example, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed fliers in California, Kansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia congratulating Dylann Roof on his attack at a black church in Charleston in July 2015.¹⁰³</p>
LEADERS John C. Lester, John B. Kennedy, James R. Crowe, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, & J. Calvin Jones	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 5,000 - 8,000 (est.) ⁹⁶	<p>White Supremacism: “What We Believe. The WHITE RACE: The irreplaceable hub of our nation, our Christian Faith, and the high levels of Western Culture and Technology.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- <i>An excerpt from the Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan’s website.</i>¹⁰⁴</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Anti-Semitism: “In modern America, Jews lead the effort to de-Christianize America. More importantly, Jews dominate the very un-Christian mass media.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- <i>An excerpt from a polemic written by former leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, David Duke, in 2002.</i>¹⁰⁵</p>
White Supremacism	<p>Homophobia: “So for a church to welcome so-called Christian homosexuals or non-whites into the congregation—because its some sort of hospital for the depraved is wrong.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">- <i>An excerpt from a sermon given by Knights Party Spokesperson and Christian Identity Priest, Rachel Pendergraft.</i>¹⁰⁶</p>
Anti-Semitism	
Homophobia	

⁹⁶ This is according to most recent estimates in October 2009, see: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/6419739/Ku-Klux-Klan-a-violent-history.html.

⁹⁷ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, ‘Ku Klux Klan’, Extremist Files, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/ku-klux-klan.

⁹⁸ *Counter Extremist Project*, ‘KKK (Ku Klux Klan)’ Report, online at: www.counterextremism.com/threat/ku-klux-klan.

⁹⁹ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, ‘Ku Klux Klan’, op. cit.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ *BBC News*, ‘Frazier Glenn Miller: US white supremacist sentenced to death’, 11 November 2015, online at: www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-34783848.

¹⁰² *Daily Telegraph*, ‘Ku Klux Klan leader murdered new recruit’, 6 May 2010, online at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/7684947/Ku-Klux-Klan-leader-murdered-new-recruit.html.

¹⁰³ Briquet, K., ‘The Klan’s Vile Post-Charleston Recruiting Spree’, *The Daily Beast*, 12 July 2015, online at: www.thedailybeast.com/the-klan-s-vile-post-charleston-recruiting-spree.

¹⁰⁴ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, ‘Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan’, Extremist Files, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/church-national-knights-ku-klux-klan.

¹⁰⁵ Duke, D., *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening on the Jewish Question*, 2002, online at: https://issuu.com/guraja/docs/david_duke_jewish_supremacism_my_a.

¹⁰⁶ Pendergraft, R., ‘Our Assurance of Victory’, *Christian Identity Church*, online at: www.christianidentitychurch.net/our_assurance_of_victory.htm.

	DESCRIPTION
CREATIVITY MOVEMENT	<p>Founded by US white supremacists in 1973 under the leadership of Ben Klassen from Lighthouse Point, Florida, the Creativity Movement adheres to the belief that race, not religion, is the embodiment of metaphysical truth, and that the white race is the highest expression of culture and civilization.¹⁰⁷ Using the motto of “RaHoWa,” or “racial holy war,” a number of the movement’s adherents have taken this slogan literally, with several of its members committing violent crimes against ethnic minorities, dubbed ‘mud people’ by this hate group. In 1991, for example, Creativity activist George Loeb was convicted of the racially motivated murder of Harold Mansfield, Jr., a black sailor and Gulf War veteran, in Mayport, Florida.¹⁰⁸ Similarly in 1999, Ben Smith left two persons of colour dead and nine others wounded in Illinois and Indiana following a shooting spree.¹⁰⁹ After the suicide of Ben Klassen in 1993 and a name change (from Church of the Creator to World Church of the Creator), Matt Hale helped foster the group’s reputation for criminal and verbal violence. Amid repeated struggles over the group’s name,¹¹⁰ and even a conviction for plotting the murder of a federal judge in 2004,¹¹¹ the Creativity Movement’s operation has largely halted.</p>
LEADER Ben Klassen	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Neo-Nazism: “Show preferential treatment in business dealings to members of your own race. Phase out all dealings with Jews as soon as possible. Do not employ n****s or other coloreds. Have social contacts only with members of your own racial family.”</p> <p>- <i>The <u>Seventh</u> of the “Creativity Movement’s “16 Commandments.”</i>¹¹²</p>
IDEOLOGY Neo-Nazism	<p>Neo-Paganism: “We Creators take pride in analyzing situations and issues from a logical perspective, rather than through the veil of emotion or Christ-INSANITY...”</p> <p>- <i>An <u>excerpt</u> from “The Role of Women” article, 1 October 2006.</i>¹¹³</p>
Neo-Paganism	<p>White Supremacism: “It is the avowed duty and holy responsibility of each generation to assure and secure for all time the existence of the White Race upon the face of this planet.”</p> <p>- <i>The <u>First</u> of the Creativity Movement’s “16 Commandments.”</i>¹¹⁴</p>
White Supremacism	<p>Anti-Semitism: “Remember that the inferior mud races are our deadly enemies, and the most dangerous of all is the Jewish race. It is our immediate objective to relentlessly expand the White Race, and keep shrinking our enemies.”</p> <p>- <i>The <u>Third</u> of the Creativity Movement’s “16 Commandments.”</i>¹¹⁵</p>
Anti-Semitism	

¹⁰⁷ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Creativity Movement’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/creativity-movement-0.
¹⁰⁸ Associated Press, ‘Sailor’s Killer Gets Sentence Of Life in Prison’, *The Oklahoman*, 13 August 1992, online at: <https://oklahoman.com/article/2403014/sailors-killer-gets-sentence-of-life-in-prison>.

¹⁰⁹ Zax, T., ‘A White Supremacist Murderer Devastated Chicago 20 Years Ago. Why Didn’t Anything Change?’, *Forward*, 2 July 2019, online at: <https://forward.com/culture/426735/white-supremacist-chicago-jews-ricky-byrdson-benjamin-smith-1999/>.

¹¹⁰ Hightower, N., ‘What’s in a name?’, *Southern Poverty Law Centre Intelligence Report*, 2002 Winter Issue, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2015/whats-name.

¹¹¹ FBI, ‘A Different Breed of Terrorist: Hate Group Leader Convicted of Plotting Federal Judge’s Murder’, 6 September 2004, online at: <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/stories/2004/june/hale060904>.

¹¹² Creativity Movement website, ‘The Sixteen Commandments’, 18 March 2007, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20070318184400/http://www.creativitymovement.net/news.html#sixteen>.

¹¹³ Creativity Movement website, ‘The Role of Women’, 1 October 2006, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20070318184400/http://www.creativitymovement.net/news.html#women>.

¹¹⁴ Creativity Movement website, ‘The Sixteen Commandments’, op. cit.
¹¹⁵ Ibid.

	DESCRIPTION
VINLANDERS SOCIAL CLUB (VSC)	<p>Formed in 2003 by Brien James, Eric “The Butcher” Fairburn, Bryon Widner, Nate Sliter and Donald Weirich from the Hoosier State Skinheads and the Keystone State Skinheads, Vinlanders Social Club (VSC) have been described as “a skinhead ‘warrior clan’ devoted to drinking, fighting and a racist variant of Odinism.”¹¹⁶ Hosting the first official meeting of the Blood & Honour Council in November 2005, the group quickly went from a regional skinhead group based in America’s Midwest to a “national force.”¹¹⁷ By 2007, the Vinlanders had eight chapters in six states and had entered into an agreed truce with Hammerskin Nation.¹¹⁸ Whilst members continued to commit heinous acts of violence, under the leadership of Brien James the VSC attempted to move it away from what it saw as the “white racialist movement.” This led to a period of decline that was further compounded by the arrest of more than a dozen members of the VSC on charges ranging from drug possession and misconduct involving firearms to aggravated assault and murder in Arizona in 2010.¹¹⁹ Its last noted public event was in summer 2011 at a white power concert called ‘Plunder and Pillage,’ in Columbus, Ohio.¹²⁰</p>
LEADERS Brien James, Eric “the Butcher” Fairburn, Bryon Widner, Nate Sliter and Donald Weirich	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Neo-Paganism: “I am ready for Valhalla or prison to do what is right. We are sick of the lies, tired of the BS, we are calling you out: either listen to the truth or fight for your lives for the lie.”</p> <p>- <i>A comment by VSC Co-founder, Eric Fairburn, in a 2003 post <u>directed</u> at the group’s rivals, Hammerskin Nation.</i>¹²¹</p>
IDEOLOGY Neo-Paganism	<p>White Supremacism: “Our beliefs stem from being deprived of our individual freedoms and from our witnessing of the decline of western civilization.”</p> <p>- <i>A comment by Co-founder Brien James on the group’s website in 2007.</i>¹²²</p>
Neo-Paganism	<p>Ultra-Nationalism: Fearless, Drug Free, Pro-American.”</p> <p>- <i>VSC website <u>slogan</u> from 2011.</i>¹²³</p>
White Supremacism	
Ultra-Nationalism	

¹¹⁶ Holthouse, D., ‘Motley Crews’, *Southern Poverty Law Centre, Intelligence Report* 123, Fall 2006, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/motley-crews-decline-hammerskins-independent-skinhead-groups-grow.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Vinlanders Social Club’, *Extremism Files*, online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/vinlanders-social-club>.

¹¹⁹ Holthouse, D. and Wood, L., ‘Racist Skinhead Group Vinlanders Social Club on the Decline’, *Southern Poverty Law Centre’s Intelligence Report*, Winter 2008, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2008/racist-skinhead-group-vinlanders-social-club-decline. See also Lemons, S., ‘PD’s Career Criminal Squad Crushes White Supremacist Gang in Arizona’, *Phoenix New Times*, 22 September 2010, online at: www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/vinlanders-vanquished-phoenix-pds-career-criminal-squad-crushes-white-supremacist-gang-in-arizona-6500983.



¹²⁰ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘Vinlanders Social Club’, op. cit.


¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Vinlander Social Club website, ‘Frequently Asked Questions’ Page, 21 September 2011, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080921083212/http://www.vinlanders.com/modules.php?name=FAQ>.

MAINSTREAM AND VIOLENT RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

		
PATRIOT PRAYER	OATH KEEPERS	III%ERS (THREE PERCENTERS)
LEADER Joey Gibson	LEADER Stewart Rhodes	FOUNDER Michael Graham
		LEADER Michael "Mike" Brian Vanderboegh
MEMBERSHIP 15 (est).	MEMBERSHIP 30,000 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP Unknown
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Anti-Muslim Populism	Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory	Violence
Christianism	Anti-Government Violence	Sovereign Citizens Conspiracy Theory
Anti-Government Sentiments	Anti-Government Extremism	Anti-Government Extremism

	DESCRIPTION
PATRIOT PRAYER	Founded in 2016 by the self-described "Conservative libertarian" Joey Gibson, ¹²⁵ Patriot Prayer has grown notorious for its rallies and protests, attracting white supremacists and engaging in violent confrontations. ¹²⁶ Joined by the Proud Boys and Hell Shaking Street Preachers, confrontations with counter protestors and antifascist activists have become a frequent part of Patriot Prayer's demonstrations, with physical clashes and incidents of serious violent escalation both evident. ¹²⁷ With its activist base mainly concentrated in the Pacific Northwest, activism has largely been confined to Portland, Seattle, and San Francisco. Yet there have also been signs of the group extending its reach to Vancouver. ¹²⁸ Arguably not ideologically radical right, Patriot Prayer does nevertheless rally on similar issues to the radical right, such as gun rights and free speech, as well as more regional concerns surrounding the "liberat[ion of ...] conservatives on the West Coast." ¹²⁹ Its Christianist ethos is, likewise, reminiscent of other anti-Islam groups. The group currently has a sizeable online following: 48,700 on YouTube, ¹³⁰ 7,986 on Twitter, and 2,667 Facebook followers. ¹³⁰
LEADER Joey Gibson	
MEMBERSHIP 15 (est). ¹²⁴	
IDEOLOGY	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
Anti-Muslim Populism	Anti-Muslim Populism: "To have a problem with Islam is not racist. That's having an issue with someone's ideology, not race." <i>-An excerpt from an August 2017 interview with Patriot Prayer leader, Joey Gibson.¹³¹</i>
Anti-Government Sentiments	Anti-Government Sentiments: "I'm brown so I'm definitely not a white supremacist, definitely not a white nationalist, definitely not a Nazi because I want limited government." <i>-Patriot Prayer leader, Joey Gibson, commenting on Patriot Prayer's (cancelled) August 2017 San Francisco rally.¹³²</i>
Christianism	Christianism: "I truly believed God wanted me to have the rally. I do believe the scheduling, the way it was scheduled, happened for a reason." <i>-Patriot Prayer leader, Joey Gibson, commenting on Patriot Prayer's (almost cancelled) 4 June 2017 rally.¹³³</i>

¹²⁴ This is based on an insiders account of core membership, but wider membership most likely to be at least one hundred times this – given average demonstration attendance figures. See for former figure: Zielinski, A., 'Undercover in Patriot Prayer: Insights From a Vancouver Democrat Who's Been Working Against the Far-Right Group from the Inside', *Portland Mercury*, 26 August 2019, online at: www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2019/08/26/27039560/undercover-in-patriot-prayer-insights-from-a-vancouver-democrat-whos-been-working-against-the-far-right-group-from-the-inside.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ May, P., 'Who's behind this weekend's right-wing rally at Crissy Field?', *The Mercury News*, 23 August 2017, online at: www.mercurynews.com/2017/08/23/whos-behind-this-weekends-right-wing-rally-at-crissy-field/.

¹²⁷ Bivins, M., 'Alt-right rally draws protests in Portland, Oregon', *Al-Jazeera*, 5 June 2017, online at: www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/alt-rally-draws-protests-portland-oregon-170605081719281.html & Sheperd, K., 'Police in Vancouver Detain Man for Nearly Running Down Antifa Protesters With His Truck', *Willamette Week*, online at: www.wweek.com/news/2017/09/10/police-in-vancouver-arrest-man-for-nearly-running-down-antifa-protesters-with-his-truck/.

¹²⁸ Matarrese, A. 'Protesters clash in Patriot Prayer demonstration on Vancouver waterfront', *The Columbian*, 10 September 2017, online at: www.columbian.com/news/2017/sep/10/protesters-clash-in-patriot-prayer-demonstration-on-vancouver-waterfront/.

¹²⁹ Matarrese, A., and Drake, L., 2 July 2017, Op. Cit.

¹³⁰ These figures were collected from Patriot Prayer official social media accounts in February 2020. They do not include the accounts of the group's leader, Joey Gibson.

¹³¹ Fowler, L., 'Patriot Prayer leader dislikes racists, but they seem to hear a whistle', *Crosscut*, 24 August 2017, online at: <https://crosscut.com/2017/08/patriot-prayer-joey-gibson-white-supremacists-rally>.

¹³² Westervelt, E., 'Bay Area Braces For Protests: Charlottesville Has Raised The Stakes', *NPR*, 25 August 2017, online at: <https://www.npr.org/2017/08/25/546007440/bay-area-braces-for-protests-charlottesville-has-raised-the-stakes>.

¹³³ Matarrese, A., and Drake, L., 2 July 2017, Op. Cit.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">OATH KEEPERS</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Stewart Rhodes</p>	<p>Started in 2009 by Yale Law School graduate and former U.S. Army paratrooper, Stewart Rhodes, the Oath Keepers are one of the US's largest sovereign citizen's movements. Oath Keepers count present and former law enforcement officials and military veterans among its ranks.¹³⁵ Like other US sovereign citizen groups, in claiming to defend the US Constitution, it also encourages members to not obey orders that they believe would violate it, including "orders to disarm the American people, to conduct warrantless searches, or to detain Americans as 'enemy combatants.'"¹³⁶ It also subscribes to the Agenda 21 conspiracy theory that the US risks being forced into a one-world socialist government, or so-called "New World Order." Perhaps the most concerning element of the Oath Keepers' activism is their ability to mobilise and organise militia-like vigilante groups against government and law enforcement officials in Montana, Oregon, and Nevada. In April 2014, for example, Stewart Rhodes and several other Oath Keepers went to the Nevada ranch of Cliven Bundy to protect him from an imagined plot to attack his property with drones.¹³⁷ Four months later, when rioting broke out in Ferguson, Missouri, Oath Keeper members patrolled the city with rifles.¹³⁸ Such patrols continued into the subsequent May and June 2020 Black Lives Matter demonstrations after the death of George Floyd.¹³⁹</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP 30,000 (est.)¹³⁴</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	<p>Anti-Government Extremism: "Below is our declaration of orders we will NOT obey because we will consider them unconstitutional (and thus unlawful) and immoral violations of the natural rights of the people. Such orders would be acts of war against the American people by their own government, and thus acts of treason." - An excerpt from Oath Keeper's "Declaration of Orders We Will Not Obey" Page.¹⁴⁰</p> <p>Anti-Government Violence: "John [Mc]Cain is a traitor to the Constitution... He would deny you the right for trial to jury, but we would give him a trial by jury. Then after we convict him he should be hung by the neck until dead." - An excerpt from a Speech by Oath Keepers founder, Stewart Rhodes, in May 2015.¹⁴¹</p> <p>Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory: "The battle lines have been drawn, and the fight is engaged between the Globalist New World Order versus the Populist Nationalist Traditionalists." - An excerpt from an Oath Keepers blog concerning Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin press conference in July 2018.¹⁴²</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Government Extremism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Government Violence</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory</p>	

¹³⁴ This is a 2016 figure that's improbably high, see: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/oath-keepers.

¹³⁵ Anti-Defamation League, 'The Oath Keepers' Profile, online at: www.adl.org/resources/profiles/the-oath-keepers.

¹³⁶ Oath Keepers website, 'About Oath Keepers' Page, online at: <https://oathkeepers.org/about/>.

¹³⁷ Dickinson, T., 'Judge Rules Against 'Delusional' Bundy Clan Leader,' *Rolling Stone Magazine*, 10 April 2019, online at: www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/bundy-standoff-oregon-nevada-judge-ruling-820410/.


¹³⁸ Laughland, O., Swaine, J., & Walters, J., 'White militiamen roam Ferguson with rifles while black men wrongly arrested,' *The Guardian*, 12 August 2015, online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/aug/11/oath-keepers-ferguson-automatic-rifles>.

¹³⁹ *KABC News*, 'Video shows Orange County deputy wearing militia symbols during protest', 5 June 2020, online at: <https://abc7.com/orange-county-sheriffs-deputy-sheriffs-department-oathkeepers-and-three-percenters-militia/6230637/>.

¹⁴⁰ Oath Keepers website, 'Declaration Of Orders We Will Not Obey' Page, online at: <https://oathkeepers.org/declaration-of-orders-we-will-not-obey/>.

¹⁴¹ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, 'Oath Keepers', *Extremist Files*, online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/oath-keepers>.

¹⁴² Dawkins, S., 'Trump-Putin Summit and the Death of the New World Order!!!', *Oath Keepers* website, 17 July 2018, online at: <https://oathkeepers.org/2018/07/trump-putin-summit-and-the-death-of-the-new-world-order/>.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">III%ERS (THREE PERCENTERS)</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">FOUNDER Michael Graham</p>	<p>Part of a broader "Pacific Patriots Network" alongside the Oath Keeper and other anti-government groups, the Three Percenters have emerged as a transnational threat after the formation of a Canadian chapter in March 2016.¹⁴³ Formed in 2008 and named after the (erroneous) belief that only 3% of colonists fought against the British during the US Revolutionary War of 1776, Three Percenters view themselves as modern-day versions of those revolutionaries, fighting against a tyrannical U.S. government.¹⁴⁴ Often heavily armed, the group's local chapters engage in paramilitary activities (such as marksmanship training) as well as protest rallies. In 2015, for example, a Three Percenter group protested the resettlement of refugees in the state¹⁴⁵ whilst in 2017 the group provided security for a Patriot Prayer 'Rally for Trump and Freedom' protest¹⁴⁶ as well as for radical right activists at the August 2017 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.¹⁴⁷ The group's most recent actions have been to protect three Republican lawmakers in Oregon who fled the capitol in June 2019 in an attempt to block the passage of landmark climate-change legislation.¹⁴⁸</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Michael "Mike" Brian Vanderboegh</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP Unknown</p>	<p>Anti-Government Extremism: "Our goal is to utilize the failsafes put in place by our founders to rein in an over-reaching government and push back against tyranny." - An excerpt from Three Percenter's "About Us" webpage.¹⁴⁹</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Government Extremism</p>	<p>Sovereign Citizens Conspiracy Theory: "I will NOT obey orders to disarm the American people." - One of ten oaths taken by Three Percenter members, and common among US sovereign citizens groups.¹⁵⁰</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Violence</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Sovereign Citizens Conspiracy Theory</p>	<p>Violence: "We do not seek to incite a revolution. However, we will defend ourselves when necessary." - An excerpt from Three Percenter's "About Us" webpage.¹⁵¹</p>

¹⁴³ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, 'Oath Keepers', Op Cit.

¹⁴⁴ Anti-Defamation League, 'Three Percenters' Glossary Entry, online at: <https://www.adl.org/resources/glossary-terms/three-percenters>.

¹⁴⁵ Hafner, J., 'Three Percenters: What is the gun-toting group? And what do its supporters want?', *USA Today*, 15 December 2019, online at: <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2018/03/01/three-percenters-what-gun-toting-group-and-what-do-its-supporters-want/385463002/>.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, D., 'Photos & Video: Protesters Arrested at a Donald Trump Rally in Vancouver', *Portland Mercury*, 2 April 2017, online at: <https://www.portlandmercury.com/blogtown/2017/04/02/18926966/photos-and-video-protesters-arrested-at-a-donald-trump-rally-in-vancouver/>.

¹⁴⁷ Michel, C., 'How Militias Became the Private Police for White Supremacist', *Politico Magazine*, 17 August 2017, online at: <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/08/17/white-supremacists-militias-private-police-215498>.

¹⁴⁸ Einbinder, N., 'Here's what you need to know about the Three Percenters, the militia group protecting GOP lawmakers in Oregon', *Insider*, 25 June 2019, online at: <https://www.insider.com/the-three-percenters-militia-group-protecting-gop-lawmakers-in-oregon-2019-6>.





¹⁴⁹ *Three Percenters*, 'National By-Laws' Document, online at: https://c18b93ab-8f43-4864-87fb-d705a72ea68d.filesusr.com/ugd/6ccfe6_8ccf0db741614cce809bcdfd-496863cf.pdf.





¹⁵⁰ *Three Percenters*, 'National By-Laws' Document, online at: https://c18b93ab-8f43-4864-87fb-d705a72ea68d.filesusr.com/ugd/6ccfe6_8ccf0db741614cce809bcdfd-496863cf.pdf.

¹⁵¹ *Three Percenters* website, 'About Us' Page, Op Cit.

NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

			
AMERICAN IDENTITY MOVEMENT (AIM)	NEW CENTURY FOUNDATION (NCF)	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	NATIONAL VANGUARD (NV)
LEADER Patrick Casey	LEADER Jared Taylor	LEADER William Luther Pierce	LEADER Kevin Alfred Strom
MEMBERSHIP 800 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 2,500 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP Unknown
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Identitarianism	White Supremacism	Neo-Nazism	Neo-Nazism
White Supremacism	Racial Nationalism	Anti-Semitism	White Supremacism
Anti-Globalist Sentiments	Biological Racism	White Supremacism	Anti-Semitism
			Non-Violence

			
TRADITIONALIST WORKER PARTY (TWP)	NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (NSM)	VANGUARD AMERICA (VA)	PATRIOT FRONT
LEADERS Matthew Heimbach Matthew Parrott	LEADER Burt Colucci	LEADER Dillon Ulysses Hopper	LEADER Thomas Rousseau
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 400 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP 200 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP 300 (est.)
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Neo-Nazism	Neo-Fascism	Neo-Nazism	Neo-Fascism
White Supremacism	White Supremacism	White Supremacism	White Supremacism
Christianism	Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism	Racial Nationalism

NON-VIOLENT & MAINSTREAM RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

NATIONALIST SOCIALIST LEGION (NSL)	WHITE LIVES MATTER (WLM)	WHITE REVOLUTION
LEADER Unknown	LEADERS Rebecca Barnette Kevin Harris	LEADER Billy Roper
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 1,200 (est.)
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Neo-Nazism	Neo-Nazism	Neo-Nazism
White Supremacism	White Supremacism	White Supremacism
Anti-Semitism	White Genocide' conspiracy theory	Anti-Semitism
		Violence

	DESCRIPTION
AMERICAN IDENTITY MOVEMENT (AIM)	Formed in March 2019 as a rebranded version of the identitarian neo-fascist movement Identity Evropa, the American Identity Movement (AIM) aims to oppose the so-called “demonization of and discrimination against America’s white majority.” ¹⁵³ Encouraging activists to “spread our message and attract new members” through ‘flyering’, banner drops and demonstrations, the group has engaged in low-level forms of political activism on college campuses since shedding its previous identity. ¹⁵⁴ In September 2019, for example, AIM flyers bearing the phrase “Nationalism not Globalism” were found at the University of California, Davis’ campus, with a nod to antisemitic conspiracy theories. ¹⁵⁵ In June 2019, the Anti-Defamation League reported that 71% of tracked campus propaganda (encouraging adherents to “defend America” and “embrace your identity”) came from AIM in the academic year 2018/2019. ¹⁵⁶ Whilst AIM’s violent activism has generally not featured as part of its activism, the group’s predecessor, Identity Evropa (IE) has a pedigree in this respect. For example, IE was one of the principle organisers of the ‘Unite the Right’ rally at Charlottesville, ¹⁵⁷ with supporters subsequently charged with other attempts to vandalise synagogues ¹⁵⁸ and hijacking Amtrak trains “to save the train from black people.” ¹⁵⁹
LEADER Patrick Casey	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 800 (est.) ¹⁵²	Identitarianism: “We staunchly defend the preservation of America’s historical demographics in the face of mass immigration.” - An <i>excerpt</i> from the American Identity Movement’s “Principles” webpage. ¹⁶⁰
IDEOLOGY	White Supremacism: “[We] are opposed to the demonization of and discrimination against America’s white majority.” - An <i>excerpt</i> from the American Identity Movement’s “Principles” webpage. ¹⁶¹
Identitarianism	Anti-Globalist Sentiments: “We reject extremism of any stripe. Allegations to the contrary originate from left-wing individuals and organizations intent on mischaracterizing anyone who dares speak out against globalism.” - An <i>excerpt</i> from the American Identity Movement’s “Frequently Asked Questions” webpage. ¹⁶²
White Supremacism	
Anti-Globalist Sentiments	

¹⁵² This figure was correct as of July 2018. Due to the reforming of the movement, it is likely to be significantly smaller than this at the time of writing this report in February 2020.

¹⁵³ American Identity Movement website, ‘Principles’ webpage, op. cit.

¹⁵⁴ American Identity Movement website, ‘About AIM’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190328011725/https://www.americanidentitymovement.com/about/>.

¹⁵⁵ Stutman, G, ‘White supremacist recruitment flyers found at UC Davis’, *Jewish News in North California*, 25 September 2019, online at: www.jweekly.com/2019/09/25/white-supremacist-recruitment-flyers-found-at-uc-davis/.

¹⁵⁶ Pink, A. ‘White Nationalist College Recruitment Efforts Up For Third Straight Year: ADL’, *Fast Forward*, 27 June 2019, online at: <https://forward.com/fast-forward/426574/white-nationalist-recruitment-propaganda-college-campus-adl/>.

¹⁵⁷ Gladstone, B, ‘This Innocent-Seeming Group Is Actually A Major White Nationalist Organization’, *Fast Forward*, 25 August 2019, online at: <https://forward.com/news/national/429705/american-identity-movement-white-nationalist/>.

¹⁵⁸ Koerner, C. ‘An Indiana Man Who Vandalized A Synagogue With Nazi Symbols Admitted How Far-Right Figures Radicalized Him’, *BuzzFeed News*, online at: www.buzzfeednews.com/article/claudiakoerner/indiana-man-vandalized-synagogue-nazi-symbols-radicalized.

¹⁵⁹ Campbell, A., ‘Neo-Nazi Convicted Of Domestic Terrorism Was Among ‘Very Fine People’ At Unite The Right’, *Huffington Post US*, 11 September 2018, online at: <https://bit.ly/2PkB9aR>.

¹⁶⁰ American Identity Movement website, ‘Principles’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190328012042/www.americanidentitymovement.com/principles/>.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² American Identity Movement website, ‘Frequently Asked Questions’ webpage, online at: www.americanidentitymovement.com/faq/#1550465171710-cc435ded-c819.

	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Founded in 1990 and located in Oakton Virginia, the New Century Foundation (NCF) is a self-styled think tank promoting pseudo-scientific studies and research purporting to show the biological inferiority of non-whites.¹⁶³ Best known for its monthly magazine ‘American Renaissance’, the New Century Foundation claims it is merely “race-realist,” since “race and racial conflict are at the heart of the most serious challenges the Western World faces in the 21st century.”¹⁶⁴ Whilst acting as a platform for eugenicists and anti-white racism, the New Century Foundation and its founder Jared Taylor have shied away from anti-semitism, with the issue becoming a point of conflict with speakers at previous conferences that have included Klansmen, neo-Nazis and other white supremacists.¹⁶⁵ At the 2006 ‘American Renaissance’ conference, for example, David Duke, the former Klan leader and author of ‘Jewish Supremacism,’ grabbed the microphone and went on a thinly veiled antisemitic rant about “a power in the world that dominates our media, influences our government, and that has led to the internal destruction of our will and spirit.”¹⁶⁶ In August 2016, NCF has tried to ally with the American alt-right movement, with Taylor adopting their (rather confrontational) style of online activism and acting as a moderator on alt-right subreddits.¹⁶⁷</p>
NEW CENTURY FOUNDATION (NCF)	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
<p>LEADER Jared Taylor</p>	<p>MEMBERSHIP Unknown</p> <p>IDEOLOGY</p> <p>White Supremacism “Blacks and whites are different. When blacks are left entirely to their own devices, Western civilization — any kind of civilization — disappears.” <i>- An excerpt from an article by Jared Taylor in ‘American Renaissance,’ 2005.¹⁶⁸</i></p> <p>Racial Nationalism: “Thanks to massive immigration and to American cultural, national and racial capitulation, Mexicans are enjoying the benefits of occupation and control without the bother of war. White Californians, their culture, and their way of life are being pushed aside.” <i>- An excerpt from a 1991 article by William Robertson Boggs in ‘American Renaissance.’¹⁶⁹</i></p> <p>Biological Racism: “There is a difference between blacks and whites — analogous to the difference in intelligence — in psychopathic personality considered as a personality trait.” <i>- An excerpt from an article by Richard Lynn in ‘American Renaissance,’ 2002.¹⁷⁰</i></p>
	White Supremacism
	Racial Nationalism
	Biological Racism

¹⁶³ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘American Renaissance’, op. cit.

¹⁶⁴ American Renaissance website, ‘About American Renaissance’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20111005001723/http://amren.com/siteinfo/index.html>.

¹⁶⁵ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘American Renaissance’, op. cit.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Wilson, J., “The races are not equal”: meet the alt-right leader in Clinton’s campaign ad’, *The Guardian*, 26 August 2016, online at: www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/26/jared-taylor-alt-right-clinton-trump.

¹⁶⁸ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘American Renaissance’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/american-renaissance.

¹⁶⁹ Boggs, W.B., ‘Why Nations Fight’, *American Renaissance* website, January 1991, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110808123752/http://www.amren.com/ar/1991/01/index.html>.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Founded in 1970 by noted neo-Nazi fiction writer William Luther Pierce, National Alliance (NA) became one of the “most dominant and dangerous hate group[s] in America.”¹⁷² Publishing music and other pieces of propaganda under ‘Resistance Records’ and ‘National Vanguard Books’ imprints, by 2002 the NA was grossing about \$1 million and paying the salaries of up to 17 staff members. Perhaps the most significant legacy of the group is its implication in the inspiration of racist attacks and anti-government terrorist violence, with Washington D.C. sniper murderer Joseph Paul Franklin and Oklahoma City Bomber Timothy McVeigh both having read ‘Hunter’ and ‘The Turner Diaries,’ white supremacist novels published by the group. After Pierce died of cancer in 2002, the group suffered a series of splits that ultimately led to the group losing most of its members. ‘The Turner Diaries’ continues to live on as an inspiration to white supremacists and neo-Nazi terrorists around the world.</p>
NATIONAL ALLIANCE	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
<p>LEADER William Luther Pierce</p>	<p>MEMBERSHIP 2,500 (est.)¹⁷¹</p> <p>IDEOLOGY</p> <p>Neo-Nazism “We must have new societies throughout the White world which are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature.” <i>- An excerpt from the National Alliance’s (now defunct) “What is the National Alliance?” webpage.¹⁷³</i></p> <p>Anti-Semitism: “I SELDOM take up the cause of Jewish or Israeli politicians because most of them are the nastiest scumbags in the world.” <i>- An excerpt from an article on National Alliance’s website.¹⁷⁴</i></p> <p>White Supremacism: “We must have White schools, White residential neighbourhoods and recreation areas, White workplaces, White farms and countryside. We must have no non-Whites in our living space, and we must have open space around us for expansion.” <i>- An excerpt from the National Alliance’s (now defunct) “What is the National Alliance?” webpage.¹⁷⁵</i></p>
	Neo-Nazism
	Anti-Semitism
	White Supremacism

¹⁷¹ Figures accurate as of 2004 and based of website views, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20070713115133/http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?sid=232>.

¹⁷² Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘National Alliance’, *Extremist files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/national-alliance.

¹⁷³ National Alliance, ‘What is the National Alliance?’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200109151753/https://natall.com/about/what-is-the-national-alliance/>.

¹⁷⁴ Hanson, B., ‘Jews, and Bigger Jews.’, *National Vanguard* website, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190827001047/https://nationalvanguard.org/2019/08/jews-and-bigger-jews/>.

¹⁷⁵ National Alliance, op. cit.

	DESCRIPTION
NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (NSM)	<p>Founded in 1994 from the ashes of the National Socialist American Workers Freedom Movement by Jeff Schoep (who is now a self-proclaimed former neo-Nazi), the National Socialist Movement (NSM) is one of the largest neo-Nazi organizations in the United States, containing some 61 chapters in 35 states.¹⁹⁸ Starting in 2004, the NSM was buoyed after the deaths of two key rivals and the imprisonment of another. This made it the key player on America's neo-Nazi street movement scene. In particular, the NSM made its presence felt through frequent theatrical street actions undertaken in full Nazi regalia, while inviting members of other white supremacist groups to collaborate. The best example of the NSM's provocative rallies came on 10 December 2005, when the group made international news after a planned march through a black neighbourhood in Toledo, Ohio, sparked rioting by residents.¹⁹⁹ In 2007, the group decided to drop its Nazi aesthetic in favour of black uniforms. Post-2018, the NSM has undergone further turmoil, with its long-serving leader Jeff Schoep exiting the movement in March 2019 as the group was subject to a federal civil lawsuit stemming from its alleged violent involvement in the Charlottesville 'Unite the Right' rally.²⁰⁰ In another strange turn of events, Schoep signed over all leadership positions to a black civil-rights activist, James Hart Stern, who intends to take apart the organisation from the inside.²⁰¹ Now in a new 'de-radicalisation' role, Schoep has long disputed this version of events, declaring former Chief of Staff, Burt Colucci, to be Commander of the National Socialist Movement.²⁰² In a further development, the NSM has also been linked with the notable case of Timothy Wilson's March 2020 bid to blow up a Missouri hospital, joining NSM's Ulysses, Pennsylvania chapter in November 2019.²⁰³</p>
LEADER Burt Colucci	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 400 (est.) ¹⁹⁷	<p>Neo-Fascism: "[We are] a truly American National Socialist Movement, which will give Americans the choice of electing a party that will combine the best of both Socialism and Capitalism to create a system that will stop the decay while bringing innovation, prosperity, and security to America." <i>- An excerpt from NSM's website "About Us" webpage.</i>²⁰⁴</p>
IDEOLOGY Neo-Fascism	<p style="text-align: right;"><i>- An excerpt from NSM's website "About Us" webpage.</i>²⁰⁴</p>
White Supremacism	<p>White Supremacism: "We are the political party for every patriotic white American." <i>- An excerpt from NSM's website "About Us" webpage.</i>²⁰⁵</p>
Anti-Semitism	<p>Anti-Semitism: "The clear goal of capitalism, as with Marxism, is the complete replacement of our people with an endless supply of alienated peoples, cut off from ties of blood, soil, religion, and identity; who can be more easily controlled and exploited by the Jewish elites and their capitalist lackeys." <i>- An excerpt from NSM's 25-point party plan.</i>²⁰⁶</p>

¹⁹⁷ This is based on a 2011 expert estimate. These figures are likely to be lower now; for instance, see: www.nytimes.com/2011/05/11/us/11nazi.html.

¹⁹⁸ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'National Socialist Movement', *Extremist files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/national-socialist-movement.

¹⁹⁹ Holthouse, D., 'Racial Tensions High in Toledo-Area Neighbourhood After National Socialist Movement March', *Intelligence Report*, Spring Issue, 19 April 2006, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/racial-tensions-high-toledo-area-neighborhood-after-national-socialist-movement-march.

²⁰⁰ Barrouquere, B., 'Jeff Schoep Sheds Neo-Nazi Past but Stays Loyal With Lawyer's Manoeuvres', *Hatewatch*, 11 September 2019, online at: www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/09/11/jeff-schoep-sheds-neo-nazi-past-stays-loyal-lawyers-maneuvres.

²⁰¹ Weill, K., 'Neo-Nazi Allegedly Begged Black Activist to Take Over His Group: 'It's Affecting My Health'', *The Daily Beast*, 17 March 2019, online at: www.thedailybeast.com/neo-nazi-allegedly-begged-black-activist-to-take-over-his-group-its-affecting-my-health.

²⁰² Schoep, M. 'Setting the Record Straight', *National Socialist Movement* website, 6 March 2019, online at: www.nsm88.org/press/nsm-13-press-release-march-6-2019.htm.

²⁰³ Anti-Defamation League, 'White Supremacists Respond to Coronavirus With Violent Plots and Online Hate', 26 March 2020, online at: <https://lasvegas.adl.org/white-supremacists-respond-to-coronavirus-with-violent-plots-and-online-hate/>.

²⁰⁴ *National Socialist Movement* website, 'About Us' webpage, online at: www.nsm88.org/aboutus.html.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ *National Socialist Movement*, '25 Point Plan', online at: www.nsm88.org/25points/NSM%2025%20Points%20-%20Final-2018.html.

	DESCRIPTION
VANGUARD AMERICA (VA)	<p>Founded in California in 2015, Vanguard America is a small neo-Nazi white supremacist movement that opposes multiculturalism and believes America should be an exclusively white nation.²⁰⁸ Originally a single-issue white identity group, VA has slowly moved toward embracing neo-Nazi ideology, with one iteration of its manifesto in February 2017 explaining that the US was built upon the foundation of white European culture and that the "glory of the Aryan nation must be recaptured."²⁰⁹ Under the leadership of Dillon Ulysses Hopper, the group increasingly took to paramilitary tactics, with some members openly carrying firearms at rallies and adopting military formations. It was not until August 2017, however, that the group came to prominence when dozens of members attended the 'Unite the Right' rally. James Alex Fields, who was later responsible for killing the counter-protester, Heather Heyer, and injuring 19 others in a vehicle-ramming attack, was seen marching alongside the group. While the leadership disavowed Fields' membership, pictures circulated online show Fields in VA uniform, bearing the group's crossed fasces symbol.²¹⁰ Amid the chaos that engulfed the group around Charlottesville, the group has since splintered, largely between the Patriot Front and National Socialist Legion. In practice, the former took over its bloodandsoil.org domain name, while the latter took most of VA's Texas members. In the case of the National Socialist Legion, its Twitter account was suspended as of December 2017, and the group is now largely defunct.²¹¹</p>
LEADER Dillon Ulysses Hopper	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 200 (est.) ²⁰⁷	<p>Neo-Nazism: "We are the flesh and blood medium in which Fascism flows and manifests itself. Fascism is an idea, and it cannot be killed with bullets or blades. Our men dedicate body and soul to a conflict they very well know could outlive them." <i>- An excerpt from a March 2017 Vanguard America article, entitled "The Warrior Spirit of American Fascists."</i>²¹²</p>
IDEOLOGY Neo-Nazism	<p style="text-align: right;"><i>- An excerpt from a March 2017 Vanguard America article, entitled "The Warrior Spirit of American Fascists."</i>²¹²</p>
White Supremacism	<p>White Supremacism: "Our America is to be a nation exclusively for the White American peoples who out of the barren hills, empty plains, and vast mountains forged the most powerful nation to ever have existed." <i>- An excerpt from Vanguard America's March 2017 "Manifesto" Page.</i>²¹³</p>
Anti-Semitism	<p>Anti-Semitism: "America should strive for a truly national economy. An economy that is self-contained, and free from the influence of international corporations, led by a rootless group of international Jews, which place profit beyond the interests of our people, or any people." <i>- An excerpt from Vanguard America's March 2017 "Manifesto" Page.</i>²¹⁴</p>

²⁰⁷ This is based on membership figures reported by the group's leadership at an April 2017 rally in Kentucky, see: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/vanguard-america.

²⁰⁸ *Anti-Defamation League*, 'Vanguard America', online at: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/vanguard-america.

²⁰⁹ *Vanguard America* website, 'Vanguard Manifesto' webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170301151449/https://bloodandsoil.org/manifesto/>.

²¹⁰ Moyer, J.W., & Bever, L., 'Vanguard America, a white supremacist group, denies Charlottesville rammer suspect was a member', *Washington Post*, 15 August 2017, online at: www.washingtonpost.com/local/vanguard-america-a-white-supremacist-group-denies-charlottesville-attacker-was-a-member/2017/08/15/2cc897c6-810e-11e7-8072-73e1718c524d_story.html?hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main-vanguard-america%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&hpid=hp_hp-top-table-main-vanguard-america%3Ahomepage%2Fstory.

²¹¹ Luckerson, V., 'Twitter Cracks Down on Hate-Mongers', *The Ringer*, 18 December 2017, online at: www.theringer.com/tech/2017/12/18/16792514/twitter-bans-hate-groups.

²¹² *Vanguard America* website, 'The Warrior Spirit of American Fascists', 23 March 2017, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170325071302/https://bloodandsoil.org/2017/03/23/the-warrior-spirit-of-american-fascists/>.

²¹³ *Vanguard America* website, 'Manifesto' webpage, 1 March 2017, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170301151449/https://bloodandsoil.org/manifesto/>.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

	DESCRIPTION
PATRIOT FRONT	<p>Founded in Texas in September 2017 as a result of a split with the white supremacist group Vanguard America, the Patriot Front defines itself in opposition to immigration and maintains that their ancestors conquered the US, allegedly bequeathing it to them alone.²¹⁶ Carrying on the fascist politics of its predecessor after the 'Unite the Right' rally, the Patriot Front was deliberately born out of an effort to insulate itself from fallout after Charlottesville.²¹⁷ For example, Patriot Front activities have included 'posting,' 'flying,' banner drops, and organising demonstrations. Its most frequent form of activism involves the distribution of antisemitic and anti-Muslim stickers across 12 states.²¹⁸ While attendance at early demonstrations was low, a demonstration in February 2020 saw at least 100 protestors marching through Washington D.C.'s national mall, dressed in khaki trousers and caps, blue jackets and white face masks, proclaiming: "Reclaim America!" and "Life, liberty, victory!"²¹⁹ The group also has an extensive online presence, with 3,000 followers on Gab, 1,995 on Telegram, 1,042 on Twitter, 996 on BitChute, and 126 on Minds as of March 2020. Perhaps more concerning, however, is the group's potential for violence; for instance, members have been arrested for illegally owning assault weapons²²⁰ and for vandalism in 2019 and 2020.²²¹</p>
LEADER Thomas Rousseau	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 300 (est.) ²¹⁵	<p>Neo-Fascism: "The hard truth of the coming struggle is that America, as we know it, is already dead or will not survive. This age of our people will instead be seen as an era of rebirth and the beginning of a new chapter in history." <i>- An excerpt from Patriot Front's "Manifesto" webpage.²²²</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>White Supremacism: "The State has long since ceased to advocate for the interests of the descendants of its creators, and thus a State which will be, above all else, a reflection of the national interest must be implemented fully and absolutely." <i>- An excerpt from Patriot Front's "Manifesto" webpage.²²³</i></p>
Neo-Fascism	<p>Racial Nationalism: "Membership within the American nation is inherited through blood, not ink." <i>- An excerpt from Patriot Front's "Manifesto" webpage.²²⁴</i></p>
White Supremacism	
Racial Nationalism	

²¹⁵ This finding is based on figures collected by online investigative reporting outfit, ProPublica; for example, see: www.propublica.org/article/they-are-racist-some-of-them-have-guns-inside-the-white-supremacist-group-hiding-in-plain-sight.

²¹⁶ *Anti-Defamation League*, 'Patriot Front' Backgrounder, online at: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/patriot-front.

²¹⁷ *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, 'Patriot Front', *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/patriot-front.

²¹⁸ *Anti-Defamation League*, 'Patriot Front' Backgrounder, op. cit.

²¹⁹ Oppenheim, M., 'Masked neo-Nazi white supremacists march in Washington DC', *The Independent*, 9 February 2020, online at: www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/white-supremacists-neo-nazis-patriot-front-march-washington-dc-marc-a9325906.html.

²²⁰ Barrouquere, B., 'Patriot Front Member Joffre Cross Pleads Guilty to Federal Gun Charge', *Hatewatch*, 26 February 2020, online at: www.splcenter.org/hate-watch/2020/02/26/patriot-front-member-joffre-cross-pleads-guilty-federal-gun-charge.

²²¹ Schaeffer, C., & Zimmerman, F., 'They Are Racist; Some of Them Have Guns. Inside the White Supremacist Group Hiding in Plain Sight', *ProPublica*, 8 November 2019, online at: www.propublica.org/article/they-are-racist-some-of-them-have-guns-inside-the-white-supremacist-group-hiding-in-plain-sight.

²²² *Patriot Front* website, 'Manifesto' webpage, online at: <https://patriotfront.us/manifesto/>.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

	DESCRIPTION
NATIONALIST SOCIALIST LEGION (NSL)	<p>Formed in January 2018 from the infighting and accusations of ineffective leadership within Vanguard America after Charlottesville, the Nationalist Socialist Legion (NSL) has tacked a more ideologically and organisationally extreme line when compared with the Patriot Front; for instance, setting up cells around the US "for future white migration and eventual white revolt and secession."²²⁶ Mainly through spreading its propaganda online through disseminating templates for flyers and radicalising "normie" conservatives to radical right causes, NSL activities have been largely limited to online agitation, as well as the spread of propaganda and antagonism towards other neo-Nazi groups, such as describing other leaders as "rats" and "faggots."²²⁷ As of Spring 2020 it is hard to ascertain how active the group is. With its most recent online activity stopping in October 2018, the NSL appears largely defunct, with little activity from its leaders, Clayton Andrew Hodge and Katelyn Martin.²²⁸</p>
LEADER Unknown ²²⁵	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Neo-Nazism: "With the highest rate of approval in modern history, how can Hitler be the cruel monster and dictator portrayed by television, Hollywood, and every other bit of propaganda say that he is?" <i>-An excerpt from the Nationalist Socialist Legion's "Our Struggle" handbook.²²⁹</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>White Supremacism: "National Socialist Legion (NSL) is a Revolutionary National Socialist organization dedicated to protecting the White European Race, the Traditional Western Nuclear Family, destroying degeneracy and its mother ideology Cultural Marxism..." <i>- An excerpt from the Nationalist Socialist Legion's "Our Mission" page.²³⁰</i></p>
Neo-Nazism	<p>Anti-Semitism: "Communism is as Jewish as the Mafia is Italian. No tolerance for Jewry in National Socialist Territory." <i>- An excerpt from a picture of a poster posted to National Socialist Legion's "Propaganda" webpage.²³¹</i></p>
White Supremacism	
Anti-Semitism	

²²⁵ We do know from reports that the founder goes by the online pseudonym 'Fox' but no other biographical information is known about him. See: *Unicorn Riot*, 'Neo-Nazi Splinter Group's Chats Show A Fractured, Violent Movement', 13 November 2018, online at: <https://unicornriot.ninja/2018/neo-nazi-splinter-group-chats-shows-a-fractured-violent-movement/>.

²²⁶ *Anti-Defamation League*, 'Vanguard America' Backgrounder, online at: www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/vanguard-america.

²²⁷ *Unicorn Riot*, Op Cit, 13 November 2018.

²²⁸ The last post on its Gab.ai account is dated 19 October 2019 (<https://gab.com/NSLLegion>) whilst its last BitChute video is dated 28 June 2019 (https://www.bitchute.com/channel/ns_legion/).

²²⁹ *National Socialist Legion*, 'National Socialism: Our Struggle', November 2018, online at: https://unicornriot.ninja/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/National_Socialism_Our_Struggle_-_NSL_-_Editon_3.pdf.

²³⁰ *National Socialist Legion* website, 'Our Mission' webpage, May 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180502170210/https://nslegion.com/>.

²³¹ *National Socialist Legion* website, 'Propaganda' webpage, April 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180430210440/https://nslegion.com/pages/gallery.html>.

	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Founded in 2015 in response to the Black Lives Matter movement, White Lives Matter (WLM) describes itself as a “place for people of European decent to learn about the issues that imperil their future and the root causes behind #WhiteGenocide.”²³² Whilst its exact leadership structure is debated,²³³ rallies and ‘flying’ campaigns conducted by the campaign group hint at the involvement of activists previously involved with other neo-Nazi groups, including Texas-based Aryan Renaissance Society and the National Socialist Movement (see above). Since 2015, WLM flyers, reading “It’s Not Racist to Love Your People” and carrying the “#whitelivesmatter” hashtag, have been posted on toilet walls, light posts and bus stops across the US, from Utah to Connecticut. Spreading to other parts of the country among white supremacist and skinhead organisations, this meme has become a broad-based campaign and slogan for white supremacist groups, seemingly taking on a life of its own after the original campaigners ceased their activities.²³⁴ It seems that the Black Lives Matter movement in the summer of 2020 revived the White Lives Matter campaign, with the “#whitelivesmatter” hashtag resurfacing shortly after.²³⁵ In response, members of the public hijacked the hashtag using photos and videos of famous K-pop Korean music groups to drown out white nationalist activist using the “#whitelivesmatter,” “#whiteoutwednesday,” and “#bluelivesmatter” hashtags.²³⁶</p>
WHITE LIVES MATTER (WLM)	
LEADERS Rebecca Barnette Kevin Harris	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	
IDEOLOGY Neo-Nazism	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES Neo-Nazism: “Zionists preach one thing for Jews and the direct opposite for Gentiles. Mass immigration, multiculturalism and diversity makes any society vulnerable to the most organized, aggressive, ethnic people on earth. Their leaders know that their team effort gives a huge advantage over a fractured, atomized society. Diversity is a weapon.” <i>- An excerpt from White Lives Matter’s “Zionism” webpage.²³⁷</i> White Supremacism: “WhiteLivesMatter.com is primarily focused on ethno-nationalism. It supports breeding practices that improve fitness, opposes dysgenic immigration, and takes a libertarian stance on other right wing gripes that don’t directly turn the population non-White.” <i>- An excerpt from White Lives Matter’s “About” webpage.²³⁸</i> White Genocide Conspiracy Theory: “There is a very real threat to the continued existence of the European people. Not only do Europeans have the near prospect of living in nations where they are a small minority and thus must live as strangers in their own land, but their very existence and heritage is threatened.” <i>- An excerpt from the White Lives Matter’s “Survival” webpage.²³⁹</i>
White Supremacism	
White Genocide Conspiracy Theory	

²³² White Lives Matter website, ‘About’ webpage, op. cit.

²³³ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘White Lives Matter’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/white-lives-matter.

²³⁴ Anti-Defamation League, ‘White Lives Matter’, *Hate Symbols Database*, online at: www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/white-lives-matter.

²³⁵ Lee, A., ‘K-pop fans are taking over ‘White Lives Matter’ and other anti-Black hashtags with memes and fancams of their favorite stars’, *CNN*, online at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/06/04/us/kpop-bts-blackpink-fans-black-lives-matter-trnd/index.html>.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ White Lives Matter website, ‘Zionism’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170627214759/http://www.whitelivesmatter.com/zionism/>.

²³⁸ White Lives Matter website, ‘About’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170705090441/http://www.whitelivesmatter.com/about/>.

²³⁹ White Lives Matter website, ‘Survival’ webpage, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170627221717/http://www.whitelivesmatter.com/survival/>.

	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Founded in 2002 amidst the death throes of National Alliance by deputy membership co-ordinator Billy Roper, White Revolution focused upon the alleged evils of non-white immigration to the United States. A central aim of the movement was to build bridges with an array of other white supremacist organisations (such as Aryan Nations and the Creativity Movement).²⁴¹ Initially headquartered in Mountain View, Arkansas, Roper copyrighted the name White Revolution and set up a widely read website and forum for members to exchange views, post materials, and build a militant community.²⁴² In May 2010, according to whiterrevolution.com, over 1100 people from 16 different US states were enrolled as members.²⁴³ In terms of offline actions, in February 2011 White Revolution members travelled to Marshall, Arkansas to protest a city council ordinance regarding the removal of a Confederate flag on Civil War general Robert E. Lee’s birthday. Then, in November 2010 Roper stood as a write-in candidate for Arkansas governor. Prior to its demise in September 2011 due to dwindling membership, watchdog organisations (such as the Southern Poverty Law Centre) highlighted the violent language used against non-whites by Roper, in particular, his avowal to delay “action” until a time when it might be suitable to “communicate to our enemies in a manner which they will find unambiguous.”²⁴⁴</p>
WHITE REVOLUTION	
LEADER Billy Roper	
MEMBERSHIP 1,200 (est.) ²⁴⁰	
IDEOLOGY Neo-Nazism	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES Neo-Nazism: “A race is a group of biologically and genetically related individuals, like an extended family, and just as it’s natural to love your family more than other people’s families...” <i>- An excerpt from White Revolution’s website article, entitled “Are We Hateful Racists?”²⁴⁵</i> White Supremacism: “We seek to secure the existence of our people and a future for White children by creating the opportunity for the establishment of a government which has only the interests of our people in mind...” <i>- Use of the notorious ‘14 words’ in an excerpt from White Revolution’s website “Mission Statement.”²⁴⁶</i> Anti-Semitism: “I used to be a High School History teacher, but someone with my politically incorrect worldview can’t hold that kind of position. Communists, yes. Activist Homosexuals, sure. AfroCentrists, no problem. Zionist Jews, welcome. White Nationalists? No way.” <i>- An excerpt from a comment left on White Revolution’s website.²⁴⁷</i> Violence: “Although it is not yet possible or realistic for us to expect to be able to openly oppose our enemies in open combat[...], we must begin now to educate and organize ourselves.” <i>- An excerpt from White Revolution’s online “Mission Statement.”²⁴⁸</i>
White Supremacism	
Anti-Semitism	
Violence	

²⁴⁰ This is based on figures obtained from White Revolution’s Forum in March 2011, see: <https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/white-revolution-6893/>.

²⁴¹ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘White Revolution’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/white-revolution#.UZ7M8di-hMc.

²⁴² Dentice, D., ‘White Revolution’, *C.A.L.S. Encyclopedia of Arkansas*, online at: <https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/white-revolution-6893/>.

²⁴³ Dentice, D., ‘The Nationalist Party of America: Right-Wing Activism and Billy Roper’s White Revolution’, *Social Movement Studies* 10/1 (2011), 107-112, DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2011.545230.

²⁴⁴ See SPLC, ‘White Revolution’, *Extremist Files*, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/white-revolution#.UZ7M8di-hMc.

²⁴⁵ Roper, B., ‘Are We Hateful Racists?’, *White Revolution* website, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20090124151521/http://whiterrevolution.com/?page_id=21.

²⁴⁶ White Revolution website, ‘Mission Statement’ webpage, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20090123130458/http://whiterrevolution.com/?page_id=15.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

NON-VIOLENT & MAINSTREAM RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN THE US

AMERICAN FREEDOM PARTY (AFP)	NATIONAL LIBERTY ALLIANCE (NLA)
LEADER William Daniel Johnson	LEADERS John Vidurek, Fran Beninati, Lynn Teger, Ava L. Ashendorff, Gerard Aprea, Emily Bowers, & Catherine Lnu
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 6,508
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Neo-Fascism	Anti-Government Extremism
Anti-Semitism	Q-Anon Conspiracy Theory
White Supremacism	Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory

	DESCRIPTION
AMERICAN FREEDOM PARTY (AFP)	<p>Founded in January 2010, the American Freedom Party (formerly the American Third Position Party) was formed in opposition to the policies of the Obama administration and in order to harness populist sentiments following the 2008 Financial Crisis.²⁴⁹ Running as the American Third Position Party in West Virginian elections as well as in the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections, the AFP has struggled to gain an electoral foothold in American politics, with its highest share of votes reaching only 0.88% of ballots cast.²⁵⁰ In 2012, the online activist group Anonymous reportedly hacked the party's website, forums, and email accounts, which revealed links to the UK-based neo-fascist British National Party and domestic libertarians aligned with the former US presidential candidate, Ron Paul.²⁵¹ It has also been alleged that a director of the party, Kevin B. McDonald, has been involved in spreading antisemitic conspiracy theories popular amongst white nationalists and neo-Nazis. In particular, this discredited academic claimed Jews have deliberately conspired to out-evolve and outbid Europeans in order to benefit from 'non-Jewish' resources.²⁵²</p>
LEADER William Daniel Johnson	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
IDEOLOGY	<p>Neo-Fascism: "America has been infested from the top-down with various unwanted "isms"... In a free society, people live their day to day lives as they wish, without being molded [sic] like guinea pigs." - An <i>excerpt</i> from American Freedom Party's "Platform" webpage.²⁵³</p> <p>Anti-Semitism: "...stand up to American Jewry, fight for their own interests, and confront Jewish hypocrisy." - A <i>comment</i> by American Freedom Party director, Kevin B. McDonald, on Real Zionist News.²⁵⁴</p> <p>White Supremacism: "We need a Nationalist Party interested in defending our borders, preserving our language and promoting our culture. The American Freedom Party is not beholden to foreign governments, special interest groups, nor Wall Street." - An <i>excerpt</i> from American Freedom Party's "Platform" webpage.²⁵⁵</p>
Neo-Fascism	
Anti-Semitism	
White Supremacism	

²⁴⁹ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'Psych Prof has New Job running Racist Political Party', op. cit.
²⁵⁰ West Virginia Online Data Services, 'Statewide Results - General Election - 51st Delegate District', 6 November 2012, online at: <http://apps.sos.wv.gov/elections/results/results.aspx?year=2012&eid=13&county=Statewide>.
²⁵¹ Berger, J.M., 'Anonymous' Hits White Supremacist Sites', *IntelWire*, 1 February 2012, online at: <http://news.intelwire.com/2012/02/anonymous-hits-several-white.html>.
²⁵² Arellano, G., 'Notorious Jew-Bashing Long Beach State Professor Joins Notorious Racist Lawyer to Create White-Power Political Party', *OC Weekly Blog*, 5 January 2010, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100407034239/http://blogs.ocweekly.com/navelgazing/school-daze/notorious-jew-bashing-long-bea>.
²⁵³ The American Freedom Party, 'Platform' webpage, online at: www.theamericanfreedomparty.us/platform/.
²⁵⁴ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'Psych Prof has New Job running Racist Political Party', Intelligence Report, Spring Issue, March 2010, online at: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2010/psych-prof-has-new-job-running-racist-political-party.
²⁵⁵ The American Freedom Party, 'Platform' webpage, op. cit.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Emerging from the New York Liberty Alliance in April 2013, the NLA is a nationwide US sovereign citizens group that seeks to re-establish common-law courts and common-law grand juries staffed by sovereign (meaning ‘natural born’) citizens.²⁵⁷ A key aspect of this aim, therefore, is a rejection of the legitimacy of federal institutions and legal procedures as well as officials in American public life. This has led to frivolous lawsuits, national-level activism, and sovereign notification campaigns targeted at courts, public officials, and law enforcement. To date, affiliates and members have been charged with impersonating court officials,²⁵⁸ as well as contempt of court.²⁵⁹ Perhaps most concerning is the group’s sizeable online following and the recent circulation of the anti-government, Q-Anon conspiracy theory, alleging a secret plot against Donald Trump by the “deep state.”²⁶⁰ As of March 2020, the National Liberty Alliance has 8,859 Facebook followers and 8,420 members.²⁶¹</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">NATIONAL LIBERTY ALLIANCE (NLA)</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADERS</p> <p>John Vidurek, Fran Beninati, Lynn Teger, Ava L. Ashendorff, Gerard Aprea, Emily Bowers, & Catherine Lnu</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP</p> <p>6,508²⁵⁶</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Government Extremism</p>	<p>Anti-Government Extremism: “The purpose of National Liberty Alliance is to educate People in how you can take control of government and secure our Liberty. Only you can prevent tyranny!” <i>- An excerpt from National Liberty Alliance’s homepage.²⁶²</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Q-Anon Conspiracy Theory</p>	<p>Q-Anon Conspiracy Theory: “It has become abundantly clear that President Trump working with military intelligence is taking down the deep state and the truth of all their worldwide evil and chaos will soon be revealed...” <i>- An excerpt from National Liberty Alliance’s homepage.²⁶³</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory</p>	<p>Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory: “The UN, initiated in 1945, does not seek to promote world peace and cooperation—it was the first step towards a one-world government, which is now referred to as the New World Order.” <i>- An excerpt from “Final Warning: A History of the New World Order” (a text found under the “Article and Essays” section of the National Liberty Alliance’s website).²⁶⁴</i></p>

²⁵⁶ Hate Group Watchdog, SPLC, suggests that there is no evidence that their network is this large, see: www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/national-liberty-alliance.

²⁵⁷ Southern Poverty Law Centre, ‘National Liberty Alliance’, *Extremist Files*, online at: <http://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/national-liberty-alliance>.

²⁵⁸ Williams, L., ‘People’s jury’ idea gains traction’, *Herald Tribune*, 6 September 2015, online at: www.heraldtribune.com/article/1.K/20150906/News/605202779/SH/.

²⁵⁹ *Arrests.Org*, ‘David Schied’, online at: https://michigan.arrests.org/Arrests/David_Schied_18942260/.

²⁶⁰ *National Liberty Alliance* website, ‘Q’ Page, online at: www.nationallibertyalliance.org/q.

²⁶¹ See: www.nationallibertyalliance.org/.

²⁶² *National Liberty Alliance* website, homepage, online at: www.nationallibertyalliance.org/.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ *National Liberty Alliance* website, ‘Articles and Essays’ webpage, online at: www.nationallibertyalliance.org/articles-and-essays.

SUMMARY

Given the above survey of US-based radical right groups and actors, it is apparent that the key narratives centre around: white supremacism; anti-migrant sentiments; neo-Nazism/Fascism; anti-semitism; anti-Muslim populism; anti-government extremism; chauvinism. Notwithstanding the more culturally nationalist groups (e.g. anti-Islam, identitarian and so-called “alt-lite” groups), more violent tendencies tend to lie with groups that take a more racially nationalist stance (usually preaching a form of white endangerment and acceleration towards a racial holy war).²⁶⁵ When compared with other contexts, what is so fascinating about the US case, then, is simply the breadth and volume of radical right extremist groups and their narratives.²⁶⁶ A key challenge for practitioners in this context is to prioritise groups and narratives that typify the broader radical right extremist ecosystem (something that this report has attempted to do).

Drawing upon the above US radical right extremist actor profiles, these narratives can be simplified to the following positions:

- 1. White Supremacist Narratives:** i.e. Majority ethnic identities are under threat from Afro-Americans as well as Asian & Hispanic migration; elites are complicit in a ‘white genocide’ that will invariably end in a ‘race war’ (or for cultural nationalists, a ‘great replacement’ of US-born whites). *Key Terms: White Genocide Conspiracy Theory & Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory.*
- 2. Neo-Nazi/Fascist Narratives:** i.e. the decadent and the morally corrupt liberal democratic system in the United States needs to be replaced through a process of agitation and revolution, only then (through sovereign ethno-states) can a morally ‘pure’ new nation be born. *Key Terms: Accelerationism & Palingenic Nationalism.²⁶⁷*

3. Anti-Immigration Narratives: i.e. Antipathy towards immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees, expressed as culturally or racially inferior, also leading to white marginalisation or ‘genocide’ (as stated in narrative 1 above). *Key Terms: Islamophobia, Sinophobia & Axylophobia.*

4. Anti-Semitic Narratives: i.e. Jewish interests are part of a globalist conspiracy to create a one-world, Zionist-occupied government; US elites are being controlled and manipulated by the Jewish population and aided by cultural Marxists, they look out for Jewish interests whilst letting non-Jewish US whites suffer. *Key Terms: Agenda 21 Conspiracy Theory & Zionist Occupied Government Conspiracy Theory.²⁶⁸*

5. Anti-Muslim Narratives: i.e. national and cultural identities are under threat because of Islam, elites are complicit in the erasure of a strong, traditional ‘American’ identity, this will inevitably end in a clash of civilisations. *Key Terms: Anti-Muslim Populism & Clash of Civilisations Thesis.*

6. Chauvinist Narratives: i.e. Societies are under threat because men cannot live ‘according to their nature;’ feminists and the LGBT community are considered race traitors; and in response, US-based whites must return to the heteronormative past. *Key Terms: Anti-Feminism & Misogyny.*

7. Anti-Government Narratives: i.e. the modern US government has outgrown its remit; since their role is to keep ‘the people’ down, there is a need to form well-armed militias in order to rise up against the Government should it be needed. *Key Terms: Sovereign Citizens Conspiracy Theory & Q-Anon Conspiracy Theory.*

²⁶⁵ For more information about this distinction between culturally and ethnically nationalist radical right groups, see: Ravndal, J.A. & Bjørge, T., ‘Extreme-Right Violence and Terrorism: Concepts, Patterns, and Responses’, The Hague: ICCT Policy Brief, September 2019, online at: <https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Extreme-Right-Violence-and-Terrorism-Concepts-Patterns-and-Responses.pdf>.

²⁶⁶ Fadel, L., ‘U.S. Hate Groups Rose 30 Percent In Recent Years, Watchdog Group Reports’, NPR, 20 February 2019, online at: www.npr.org/2019/02/20/696217158/u-s-hate-groups-rose-sharply-in-recent-years-watchdog-group-reports.

²⁶⁷ According to noted scholar of historical fascism, Roger Griffin, Palingenic Nationalism (or the rebirth of the nation) is a key component of fascism, and is often seen among such groups a coming after a time of so-called ‘moral decadence’ (Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, 1991).

²⁶⁸ Here, ‘Zionist Occupied Government Conspiracy Theory’ is the belief that the state has been captured by Jewish elites and interests and no longer represents the interests of white people (Daniels, *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse*, 1997).

PART TWO

RADICAL RIGHT COUNTER-NARRATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES:

03

TAPPING INTO WHITE SUPREMACIST, NEO-NAZI/FASCIST, ANTI-IMMIGRATION, ANTISEMITIC, ANTI-MUSLIM, CHAUVINIST, AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT NARRATIVES

The United States presents one of the largest radical right extremist scenes and set of violent milieus known to researchers globally, with 155 groups noted in March 2020.²⁶⁹ The methodology of constructing counter-narratives towards these groups does however remain fairly similar, if with a more local inflection (e.g. hatred aimed at Hispanic/Latino groups, African-Americans, and the orientalist Asian ‘foreigner’) in order to better resonate with sympathetic, local audiences. If attempting to construct counter-narratives in order to disrupt, delegitimise, and/or devalue the appeal of the above narratives, it is useful to identify what we can call ‘entry points’ within the structure of extremist narratives in order to unpick their veracity, authenticity, and believability. Such a process can be begun by breaking down such narratives into their orientation (i.e. who, what, where, how, & when), action (i.e. evaluation of orientation) and resolution (i.e. prescribed course of action).²⁷⁰ Whilst it might be unprofitable to contest the factual veracity of the orientation statement (see p. 6 of the RRCN Expert Workshop Report), both the action and solution sections of the narrative might be more profitably contested. The rationale behind such a technique is that radical right extremists tend to do the most

harm in how they interpret and offer solutions to what is happening ‘out there,’ and how they frame reality. Opinions are also a softer target than facts, and this maps onto how extremists use grievances to add their own ideological ‘twist’ on real world events. Therefore, disputing the action and resolution statement are more profitable as it means practitioners are disputing the ideological interpretation of the truth (or factual reality) presented, rather than the reality itself. Examples that could be deployed by practitioners in the US context include:

1. **White Supremacist Counter-Narrative:** i.e. highlight the positive contribution of African-American, Asian and Hispanic migrants to the US’s livelihood and past; show examples of cooperation between different races as part of the US cultural heritage; acknowledge legitimate concerns of white supremacists, but try to foster more open viewpoints and a less formulaic or rigid conceptions of migrants and other minority populations.
2. **Anti-Migrant Counter-Narratives:** Highlighting the positive contribution of Asian and Hispanic migrants

²⁶⁹ Wilson, J., ‘White nationalist hate groups have grown 55% in Trump era, report finds’, *The Guardian*, 18 March 2020, online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/18/white-nationalist-hate-groups-southern-poverty-law-center>.

²⁷⁰ This is a simplified version of a similar schema, laid out in: Labov, W., & Waletzky, J., ‘Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience’, *Journal of Narrative & Life History*, 7(1-4), 1997, 3-38, online at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jnlh.7.02nar>.

to the country's livelihood and past; acknowledging prejudice but foster more open viewpoints and a less formulaic or rigid conception of American national identity, refugees, and migrants.

3. **Neo-Nazi/Fascist Counter-Narrative:** i.e. highlight the rational inconsistencies of accelerationism and violent revolution (i.e. that it might actually lead to national decline rather than rebirth) and the inevitable risks to so-called 'indigenous, white' populations associated with this course of action; try to foster trust through examples of politicians acting with integrity; and, ultimately, divert inveterate activists to safer forms of non-racist political activism (i.e. political party or peaceful protest) over time.
4. **Antisemitic Counter-Narrative:** i.e. point out that scapegoating others for our problems is a very easy thing to do and distracts us from our own problems, point out that as a minority it is more likely for the Jewish population to be oppressed than vice versa, ultimately try to move adherents away from a sense of ethnic and cultural endangerment and towards the positive contribution of Jewish intellectuals and luminaries in the life of US as a nation (e.g. Albert Einstein and Milton Friedman).
5. **Anti-Muslim Populism Counter-Narrative:** i.e. highlight the positive contribution of Muslims to the country's physical and intellectual livelihood (e.g. Syrian doctors and Ayaan Hirsh Ali), acknowledge prejudice but foster more open viewpoints and a less formulaic or rigid conception of Islam.
6. **Chauvinist Counter-Narrative:** i.e. stress positive contribution by women (e.g. Hannah Arendt) and the LGBT+ community (e.g. Harvey Milk) to the life of the nation in order to humanise. Reduce threat perception by stressing allegiances in thought and not division. Again, try to reduce threat perception and fill the 'void' with alternatives (e.g. more inclusive and positive conceptions of masculinity).

7. **Anti-Government Counter-Narrative:** i.e. emphasise positive modes of activism instead of militia-based violence. Talk of efficiencies, benefits, and successes of the current representative system as well as risks of paramilitary activism (e.g. misdirected attacks, retaliation, and burnout). Try and unpick anti-government conspiracies (especially around the notion of a 'deep state' or 'hidden powers'), with examples of transparency and accountability.

Turning from radical right narratives and counter-narratives toward counter-narrative campaigns, there have been several attempts to foster best practice when challenging radical right narratives, in both the online and offline spaces. These attempts have been as a result of (some recently aborted)²⁷¹ government-funded initiatives but also were due to a vibrant NGO and thinktank sector, both in the US and abroad, which paid greater attention to radical right and radical right sympathetic audiences in the US.²⁷² Below is a snapshot of some notable recent US-based counter-narrative initiatives that targeted radical right extremists and potential recruits.

The first tentative attempt at targeting the basis of radical right extremism upstream through counter-narrative campaigns came through a US State Department strategic communications initiative in 2011, called "2011 Hours Against Hate."²⁷³ Spearheaded by the Secretary of State, the Special Representative to Muslim Communities, and the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-semitism, the campaign was designed as a call to action for young people to engage in offline activism and pledge an hour to help someone different from them.²⁷⁴ In addition to posting a picture of their pledge and posting it online, young people were asked to help at a women's shelter, religious charity, or homeless shelter. Though the original website and Facebook page for the initiative no longer exist, it appears that, according to its YouTube engagement and viewership statistics (see screenshot in figure 3), uptake of the initiative was fairly low; it received only 2,585 views across all four launch videos for the campaign (as well as a few likes and comments).²⁷⁵ Such is a cautionary tale of taking a top-down approach to count-

er-narrative campaigns that feature less effective messengers at reaching the target audience, elite speakers (e.g. government officials as opposed to a well-known and trusted celebrity or sports figure), and found a low organic reach. Despite this, however, the science of a 'call to action' as part of the campaign and tackling prejudice through intergroup contact is sound,²⁷⁶ and could be replicated in initiatives that incorporate different messengers.

The second counter-narrative intervention to note in the US context was EXIT USA's (2015) video campaign consisting of four videos that used EXIT USA and Against Violent

Extremism (AVE) network former extremist testimonies to highlight personal stories and falsities propagated by radical right extremist groups.²⁷⁸ Using short and emotionally-charged messages tailored for social media to sit alongside its day-to-day offline intervention work, the videos (see figure 4 for examples) were targeted at violent white supremacists across the broadest geographical area—cognizant of the widespread of white supremacist groups across the entirety of the country, and using key words and hashtags in order to capture a large cross-section of the extremist scene. The aim of the campaign was not just to garner views but to also encourage engagement through comments.



FIGURE 3 Screen Grab from 2011 Hours Against Hate Campaign 'Launch' Video²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ Beinart, P., 'Trump Shut Programs to Counter Violent Extremism', *The Atlantic*, 29 October 2018, online at: www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/trump-shut-countering-violent-extremism-program/574237/.

²⁷² Examples here including tech-based companies and think tanks (such as Moonshot CVE and the Institute for Strategic Dialogue) but also non-government actors in the radical right de-radicalisation sector (such as EXIT USA, Life After Hate, & Free Radicals).

²⁷³ Counter-Narrative Toolkit, 'Hours Against Hate' Case Study, online at: www.counternarratives.org/html/case-studies-entry?id=19.

²⁷⁴ US State Department, '2011 Hours Against Hate', 10 February 2011, online at: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/srnc/156531.htm>.

²⁷⁵ US State Department, 'Special Representative Pandith Introduces 2011 Hours Against Hate', *YouTube*, 11 February 2011, online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-Crr8XyR5vY; US State Department, 'Special Envoy Rosenthal Introduces 2011 Hours Against Hate', *YouTube*, 11 February 2011, online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHK3jDYRQdM; US State Department, 'Special Representative Pandith, Special Envoy Rosenthal Highlight 2011 Hours Against Hate (Short)', 14 February 2011, online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=jzYumngqER8; & US State Department, 'Secretary Clinton Underscores 2011 Hours Against Hate Campaign', *YouTube*, 8 April 2011, online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-4XIIis7CA.

²⁷⁶ See: Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751–783. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751> & RAN, 'How can online communications drive offline interventions?', *Ex Post Paper*, 22-23 November 2018, online at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-c-and-n/docs/ran_c-n_amsterdam_call_to_action_20181123_22_en.pdf.

²⁷⁷ US State Department, 'Special Representative Pandith, Special Envoy Rosenthal Highlight 2011 Hours Against Hate (Short)', 14 February 2011, online at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jzYumngqER8>.

²⁷⁸ Counter-Narrative Toolkit, 'Exit USA' Case Study, online at: www.counternarratives.org/html/case-studies-entry?id=17.

ExitUSA VIDEO TITLES AND DESCRIPTION

NO JUDGEMENT JUST HELP

The video explains that since 9/11 home-grown white supremacists have killed more Americans on US soil than ISIS, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban combined and continues to offer a way out to those involved in white supremacist movements. This video has a reflective tone and presents an ideological challenge and an offer of assistance.



THERE IS LIFE AFTER HATE

Tim Zaal spent half of his life thinking that he had killed a man one night when he was out looking for a fight. It wasn't until he came face to face with his victim many years later that he realised the power of forgiveness. This video has a reflective and sentimental tone, and presents a personal story.



OAK CREEK

This video tackles the same issues as *No Judgement Just Help* but is presented in a different format.



THE FORMERS

The Formers in this video begin by provocatively telling the viewer the 'truths' they believed whilst still in their violent extremist movements. At the end of the video they reveal that these were 'lies' that they fell for, highlighting the realities of hateful ideologies. This video has a reflective tone and presents an ideological challenge and personal story.



FIGURE 4 Overview of EXIT USA (2015) Counter-Narrative Videos²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ Silverman, T., Stewart, C.J., Amanullah, Z., & Birdwell, J., 'The Impact of Counter-Narratives', London: ISD Global, 2016, online at: www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Impact-of-Counter-Narratives_ONLINE_1.pdf, P.17.

An independent assessment of EXIT USA's (2015) counter-narrative campaign suggests it was broadly successful in its objectives, engaging over 212,000 users on Facebook alone.²⁸⁰ Moreover, and when compared to other similar violent religious-inspired counter-narrative campaigns, EXIT USA's videos had the highest retention rates, suggesting that the short and emotionally-charged nature of the videos worked.²⁸¹ The EXIT USA campaign also received high (and largely positive) comment traffic, with 32% of comments being supportive and 18% negative.²⁸² This might be due to EXIT USA's deliberate strategy of fostering discussion and the accessibility of its staff throughout the cam-

paign, with several users reaching out to them via direct message function of certain platforms (see example in figure 5 below). Moreover, we can see how such campaigns might be beneficial for future communications campaigns (EXIT USA seeing its YouTube subscriber base double, its Twitter Followership treble and the reach of its Facebook content also nearly trebling (see figure 6 for detailed statistics)).²⁸³ Whilst specific in scope, such a campaign tells us of the need for short, emotionally-charged videos when deploying counter-narratives online and the need for responsiveness by skilled intervention providers when using the comment or direct message function.

[EXIT Former 1]: Hey guys I am a former white supremacist

[ExitUSA]: Hi [former]. Thank you for reaching out. How can we help you?

[EXIT Former 1]: I have been away from it for a few months but I still get old feelings an thoughts

FIGURE 5 Example of Direct Message from Exit USA Campaign²⁸⁴

		FACEBOOK		TWITTER	YOUTUBE
CAMPAIGN	CAMPAIGN PERIOD	PAGE LIKES	ORGANIC REACH/DAY	FOLLOWERS	SUBSCRIBERS
ExitUSA	Before	192	1 to 34	50	16
	Gained	94	956 to 2,779	105	16
	Total at end	286	0 to 32	155	32

FIGURE 6 Before and After Engagement Statistics for EXIT USA Campaign²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 24.
²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 25.
²⁸² Ibid., pp. 33-34.
²⁸³ Ibid., p. 31.
²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 38.
²⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 31.

Building on EXIT USA's success in generating sustained engagements, a third notable initiative launched in the same year in the USA (but also the UK and Canada) was the Institute for Strategic Dialogue's (ISD) One-on-One programme. A small-scale pilot programme in collaboration with Curtin University, the project used ten former extremists (including five former far-right extremists from North America) to send a direct message to try and start a dialogue and sow initial 'seeds of doubt' around the validity of extremist groups and narratives with 160 individuals considered at-risk or already expressing sympathies for extremist organisations.²⁸⁶ Besides using former extremists, one of the innovations of the project was using highly tailored matching of intervention providers with recipients, focus-

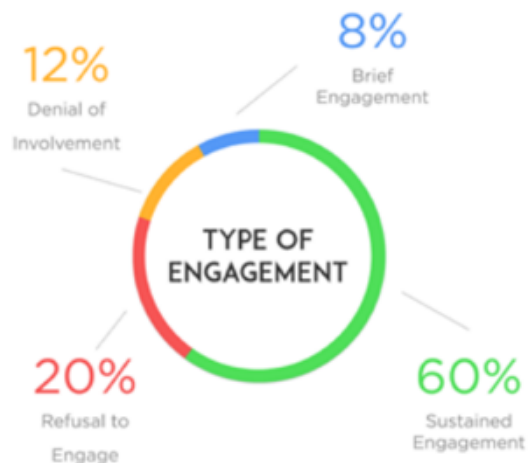


FIGURE 7 Types of Engagement²⁸⁹

Moving to a more grassroots form of counter-narrative initiative, the end of 2015 also saw the creation of the University of New Mexico's "Know Extremism" campaign. Put together by undergraduate Marketing students at the University as part of the US State Department's Peer to Peer (P2P): Challenging Extremism initiative, the "Know Extremism" campaign used its own website, online adverts, as well as social media channels to share a set of counter-narrative videos, infographics (see an example in figure 9), relevant news stories and the #ChallengeExtremism hashtag. The aim of the campaign was to encourage young

ing on the age, ideology, and gender of recipients. A prototype of a larger Counter Conversations project by ISD, it was also highly successful in engaging individuals compared with standard email marketing campaigns, with over 60% of messages leading to contact and discussion of their extremist beliefs (see figure 7 for breakdown).²⁸⁷ Again, the main barrier to successful contact and intervention were technological difficulties, with 42 of the 154 profiles identified taken down by Facebook through the course of the project (see figure 8 for percentages).²⁸⁸ This again stresses the need for counter-narrative campaign providers to work closely with online platforms when designing and executing their interventions in order to make sure that unintended consequences do not lead to counter-productive outcomes.

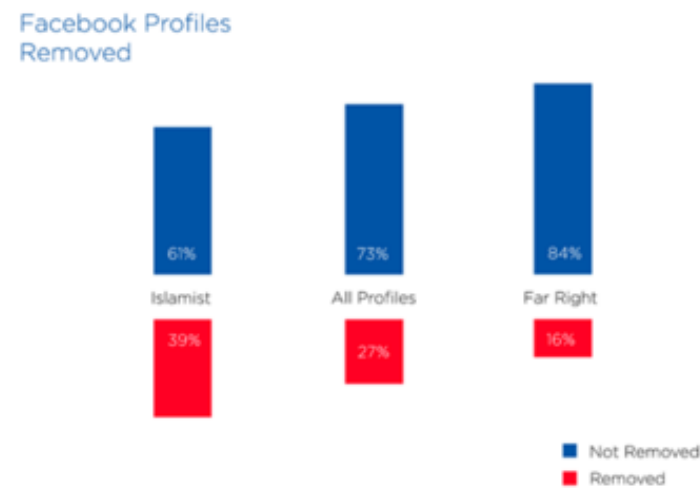


FIGURE 8 Facebook Profiles Removed²⁹⁰

people to educate themselves about violent extremism and to "speak out against it."²⁹¹ Whilst not radical right specific in its focus, its focus on victims in response to terror attacks²⁹² and blogs focusing on other forms of extremism²⁹³ suggest at least a nod to the radical right. For such a small-scale programme, awareness, and engagement was reasonably impressive, with a combined followership on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube of 3,343 users and a peak viewership of 435 on its counter-narrative explainer-type videos.²⁹⁴ Comparing awareness then with the 2011 US State campaign above, this shows the strength of using

²⁸⁶ Counter-Narrative Toolkit, 'One-to-One: Institute for Strategic Dialogue' Case Study, online at: www.counternarratives.org/html/case-studies-entry?id=25.

²⁸⁷ Frenett, R. & Dow, M, 'One to One Online Interventions: A Pilot CVE Methodology', London & Perth: ISD & Curtin University, 2016, p. 14, online at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/node/7493_en.pdf; and www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/One2One_Web_v9.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁹¹ See *Counter-Narrative Toolkit*, 'Know Extremism' Campaign, online at: www.counternarratives.org/html/case-studies-entry?id=23.

²⁹² 'Know Extremism' Campaign, 'Stand with Paris' Post, *Instagram*, 14 November 2015, online at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/-E2pq1uJlc/>.

²⁹³ 'Know Extremism' Campaign, 'The latest developments in the Planned Parenthood Colorado Springs shooting' Post, *Twitter*, 28 November 2015, online at: <https://twitter.com/knowcampaign/status/670415932775231488>.

²⁹⁴ See: 'Know Extremism' Campaign, *YouTube* Channel, online at: www.youtube.com/channel/UCMLL5buyK5uqnddxfpZRg9g.

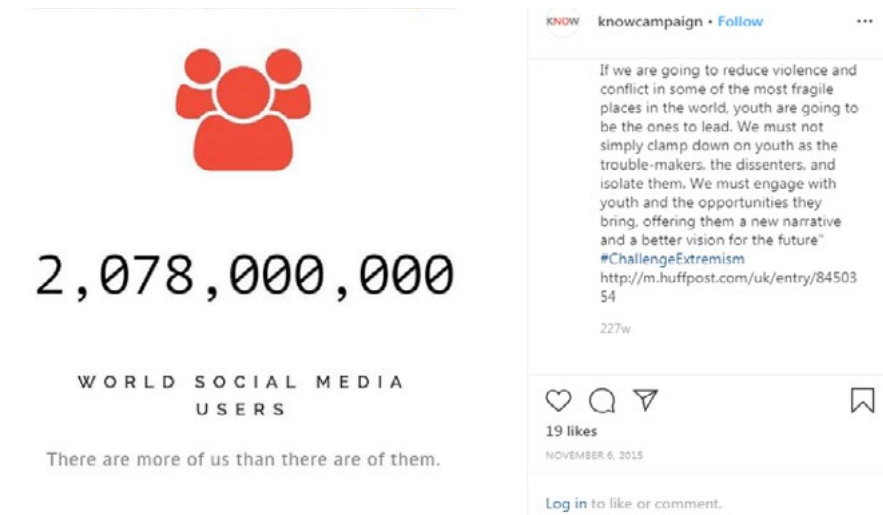


FIGURE 9 Example Infographic from the 'Know Extremism' Instagram Account²⁹⁶

informal (i.e. citizens), tech-savvy individuals (i.e. students) backed by the state to conduct higher impact campaigns, with a far greater organic reach.²⁹⁵

A final example of a recent online counter-narrative campaign directed at radical right extremists in the US context is Free Radical's 2018 "We are Free Radicals: Finding Our Way Again" website.²⁹⁷ This scrollable resource (see example in figure 10 below) starts by engaging users at a social level by talking about the essential need for "belonging" and "identity," before presenting real-life case studies (e.g. Dylann Roof, William Atchison, & Elliot Rodgers) and statistics showing how radical right ideology leads to violence (See figure 10). It then points out the narratives that radical right groups use to ensnare new members (e.g. "fear" of the other, "familiarity"

through the enforcement of online echo chambers and the labelling of contradictory viewpoints as "fake news") before linking the user to the Free Radical's homepage, which includes a form available for extremists or associates to request help. Like in other international examples of radical right counter-narrative campaign best practice,²⁹⁸ this therefore provides a counter-narrative that delegitimises violent activism (e.g. the statistics and the identification "fear," "familiarity," and "fake news" narratives) combined with an alternative narrative (e.g. offering an alternative route out by stressing "There's an Exit in Sight"). Despite being mainly targeted at radical right activists, then, the use of an alternative narrative layered onto a counter-narrative emulates best practice in this case, filling the mental void left after the rejection of the extremist worldview.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ See more here: Lee, B.J., 'Informal Countermessaging: The Potential and Perils of Informal Online Countermessaging', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 2019, 161-177, online at: <http://10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513697>.

²⁹⁶ 'Know Extremism' Campaign, 'World Social Media Users' Post, *Instagram*, online at: https://www.instagram.com/p/9uSI_GulEV/.

²⁹⁷ The actual website is now offline, but it can still be accessed on the Internet Archive. See: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190809043606/http://wearefreeradicals.net/index.html>.

²⁹⁸ See: European Commission Home Affairs website, 'Exit Germany - Trojan T-Shirt', online at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/node/7493_en.

²⁹⁹ See: Cook, J. & Lewandowsky, S. (2011) 'The Debunking Handbook' St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland, online at: <http://sks.to/debunk> & Lewandowsky, S. (2012) 'Misinformation and Its Correction: Continued Influence and Successful Debiasing.' *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 13(3), 106-131.

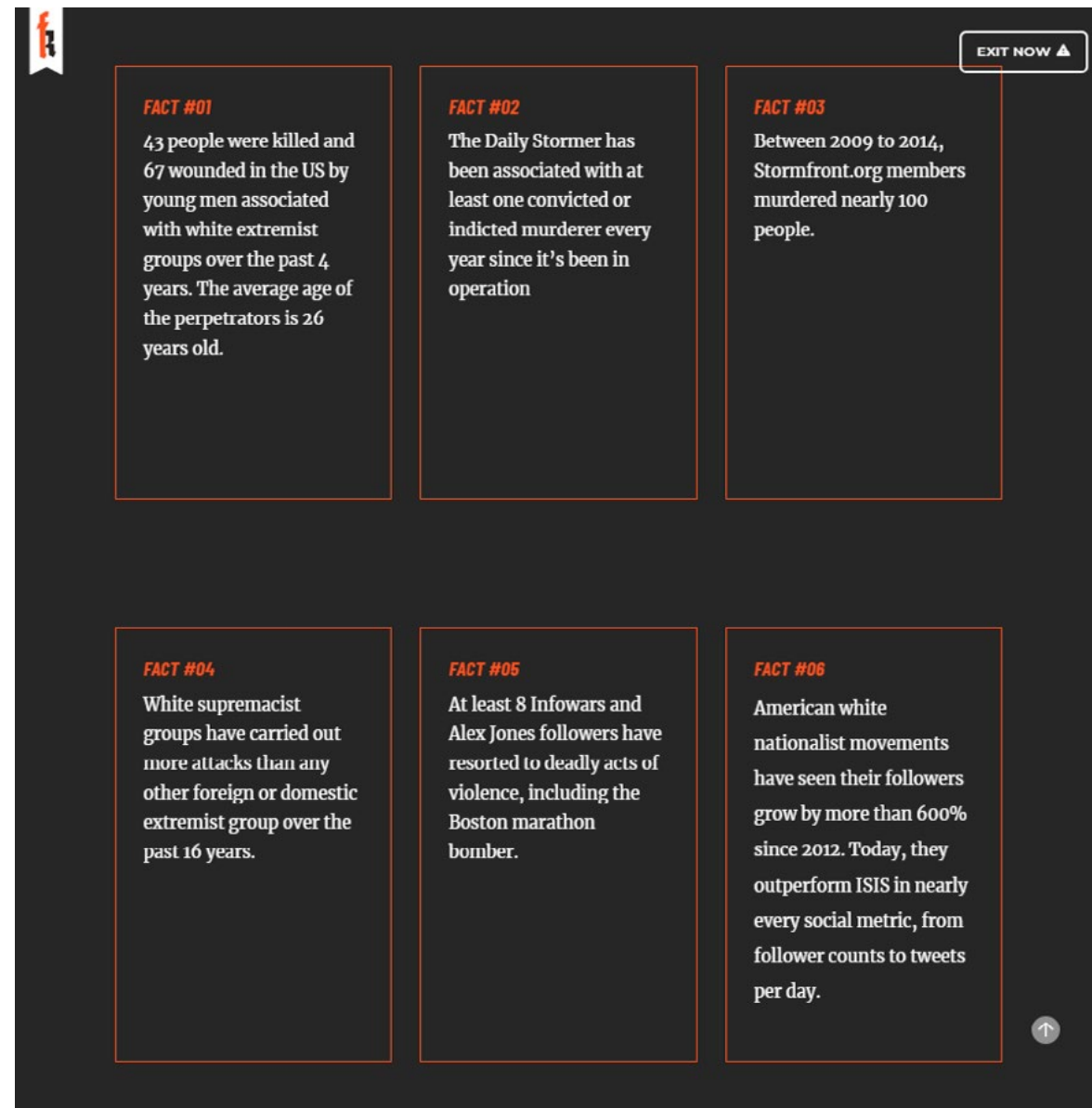


FIGURE 10 Statistics and Facts used on “We are Free Radicals: Finding Our Way Again” website

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has tracked US radical right narratives and counter-narratives at a heightened time of radical right extremist solo-actor violence. Moving from cell-based neo-Nazis through mass protest and into anti-government militias, this report has uncovered the concerning overlaps between ideologically distinct groups when it comes to narratives of white genocide and demographic replacement. It has also highlighted the existence of several cells and ‘fight club’-type groups (e.g. the Base, FOAK, and Proud Boys), the chauvinistic and accelerationist narratives of which paint a concerning threat picture, with the potential for more violence going forward. Added to this, we have found several US groups that have a strong bearing on the radical right’s international cultural milieu, with more historic organisations like the National Alliance and Creativity Movement transmitting fictional and neo-paganist imaginaries of white supremacist, ‘racially pure’ futures, across borders.

In response to the emergent lone-actor threat specifically, US-based practitioners would be advised to conduct counter-narrative campaigns that interlace debunking online conspiracy theories, but also importantly fill that space with an alternative vision. Here, it is important to note that there have already been a number of programmes that have attempted to do this. In particular, the approach taken by EXIT USA, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue and Free Radical’s Project suggests a way forward when dealing with the violent lone-actor threat in conjunction with counter-narrative videos and infographics that refer individuals to de-radicalisation experts. In particular, it is recommended that more is done to fund such grassroots projects, as well as recruiting intervention providers to interact with sympathetic individuals and layering alternative narratives on top of counter-narratives as a way of diverting individuals away

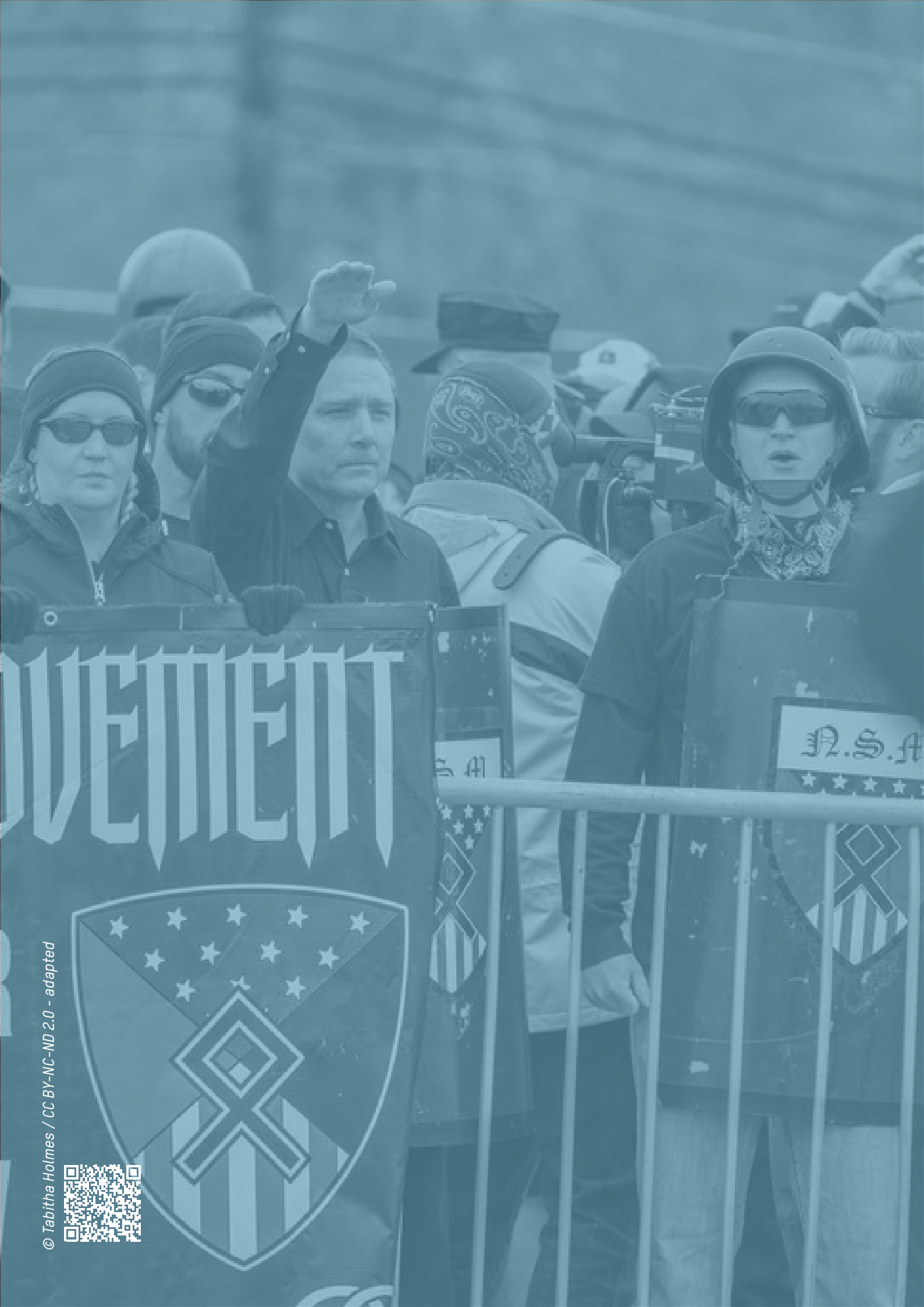
from extremist content. According to independent assessments, such approaches are likely to yield the highest level of sustained impact on cell-based and self-radicalising individuals.³⁰⁰

Going forward, therefore, such campaigns need to be placed on a more sustained and wide-scale footing. This can be done by extending already-established funding cycles and increasing the number of individuals trained as intervention providers. It can also be done through harnessing the ability of algorithms to identify and target individuals in the process of radicalising with counter-narrative content. At a broader societal level, campaigns like the US State Department backed “2011 Hours Against Hate” and “Know Extremism” programmes will also serve a role in inoculating individuals³⁰¹ with carefully targeted and honed messages tailored for a broad-based as opposed to an extremist audience. When it comes to these broader-based counter-narratives themselves, therefore, it will involve: 1) using the right elite messengers with mass appeal (e.g. celebrities and sports figures) in order to cut through to non-radical right aligned audiences and 2) using informal (i.e. citizens), tech-savvy individuals (i.e. students) backed by the state to conduct higher impact campaigns, with a far greater organic reach as a result.

By building the extra capacity needed to deliver alternative narratives directly to individuals in the process of radicalisation and using trusted individuals and informal civil-society actors to further embed broader-based societal counter-narratives, the United States will do better in inhibiting the spread of violence within the radical right extremist scene and inoculating citizens from engaging in such activism in the first place, acting to reduce the social harms of extremism from above and below in a pincer-like movement.

³⁰⁰ See: Cook, J. & Lewandowsky, S. (2011) ‘The Debunking Handbook’ St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland, online at: <http://sks.to/debunk>; Dafnos, A., ‘Narratives as a Means of Countering the Radical Right; Looking into the Trojan T-shirt Project’, *Journal EXIT Deutschland*, 2014, online at: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jed/index.php/jed/article/view/98>; Lewandowsky, S. (2012) ‘Misinformation and Its Correction: Continued Influence and Successful Debiasing’, *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 13(3), 106-131; & Silverman, T., Stewart, C.J., Amanullah, Z., & Birdwell, J., ‘The Impact of Counter-Narratives’, London: ISD Global, 2016, online at: https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Impact-of-Counter-Narratives_ONLINE_1.pdf.

³⁰¹ See: Braddock, K., ‘Vaccinating Against Hate: Using Attitudinal Inoculation to Confer Resistance to Persuasion by Extremist Propaganda’, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1693370>.





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